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THE

PARIBHÂSHENDUŚEKHARA

OF

NÂGOJÎBHAṬṬA

EDITED AND EXPLAINED

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TRANSLATION AND NOTES.

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PREFACE.

The 133 grammatical Paribhâshâs which have been collected and explained by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa in his Paribhâshenduś'ekhara,[1] are maxims intended to guide and assist in the interpretation and application[2] of the rules of Pâṇini's grammar.

According to the introductory remark of Nâgojîbhaṭṭa these maxims have been taken from the Bhâshya and the Vârttikas. This statement, though correct with regard to by far the greatest number of Paribhâshâs, cannot be taken in its literal sense; for not only are some Paribhâshâs in the Paribhâshenduś'ekhara (*a*) read slightly differently from what they are in the Bhâshya; not only has Nâgojîbhaṭṭa given and commented on Paribhâshâs which, though their existence may (*b*) be suggested by a parti-

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परिभाषा एवेन्दुरर्थप्रकाशत्वात्स शेखरे यस्येति ग्रन्थपक्षे । तत्र नामैव व्याख्ये-यत्वान्मस्तकभूतत्वमारोप्यते । यद्वा स शेखरो भूषणं यस्य । यद्वा तस्य शेखर : । यद्वा तासां प्रकाशकोऽलंकार: ॥ P.

[1] It will suffice here to instance Par. XXXVIII.-LXV. which, as treat of the relative force of Pâṇini's rules, are perhaps the most ant of all the Paribhâshâs contained in the Paribhâshenduś'e-—There are a few Paribhâshâs which assist us neither in inter-reting nor in applying the rules of grammar, but which rather lay down some of the principles followed by Pâṇini himself in the forma-tion of his rules; I allude to Paribhâshâs like CXXII.—Par. I. refers us for the solution of any doubt or the removal of any ambiguity which cannot be solved or removed otherwise, to the interpretation of the uned.

cular passage of the Bhâshya, or though they (*c*) may have been tacitly applied, have nevertheless not been distinctly enunciated in the latter: but he has (*d*) admitted into his work even such Paribhâshâs of other grammarians as according to his own showing are contrary to the Bhâshya and consequently void of validity.

(*a*) Instances of (*a*) are:

Par. XI.; in Paribh. यदागमास्तद्गुणी°; in Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 20 अथवतो ह्यागमस्तद्गुणी°; see Transl. pag. 66.

XVIII.; see Bhâshya on P. V., 2, 25 and VI., 1, 93, Transl. pag. 103 and 104.

XX.; in Paribh. भाव्यमानोऽप्युपकारः सवर्णान्गृह्णाति; in Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 185 भवत्युकारेण भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणम्; Transl. pag. 110, note 2.

XXIV.; in Paribh. प्रत्ययग्रहणे...; in Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72 प्रत्ययग्रहणं..; Transl. pag. 125, note 1.

XXV.; in Paribh....न तदन्तग्रहणम्; in Bhâshya on P. VI., 3, 50....ऽन्तग्रहणम्; Transl. pag. 129, note 2.

XXVI.; see Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 13; Transl. pag. 134, note 2.

LXXIII.; in Paribh. सूत्रे लिङ्गवचनमतन्त्रम्; in Bhâshya on P. III., 3, 18 and IV., 1, 92 नात्र निर्देशस्तन्त्रम्; Transl. p. 375, note 1.

LXXXIV.; in Paribh. समासान्तविधिरनित्यः; in Bhâshya o VI., 2, 197 विभाषा समासान्तो भवति; Transl. pag. 409.

CXI.; in Paribh. पर्जन्यवल्लक्षणप्रवृत्तिः; in Bhâshya on P. I. and VI., 1, 127 कृतकारि खल्वपि शास्त्रं पर्जन्यवत्; Transl. pag. 501, note 2.

CXII.; in Paribh. निपेधाश्च बलीयांसः; in Bhâshya प्रतिषेधाश्च बलीयांसो भवन्ति; Transl. pag. 505, note 5.

CXVII.; in Paribh. पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयमद्विर्वे; in Bhâshya on P.

as soon as and only when that Paribhâshâ has been adopted, and which on that account indicates the existence of that Paribhâshâ and proves that the latter was adopted and acted upon by Pâṇini in the composition of his Sûtras.[1] In case the Antaranga-paribhâshâ had not existed in Pâṇini's time or had not been adopted by him, the presence of the term ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132 would have been absolutely superfluous; on the other hand, as soon as and only when that Paribhâshâ is adopted, is ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132 absolutely necessary; hence the fact that Pâṇini *has* employed the term ऊठ् in his rule VI., 4, 132, shows that the Antaranga-paribhâshâ did exist when he composed his grammar and was adopted by him, and ऊठ् becomes thus the *Jnâpaka* of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ.[2] Similarly, the rule P. VII., 3, 22 would have served absolutely no purpose, had Pâṇini not adopted Par. LIII.; on the other hand, it is necessary as soon as and only when we adopt that Paribhâshâ; accordingly the circum-

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ary and serves a purpose (*i e.* is *charitârtha*) when that Paribhâshâ been adopted. The employment of the same Anubandha ण् in two tras may suggest to us the existence of such a maxim as is ex- in Par. I.; nevertheless it should, properly speaking, not be the *Jnâpaka* of that Paribhâshâ, because Pâṇini was by no means d to employ the same Anubandha twice even when he had adopt- I. The same remark applies in the case of Par. CXV. (See ansl. pag. 108, 1; 443, 2). The author of the Bhâshya however the word ज्ञापयति in a less limited sense, for he says *e. g.* with Par. I.: 'किं पुनर्वर्णोत्सर्गविधायं णकारो द्विरनुबध्यते। एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो रिभाषा व्याख्यानत इत्यादि.'

vertheless we are, according to Nâ

such a maxim, it will be 2*a*) *Lokanyâya-siddhâ*; or *Nyâya* may be understood in the more general sense of 'reasoning, argumentation,' and in this case a Paribhâshâ will be 2*b*) simply *Nyâya-siddhâ* or, which is the same, *Yukti-siddhâ*. *Vâchanikî* are all those Paribhâshâs which are neither *Jnâpaka-* nor *Nyâya-siddhâ*; they too may be subdivided into two classes, *viz.* 3*a*) Paribhâshâs which have been based on, or are directly deduced from, one or more of Pâṇini's rules; and 3*b*) Paribhâshâs which are entirely independent maxims or *Vâchanikî* in the narrower sense of the word.

(1). The existence and validity of nearly half the number of the Paribhâshâs collected by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa is indicated and proved by *Jnâpakas*, (*Jnâpaka-siddhâ*). *Jnâpaka* is that which teaches or suggests something; and the term *Jnâpaka*,[1] in the sense in which it is used here, is applicable to any thing employed by Pâṇini, or to any rule given by him, or in short to any proceeding of his,[2] which would be meaningless or superfluous (*vyartha*), or for which it would be absolutely impossible to assign a reason, if a particular Paribhâshâ did not exist, which appears necessary and serves a purpose[3] (*i. e.* is *charit*

Cf. also p. 7, 10, कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्यय इति न्यायात्; p. कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमन्याय; p. 54, 9 उत्सर्गसमानदेशा अपवादा इति न्यायेन; p. 99, 108, 8 लक्ष्ये लक्षणस्येति न्यायेन; p. 38, 10; 72, 10 etc.

Par. XCIII, 10 is called *Pravâda*, p. 97, 3.

1. Instead of *Jnâpaka* we sometimes find the term *Linga*; pag. 96, 14; 102, 1.

2. In the case of Par. [illegible] even to the *Anuvritti* or *valid*

stance that Pâṇini has laid down the rule VII., 3, 22, indicates the existence and validity of Par. LIII., or in other words, P. VII., 3, 22 is the *Jnâpaka* of that Paribhâshâ.[1] Or, to give another instance, when Pâṇini lays down the two separate rules V., 2, 86 पूर्वादिनिः and V., 2, 87 सपूर्वाच्च instead of giving only the one rule पूर्वात्सपूर्वादिनिः, his doing so can be accounted for only on the supposition that he knew and had adopted Par. XXXII., and the fact that he has given the two separate rules indicates therefore the existence and validity, or is the *Jnâpaka*, of Par. XXXII.

The following are the Paribhâshâs the existence of which is in this manner indicated by *Jnâpakas* :

Par. VI, by ञित् in P. I., 1, 55.

VII, by माङ् in P. III., 4, 19.

VIII, by विभाषा in P. III., 1, 139.

IX, by अनिश्चदन्तायाः in P. V., 1, 22.

XIX, by आत् in P. VI., 4, 160; (also proved by आमत्ययः in P. I., 1, 69).

XX, by the त् of उत् in P. VI., 1, 111 and 131.[3]

XXII, by कंस in P. VIII., 3, 46.

XXV, by लेख in P. VI., 3, 50.

XXVII, by अन्त in P. I., 4, 14.

XXVIII, by अनन्तरः in P. VI., 2, 49.

XXXI, (equivalent to part of a Vârtt. on P. I., 1, 72), by the rule P. V., 2, 87.

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1. See Transl. pag. 289.

2. See Transl. pag. 164.

3. There is no reason why the existence of one and the same Paribhâshâ should not be indicated by two or even more different *Jnâpakas*; nor can there be any cause why the existence of a Paribhâshâ the validity of which may be established otherwise than by a *Jnâpaka*, should not at the same time be indicated by a *Jnâpaka*.

XXXII, by the fact that P. has made the two separate rules V., 2, 86 and 87 instead of uniting both in one rule.

XXXIV, by बहुवचनस्य in P. I., 2, 63; (also *Nyâya-siddhâ*; see below).

XXXVI, by the form क्षिय: in P. VI., 4, 59 and VIII., 2, 46.

XLI, (rejected), by the rule P. I., 3, 92.

L., by ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132; (in one sense also by आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95; in certain cases also *Lokanyâya-siddhâ.*)

LI, (rejected), by तुक् in P. VI., 1, 86.

LII, by the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98; (according to others by the rule P. VII., 2, 98; according to others *Vâchanikî*).

LIII, by the rule P. VII, 3, 22.

LIV, by ल्यप् in P. II., 4, 36.

LV, by the rule P. VI, 4, 78; (according to others by असवर्णे in that rule).

LVI, (rejected), by समर्थानाम् in P. IV., 1, 82.

LXVI, by अकित: in P. VII, 4, 83.

LXVII, by the monosyllabic roots निन्द् etc. in P. III, 2, 146.

LXVIII, indirectly by the rule P. III., 3, 169 which shows that P. III., 1, 94 is not universally valid.

LXIX, by लङ् in P. III., 2, 116.

LXXI, by the feminine words श्रमणा etc. in the Gaṇa on P. II., 1, 70.

LXXV, indirectly by अतिङ् in P. II., 2, 19.

LXXVIII, (rejected), by णमुल् in P. III., 4, 59.

LXXIX, by अपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु in P. VI., 2, 142.

LXXX, by अनावः in P. VI., 1, 213.

LXXXI and LXXXII, by the ड् of डच and डचत् in P. IV., 2, 9.

LXXXIII, by स्त्रियाम् in P. V., 4, 14.

LXXXIV, by राजन् in the Gaṇa on P. VI., 2, 193.

LXXXVI, by छस्य in P. VI., 4, 153; (in some cases also *Lokanyáya-siddhá*).

LXXXVII, by कार्म in P. VI., 4, 172.

LXXXVIII, by भ्रौणहत्य in P. VI., 4, 174.

LXXXIX, by अकोः in P. VII., 1, 11.

XCI, by अचङि in P. VII., 3, 56.

XCII, (rejected?), by आत् in P. VI., 4, 160, and जा in P. VII., 3, 79.

XCIII, 1. (rejected), by गुणः in P. VI., 4, 146.

— 2. (rejected), by the आ of आनि in P. VIII., 4, 16.

— 3 (rejected), by कृञ् in P. III., 1, 79.

— 4. (rejected), by the Anubandha ङ् of चक्षिङ्.

— 5. (rejected), by वर्जम् in P. VI., 1, 158.

— 6-7 (rejected), according to Bhairavamis'ra by P. I., 1, 62.

— 8. (rejected), according to Bhairavamis'ra by the च in P. VII., 2, 12.

— 10. (rejected), by स्थाने in P. VII., 3, 46; (also *Nyáya-siddhá*).

CVI, by the Anubandha प् of the root दैप्.

CIX, by उदात्तः in P. VII., 1, 75.

CXIX, (rejected), by उभयेषाम् in P. VI., 1, 17.

CXX, 3 (rejected), by एकाचः in P. VII., 2, 10.

(2a). There is another class of Paribhâshâs the existence of which is not or at any rate need not be indicated by *Jnâpakas*,

because their validity rests, so to speak, on a broader foundation. They are universally accepted maxims so worded as to suit the exigencies of grammar. They must be considered as valid and binding, because their truth is established by the general practice of mankind; in short, they are *Lokanyâya-siddhâ*. As in ordinary life a dog does not cease to be called a dog because its tail may have been cut off, so in grammar a word which may have been partly changed must still be considered to be the same word which it was before the change had taken place.[1] Or, as in ordinary life several people who may have been appointed to the same office, have all to act in one and the same manner, so must in grammar several words of a rule which may be mutually connected, either *all* be regarded as valid in a subsequent rule, or *none* of them can be allowed to be valid.[2] It is possible to find also for some Paribhâshâs of this class *Jnâpakas* which show that Pâṇini in the composition of his Sûtras had followed the maxims of ordinary life which are expressed in those Paribhâshâs or on which the latter are based; these *Jnâpakas* however are by no means necessary to establish the validity of such Paribhâshâs, because it is sufficiently established by the practice of ordinary life.

Of the Paribhâshâs collected in the Paribhâshendus'ekhara the following are *Lokanyâya-siddhâ* :—

Par. X.; see the Text pag. 8, l. 13, वस्तुतः समवायिकारणनिमित्तकारणयोर्भेदस्य सकललोकतन्त्रप्रसिद्धतया तस्य तत्त्वेनाश्रयणाभावेन नैषा ज्ञापकसाध्या. (*Jnâpakas* शयितृ in P. IV., 2, 15, etc.; Transl. pag. 51, note 1.).

XI.; Text pag. 9, l. 8, लोकेऽपि ....दृश्यते. (See also Transl. pag. 60, note 1).

1. Par. XXXVII.
2. Par. XVII.

XV.; see Transl. pag. 91, note 1, Kaiyaṭa: लौकिक एवायं न्यायः शास्त्र आश्रीयते.

XVII.; Text pag. 18, l. 1, एककार्यनियुक्तानां बहूनां लोके तथैव दर्शनात्. (See also Transl. pag. 100, and note 4).

XXX.; Text pag. 29, l. 1, लोकन्यायसिद्धेयम्. (See also Transl. pag. 158, note).

XXXVII.; Text pag. 33, l. 11, छिन्नपुच्छे शुनि श्वत्व्यपदेशवन्मान्ते तत्त्वं लोकन्यायसिद्धम्. (*Jnâpaka* दीव्यतः instead of दीव्यतेः in P. IV., 1, 83. See also Transl. pag. 181, notes.)

L. in certain cases; Text pag. 49, l. 10, इदमन्तरङ्गत्वं लोकन्यायसिद्धमिति....भाष्ये स्पष्टम्.

LVII.; see Transl. pag. 323, note 1, Bhâshya: लोके हि... भवति.—Based on this is also Par. CX; see Transl. pag. 500, note 2.

LXXIII.; Text pag. 78, l. 12, धान्यफलान्यायेन नान्तरीयकतया तयोरुपादानम्, and Transl. pag. 376. (*Jnâpaka* नपुंसकम् in P. II., 2, 2).

LXXIV.; Text pag. 79, l. 5, न ब्राह्मणमानयेत्युक्ते लोष्टमानीय कृती भवति. (See also Transl. pag. 378, note 1).

LXXVI.; Text pag. 81, l. 4, तत्तद्वचनसामर्थ्यन्यायसिद्धेयम्. (See also Transl. pag 386, note 2).

LXXVII.; Transl. pag 390, note 1, Bhâshya: सिद्धं तु तद्गुणसंविज्ञानात्याणिनेर्यथा लोके.

LXXXV.; Text pag. 85, l. 18, उपजीव्यविरोधस्यायुक्तत्वमिति न्यायमूलेषा. (See also Transl. pag. 411, note 1.)

LXXXVI. in certain cases; Text pag. 89, l. 18, समुच्चयार्थकचशब्दयोगे तु विधेययोरेककालिकत्वैकदेशत्वनियमान्न्यायसिद्धापीयम्; Transl. pag. 425, note, Kaiyaṭa: लौकिकोऽयं न्यायः.

XCVII.; Transl. pag. 467, note 2.

XCVIII.; Text pag. 100, l. 15, रथकाराधिकरणन्यायसिद्धोऽयमर्थः.

CIII.; Transl. pag. 479, note 2, P.: अस्या लोकसिद्धत्वं प्रतिपादयति.

CVII. and CVIII.; Text pag. 105, l. 13, देवदत्तादयो भोक्तयन्ता मित्यत्र भुजिवत्, and l. 16. गर्गाः...दण्डनवत्; Transl. pag. 491, note 2; and pag. 492, note 2.

CXI.; पर्जन्यवल्लक्षणप्रवृत्तिः; Transl. pag. 501, note 2.

CXII.; Transl. pag. 505, note 4: इयं च परिभाषा लोकसिद्धन्यायमूलिका. Bhairavamis'ra.

(2*b*). Some Paribhâshâs again are neither *Jnâpaka-* nor *Lokanyáya-siddhá*, but their validity is as it were self-evident, because they teach us nothing but what every one must admit to be reasonable or natural, or because the course they direct us to follow in the interpretation or application of the rules of grammar, is the most obvious or the simplest course that could be taken or is less beset with difficulties than some other course which possibly might be suggested. As their validity is dependent neither on *Jnâpakas* nor on the existence of generally adopted maxims of ordinary life, but can be demonstrated from the nature of what is taught in them, they are justly called *Nyáya-* or *Yukti-siddhá*. When a certain combination of letters *can* convey a meaning, it is only reasonable that it should convey that meaning.[1] When two rules of which the one would take effect under any circumstances while the other under certain circumstances would not take effect, are both applicable simultaneously, it is natural to assume that the former possesses greater force than the latter rule.[2] When there arises the question as to whether a particular rule enjoins something new or contains merely a restriction regarding something which is enjoined in another rule, it is natural to answer this question in favour of the former alternative because every one must admit

1. Par. XIV.
2. Par. XXXVIII., परान्नित्यं बलवत्.

that a rule which enjoins something new is less cumbrous than a restrictive rule.[1] When Pâṇini employs *e. g.* the term पा, it is reasonable to suppose that he meant to denote by it only the root पा which is immediately denoted by that term, and that he did not mean to denote by it also the root पै, although the latter occasionally likewise assumes the form पा.[2] Or when we see him adopt in his grammar, the great object of which is brevity, so long a technical term as *Pratyaya*, we cannot be far wrong in assuming that that term was chosen by him in order to show that what is denoted by it must, in accordance with the etymological meaning of the word *Pratyaya*, necessarily convey a meaning.[3]

The Paribhâshâs which may be classed under this head, are : Par. IV. (rejected), and V.; see Transl. pag. 30, note 1.

XIV.; Text pag. 14, l. 2, विशिष्टरूपोपादाने ....त्यागे मानाभावोऽस्या मूलम्. (Also proved by the interpretation of P. I., 1, 68; see Transl. pag. 85, note 1.)

XXXIV.; Text pag. 32, l. 1, चार्थे द्वन्द्वः ....न्यायसिद्धेयम्; Transl. pag. 171, note 5. (Also established by a *Jnâpaka*).

XXXVIII. परान्नित्यं बलवत्; Text pag. 38, l. 16, तत्र...तत्कल्पनमुचितमिति नित्यस्य बलवत्त्वे बीजम्; Transl. pag. 210, note 1, P.: न वाचनिकं किंतु युक्तिसिद्धम्.

LIX.; Text pag. 69, l. 6 अवश्यं...बीजम्.

LX.; Text pag. 69, l. 14, पूर्वोपस्थितबाधेन...बीजम्.

LXI.; Transl. pag. 337, note 1 at the bottom; see also pag. 338 and 339.

LXV.; Text pag. 73, l. 8 निरवकाशत्वरूपस्य बाधकत्वबीजस्याभावात्.

LXX.; in some cases; in others proved by P. I., 4, 2. See Transl. pag. 362, note 1.

1. Par. C.
2. See Par. CV.
3. See Par. CXIII.

XCIII., 9 (rejected); Text pag. 95, l. 11, षाष्ठिकस्य....न्यायसिद्धम्.

XCIII., 10 (rejected) ; Text pag. 96, l. 10, विध्यङ्गभूतानां... मानाभाव इति तर्कमूलेयम्. (Also established by a *Jnâpaka*).

C. ; Text. pag. 101, l. 8, नियमे...लाघवाद्विधिरेवेति बोध्यम्.

CI. ; Text pag. 101, l. 14, सामान्योपस्थितिकाले... बीजम्.

CIV. ; Text pag. 103, l. 16, प्रकरणादितः श्रुतेर्बलवत्त्वात् ; Transl. pag. 482, note 3.

CV ; Text pag. 104, l. 13, इदमेव द्योतत्परिभाषाबीजम् ; Transl. pag. 488, and note 1. (लौकिकलाघवगौरवमूलकोऽयं न्यायः P.)

CXIII. ; Text pag. 109, l. 15, महासंज्ञा...बीजम् ; Transl. pag. 506, note 4 (अस्या न्यायसिद्धत्वमाह महेति).

CXIV. ; Text pag. 110, l. 2, तत्तत्समान° ....°मेतद्बीजम्.

CXVI. ; Text pag. 110, l. 7.

CXVIII. ; Transl. pag. 511, note 2 : तथा च लोकसिद्धप्रतिपत्तिलाघवमूलकोऽयं न्याय इति बोध्यम्. P.

CXXI. (rejected) ; Text pag. 115, l. 8, प्रतिवाक्यं...गौरवं स्पष्टमेव.

(3). A Paribhâshâ the existence of which has not been suggested by Pâṇini himself by means of a *Jnâpaka*, and the validity of which can neither be proved by showing that it is in reality nothing but a universally adopted maxim from ordinary life, nor demonstrated from the nature of what is taught in it, is termed *Váchaniki i. e. Vachanarûpeṇa paṭhitâ* ; in other words, it is an independent statement the authority and validity of which can be ascertained only by an examination of the individual cases in which it may be applicable. Such independent Paribhâshâs may, as has been stated already above, be divided again into two classes, *viz.* 3*a*) Paribhâshâs which either are considered equivalent to or are directly deduced from or developed out of particular rules of Pâṇini's ; and 3*b*) Paribhâshâs which

are completely independent maxims or *Váchaniki* in the narrower or, we may say, stricter sense of the word. Paribhâshâs which may be enumerated under 3*a*), are:

Par. XII., equivalent to P. I., 1, 49; see Transl. pag. 68, and note 1; pag. 76, note 2.

XIII., deduced from P. I., 1, 50; Transl. pag. 78; 81, note 1.

XXI., from P. I., 1, 62; Transl. pag. 111; 113, note 1.

XXIII., made up of part of P. I., 4, 13 and of P. I., 1, 72; Transl. pag. 117.

XXIX., Text pag. 26, l. 13, येन विधिः [१.१.७२] इत्यस्यायं प्राग्भ्रः.

XXXV. is formed by taking छन्दसि वा of P. I., 4, 9 as a separate rule; or by taking छन्दसि of P. III., 1, 84 and बहुलम् of P. III., 1, 85 as one rule.

XXXVIII. पूर्वोत्परं बलवत्, is equivalent to P. I., 4, 2.

XXXIX. and XL. are derived from two different interpretations of the same rule P. I., 4, 2.

LXX. is in some cases proved by P. I., 4, 2, in others *Nyáya-siddhá*.

Those which may be enumerated under 3*b*), are:

Par. XVI.; Text pag. 17, l. 7: येन विधिः [१.१.७२] इत्यत्र भाष्ये वचनरूपेण पठिता. (According to others what has been stated in the Par. follows from the alleged fact, that Par. XIV. is not universally valid; Transl. pag. 98.)

XXIV.; Text pag. 22, l. 11, येन विधिः [१.१.७२] इति सूत्रे भाष्ये....पठ्यते. See Transl. pag. 120, note 4.

XXVI.; Text pag. 24, l. 12, इयं च वाचनिक्येव षष्ठः [६.१.१३] इति सूत्रे भाष्ये स्पष्टा.

XXXIII.; Text pag. 31, l. 6, वाचनिक्येषा येन विधिः [१.१.७२] इत्यत्र भाष्ये पठिता.

LII., according to some; Text pag. 55, l. 11, 'भाष्यरीत्या तु वाचनिक एवायमर्थः.' But see above pag. viii.

LXXII.; Text pag. 78, l. 6, स्पष्टा चेयं युवोरनाकौ [७.१.१] इत्यत्र भाष्ये. (According to others what has been stated in the Par. follows from the fact that Par. LXXI. is not universally valid; Transl. pag. 373).

XCIV.; Text pag. 97, l. 11, इयं च वाचनिक्येव. See Transl. pag. 454. (According to some based on more general maxims).

XCV.; Text pag. 99, l. 9, वाचनिक्येवेषा.

XCVI. (rejected); Text pag. 100, l. 1, एषालोऽन्त्यात्सूत्रे भाष्ये स्पष्टा...प्रत्याख्याता च.

XCIX.; Text pag. 101, l. 6, भाष्ये स्पष्टा.

CII. (rejected); Text pag. 102, l. 6, इयं चाङ्गस्य [६.४.१] इति सूत्रे भाष्ये पठिता; l. 11, एकदेशिनोक्ता.

CXVII.; Text pag. 110, l. 18, सर्वस्य द्वे [८.१.१] इति सूत्रे भाष्ये स्पष्टेयम्.

There remain nineteen Paribhâshâs which have not been mentioned under any of the above heads, *viz.* Par. II. and III.; XVIII.; XLII.—XLIX.; LVIII.; LXII.—LXIV.; XC.; CXX., 1 and 2; and CXXII. Of these, the truth of Par. II. and III. follows from the nature of, and from the relation which obtains between, Saṃjnâ-rules and Paribhâshâs on the one hand, and the rules in which those Saṃjnâs occur or for which those Paribhâshâs are necessary, on the other. For Par. XVIII. see Transl. pag. 103, note 2. Par. XLII.—XLIX. contain definitions of the terms *nitya* and *anitya*, some of which are *Vâchanika*, while others are *Lokanyâya-siddha*; (see Transl. pag. 218, note 2). Par. LVIII. is a statement of some modern grammarians the substance of which is given under Par. LVII. The truth of Par. LXII.—

LXIV. may be said to result from the relation which exists between *Apavâdas* and the general rules of which the former are *Apavâdas*. Par. XC. is according to Kaiyaṭa established by a *Jnâpaka* (सन्निसूयति in P. VII., 2, 44), while according to Nâgojîbhaṭṭa its existence is suggested merely by a passage of the Bhâshya on P. VII., 2, 15; (see Transl. pag. 434). The validity of Par. CXX., 1 and 2 cannot be proved in any way, and they are accordingly rejected. The existence of the last Par. CXXII. is suggested as was stated above by a remark that occurs in the Bhâshya on the S'ivasûtras 3 and 4.

We now proceed to inquire, (*a*) whether the Paribhâshâs which have been collected by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa in his Paribhâshendus'ekhara, have all been adopted by him; (*b*) whether those which have been adopted are considered universally valid; and (*c*) whether such Paribhâshâs as are met with in the present work, are at all necessary for a proper interpretation and application of the rules of Pâṇini's grammar.

(*a*). We have stated above that amongst the Paribhâshâs collected by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa there are sixteen for the validity of which no proof whatsoever can be adduced from the Bhâshya, and which accordingly have to be rejected at once. They are: Par. LVI.; LXXVIII.; XCIII., 1-10; CXX., 1-3; and CXXI. It is true, the grammarians who have adopted these maxims, have tried to establish the validity of at any rate the greater number of them likewise by means of *Jnâpakas*; not only however have most of the *Jnâpakas* adduced by them been refuted individually, but it has also been stated generally that 'we are not authorized to consider as correct any rule established by a *Jnâpaka*, when that rule is not given in the Bhâshya.'[1] Moreover it

1. Transl. pag. 443.

has been shown that these so-called Paribhâshâs not only do not occur in the Bhâshya, but are actually contrary to it.

In addition to the above, six other Paribhâshâs have likewise been distinctly rejected by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa, although they are met with in the Bhâshya; *viz.* Par. IV., XCVI., and CXIX., because they have been rejected already in the Bhâshya (see Transl. pag. 31; pag. 466, note 3; and pag. 513, note 1); Par. LI. and CII., because they are stated to have been quoted in the Bhâshya by one who is only partly acquainted with the true state of the matter and are in reality superfluous (see Transl. pag. 277, note 2; and pag. 477 and note 3); and Par. XLI., because all that is supposed to follow from it, can really, as has been shown in the Bhâshya, be accounted for in a simpler manner without it (see Transl. pag. 203).

In the case of Par. XCII. Nâgojîbhaṭṭa has left it doubtful whether he agrees with or differs from those grammarians who reject that Paribhâshâ as superfluous, but as he has omitted to bring forward any cogent reason in favour of its adoption, it can hardly be incorrect to assume that that maxim too was rejected by him.

(*b*). There remain then only 110 Paribhâshâs of which it is certain that they have been adopted by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa. Among these there are some, regarding which it would be superfluous to ask whether they have been considered universally valid or not, because the maxims enunciated or the principles laid down in them are such that if it be considered at all necessary to adopt them, they must be adopted once for all. Such is the case with Par. I., V., XXII., XXXV., LXII.—LXIV., LXXVI., LXXXIII., LXXXIV., CXI., CXIII.—CXVI., and CXXII.

Nor can the question as to their universal validity be raised

in regard to those Paribhâshâs which, while they allow a choice between several alternatives, leave the decision as to what course should be followed in individual cases, either to the interpretation of the learned, or to our own judgment guided as it must be by the particular forms of the language which it may be desirable to form, or for the formation of which we may wish to account, by the rules of Pâṇini's grammar. Paribhâshâs to which this remark appears to be applicable, are :

Par. II. and III. ;

IX. ; Text pag. 7, l. 17, तत्र क्वोभयगतिः क्वाकृत्रिमस्यैव क्व कृत्रिमस्यैवेत्यत्र लक्ष्यानुसारि व्याख्यानमेव शरणम्.

XVII. and XVIII. ; Text pag. 18, l. 17, तावन्मात्रौ स्वरितत्वप्रतिज्ञाबलाल्लभ्यमिदम्.

XXXIX. and XL. ; Text pag. 36, l. 8, लक्ष्यानुसारात्क्वचिच्छास्त्री-यदृष्टान्ताश्रयणं क्वचिल्लौकिकदृष्टान्ताश्रयणम्.

XLII.—XLVIII. ; Text pag. 40, l. 11, सर्वं चेदं लक्ष्यानुरोधाद्व्यवस्थितम्.

LX. and LXI. ; Text pag. 70, l. 10, लक्ष्यानुरोधाच्च व्यवस्था.. । तत्रतत्र क्वचित्स्वरितत्वप्रतिज्ञासामर्थ्येन वा बाध्यतेऽयं न्यायः ।

LXXVII. ;

XCIX. ; Text pag. 101, l. 5, लक्ष्यानुसाराद्व्यवस्था बोध्या.

CVII. and CVIII. ; Text pag. 105, l. 17, लक्ष्यानुरोधेन च व्यवस्था.

Setting aside then the 36 Paribhâshâs enumerated in the above, we may first remark that the 74 which remain should be regarded as valid only so far as their validity may not be restricted by other Paribhâshâs. The validity of Par. XIV. namely is restricted by Par. XVI. which is an exception to the former ; that of XIX. by XX. ; of XXIII. by XXIV.—XXVIII. ; of XXX. by XXXII. ; of XXXVIII. by LII.—LV., LXV., and LXVI. ; of

LXXI. by LXXII. ; and that of LXXXI., XC., and CV., by CVI.— Further we find that in the case of eleven Paribhâshâs Nâgojî-bhaṭṭa has stated in a general way that they are not universally valid, while in the case of ten others he has told us distinctly under what particular circumstances only they are (either applicable or) not applicable. The eleven Paribhâshâs where the former is the case, are :

Par. XI.; Text p. 9, l. 10, आने मुक् [७.२.८२] इति मुग्विधानसामर्थ्यादेषा-नित्या. (l. 15. उक्तज्ञापकात्).

XXXVI. ; p. 33, l. 2, तत्रैव प्रातिपदिकत्वनिबन्धनविभक्तिकरणादनित्या.

XXXVII. ; p. 34, l. 5, क्वचित्तु लक्ष्यानुरोधान्न्यायानाश्रयणम्.

XXXVIII., पूर्वान्तरं बलवत्; p. 37, l. 2, क्वचिदिष्टानुरोधेन पूर्वशास्त्रे स्वरितत्वप्रतिज्ञाबलात्— पूर्वमेव भवति.

L. ; p. 53, l. 4, एतज्ज्ञापकेनान्तरङ्गपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वबोधनस्यैव न्याय्यत्वात्. (*Jnâpaka* तुक् in P. VI., 1, 86).

LV. ; p. 61, l. 3, इयं चानित्या च्छ्वोः [६.४.१९] इति सतुम्निर्देशात्.

LXVII. ; p. 74, l. 16, सूददीपदीक्षश्च [३.२.१५३] इत्यनेन दीपेर्युङ्नि-षेधेनोक्तार्थस्यानित्यत्वात्.

LXXV.; p. 80, l. 3, अस्या अनित्यत्वात्...। अन्ये त्वनित्यत्वे न मानम्..।

CI. ; p. 101, l. 15, इयमनित्या न त्यपि [६.४.६९] इति लिङ्गात्.

CIII. ; p. 10 l. 3,9, द्विस्त्रिश्चतुः [८.३.४३] इति सूत्रे....कृत्वोऽर्थग्रहणा-देषानित्या.

CV. ; p. 104, l. 16, अनित्या चेयं भुवश्च महाव्याहृतेः [८.२.७१] इति महाव्याहृतिग्रहणात्.

The ten where the latter is the case, are :

Par. XIV. ; p. 14, l. 4, इयं वर्णग्रहणेषु नेति लस्य [३.४.७७] इत्यत्र भाष्ये स्पष्टम्.

XXIX. ; p. 27, l. 4, पादस्य पदाद्यातिं [६.३.५२] इत्यत्र न तदन्तग्रहणं लक्ष्यानुरोधात्.

LXXI.; p. 77, l. 9, एतावत्स्वेवानित्यत्वादप्रवृत्तिर्दोषाः खल्वपि साकल्येन परिगणिता इति भाष्योक्तेः.

LXXXI. and LXXXII.; p. 84, l. 8, वर्णग्रहणे चानयोरप्रवृत्तिरिति स्पष्टमीङ आपः [७.१.१८] इत्यत्र भाष्ये.

LXXXV.; p. 87, l. 13, कष्टाय [३.१.१४] इति निर्देशोनैतस्या अनित्यत्वात्; p. 88, l. 13, न यासयोः ..दोषाः खल्वपि साकल्येन परिगणिता इति भाष्योक्तेः.

LXXXVIII.; p. 91, l. 3, इयङादिविधौ तु नैषा न भूसुधियोः [६.४.८५] इति निषेधेनानित्यत्वात्.

XCI.; p. 92, l. 15, इयं च कुत्वविषयैव.

CVI.; p. 105, l. 9, गातिस्था [२.४.७७] इति सूत्र इणादेशगाग्रहणमेवेष्यते.

CIX.; p. 107, l. 6, विधेयाप्यिषये त्वप्रत्यय इति निषेधान्न गुणाभेदकत्वेन सवर्णग्रहणम्.

From the above quotations it will be clear that as there are *Jnâpakas* which indicate the existence of particular Paribhâshâs, so there are other *Jnâpakas* in Pâṇini's work which indicate that certain Paribhâshâs are not universally valid,—in other words, terms or expressions employed by Pâṇini for which there would have been absolutely no occasion, had Pâṇini in every case adopted a particular Paribhâshâ, and which, as they *have* been employed by Pâṇini, indicate therefore that that particular Paribhâshâ cannot have been regarded by him as universally valid. The quotations show besides that the special statements regarding the want of universal validity of some Paribhâshâs have in most cases like the Paribhâshâs themselves been taken by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa from the Mahâbhâshya.

To infer from Nâgojîbhaṭṭa's silence regarding the now remaining 53 Paribhâshâs, that each of them has been considered by him absolutely valid and binding under any circumstances, would be incorrect; for not only do we see him state distinctly

that what is established by a *Jnâpaka* is not universally true, and that we are not to derive from a Paribhâshâ which is established by a *Jnâpaka* or *Nyâya* any results that might be undesirable,[1] a sentiment which appears to have been held already by Kaiyaṭa,[2] but we also find that his commentators, professing to give Nâgojîbhaṭṭa's own views, have stated in individual cases that a particular Paribhâshâ, about which Nâgojîbhaṭṭa himself is silent, cannot be regarded as universally valid. (See Transl. pag. 288, note 2 ; 352, note 2 etc). The test of the universal validity of a Paribhâshâ is after all to the Hindû grammarian only this, whether or not its adoption in all cases in which it may be applicable would lead to the correct forms of the actual language, and a Paribhâshâ is accordingly considered valid so long as correct forms only result from its application, and not valid as soon as its application would give rise to incorrect forms.

(*c*). Are such Paribhâshâs as we meet with in the present work at all necessary for a proper interpretation and application of the rules of Pâṇini's grammar? In other words, has Pâṇini himself adopted them and has he been guided by them in the composition of his Sûtras? Though we are unable at present to answer this question satisfactorily in regard to every Paribhâshâ which has found a place in the Paribhâshendus'ekhara, nay though we have to admit that there are among the Paribhâshâs which have been adopted by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa at least a few[3] which may have been invented by later grammarians 'either to palliate the shortcomings of Pâṇini, or to make his rules so conveniently elastic as to extend from the time at which

1. Transl. pag. 508.
2. Transl. pag. 183, and note 2.
3. Such as, to give only one instance, Par. CXIV.

lived down to a period of linguistic development which could not but find them defective in many respects'[1]—yet we feel sure and may state at least so much that any one who will work his way through the Paribhâshendus'ekhara at the hand of the author of the 'Great Commentary', can arrive at no other conclusion but this that by far the greatest number of the Paribhâshâs which have been collected and explained here and by far the most important of them must, either consciously or unconsciously, have been adopted already by Pâṇini and must therefore be adopted also by us when we wish to explain and apply the rules of that great grammarian, or to ascertain the value and accuracy of their traditional interpretation. To test independently the bearing and validity and to ascertain the authorship of every single Paribhâshâ will necessitate an amount of labour which we can only hope to go through in years of patient and wearisome study; to do so at present would oblige us to defer still longer the publication of this translation which has been delayed already so long, and which, with all its shortcomings and defects, may not, we trust, be quite unacceptable to the student of Sanskṛit grammar.

In addition to the commentaries of Vaidyanâthabhaṭṭa Pâyagunḍa, Bhairavamis'ra, and Râghavendrâchârya, which have been mentioned already in the preface to my text of the Paribhâshendus'ekhara, I have used for the translation an excellent commentary entitled Chitprabhâ which has been composed by Brahmânanda-Sarasvatî and appears to have been based chiefly on Pâyagunḍa's Paribhâshendus'ekhara-kâs'ikâ.[2] But with all the

1. Goldstücker's Pâṇini, pag. 112.

2. A portion (Par. I.—XLIX.) of another commentary entitled *Sarvamangalâ* and composed by S'eshas'arman I purchased three years ago for the Library of Deccan College. Another commentary, the *Paribhâshârthamanjarî* by Bhîma, son of one Mâdhavâchârya, has lately been

valuable help afforded by these works, I should hardly have been able to accomplish my task, had I not been assisted in it by my learned friends and colleagues, Chintâmaṇi S'âstrî Thatte, Ananta S'âstrî Pendharkar and the late Viṭṭhal Râv Gaṇes' Patvardhan.[1] There is not a page, I might almost say, not a line in my whole translation the contents of which have not been submitted again and again to their criticism, and though I have honestly tried to form my own opinion and to judge independently in every difficulty, though I am ready to bear the blame for any errors and inaccuracies which I cannot hope to have escaped altogether, yet it would be wrong not to acknowledge here the great and invaluable benefit which I have derived from the learning and intelligent discussion of my fellow-teachers. It is sad to see the number of great S'âstrîs, distinguished no less for their humility and modesty than for their learning and in-

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lent to me by my colleague Prof. R. G. Bhândârkar. I need hardly say that many more commentaries could have been acquired, had it been thought necessary.

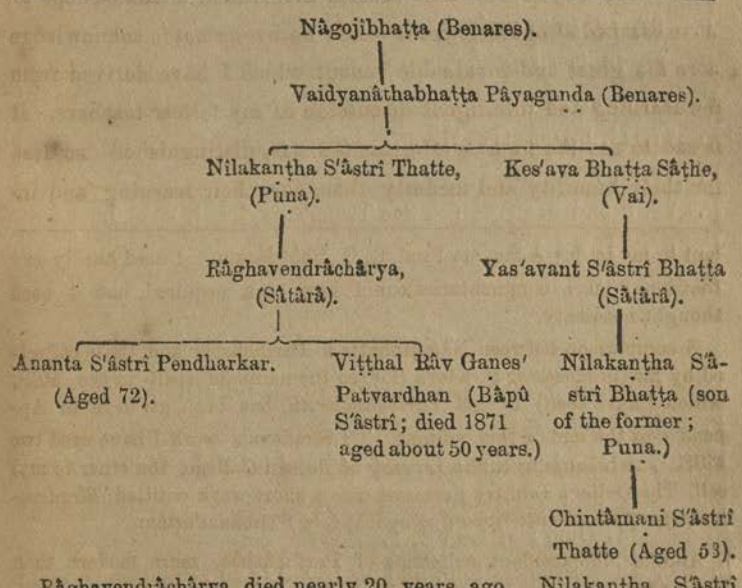
A comparison between Nâgojibhaṭṭa's Paribhâshâs and those collected by his predecessor Sîradeva (for so the name is spelt in the MSS. which I have seen) in his *Paribhâshâvritti*, has been given in an Appendix at the end of this volume. Of Sîradeva's work I have used two MSS., one belonging to the Library of Deccan College, the other to myself. The College Library possesses also a short work entitled *Sîradeva-brihatparibhâshâvritti-tippanî vijayâkhyâ, by* S'rimânas'arman.

Another independent collection of Paribhâshâs, more modern than that of Nâgojîbhaṭṭa, is entitled *Paribhâshâpradîpârchih*; to judge from the College copy of this work, which seems to be incomplete, the name of its author appears to be Udayankara; but in a MS. Catalogue of the Sanskṛit works extant in the Central Provinces the author of the *Paribhâshâpradîpârchih* is called Nâna-pâṭhaka.

1. The subjoined table shows the spiritual relationship of my friends with Nâgojibhaṭṭa himself by giving the names of the intermediate teachers:

ligence, diminish year after year, and to feel that with them there is dying away more and more of that traditional learning which we can so ill dispense with in the interpretation of the enigmatic works of Hindû antiquity, but it appears to me all the more to be the duty of both Native and European Sanskrit scholars to save as much as can still be saved, and to fix in writing what in less than half a century will otherwise be irreparably lost.

Deccan College, March 1874. F. KIELHORN.


Nâgojibhaṭṭa (Benares).
Vaidyanâthabhaṭṭa Pâyagunda (Benares).
Nilakaṇṭha S'âstrî Thatte, (Puna).
Kes'ava Bhaṭṭa Sâṭhe, (Vai).
Râghavendrâchârya, (Sâtârâ).
Yas'avant S'âstrî Bhaṭṭa (Sâtârâ).
Ananta S'âstrî Pendharkar. (Aged 72).
Viṭṭhal Râv Ganes' Patvardhan (Bâpû S'âstrî; died 1871 aged about 50 years.)
Nîlakaṇṭha S'âstrî Bhaṭṭa (son of the former; Puna.)
Chintâmani S'âstrî Thatte (Aged 53).

Râghavendrâchârya died nearly 20 years ago. Nilakaṇṭha S'âstrî Thatte and Kes'ava Bhaṭṭa Sâṭhe were fellow-students of V. Pâyagunda at Benares and the former when about 80 years old was known to Ananta S'âstrî who then was quite a young man.

CORRECTIONS.

TEXT.

P. 6, 14. ° जन्तस्यात्त्वं.

P. 38. Par. XLII. is not परान्नित्यं बलवत्, but कृताकृतप्रसङ्गि नित्यं तद्विपरीतमनित्यम्. See Transl. pag. 209, note 1.

P. 50, 13. Om. समानाश्रयस्य. See Transl. pag. 265, note 2.

P. 65. Par. LVII. is not अन्तरङ्गादप्यपवादो बलीयान्, but येन नाप्राप्ते यो विधिरारभ्यते स तस्य बाधको भवति. See Transl. pag. 320, note 1.

P. 67, 12. क्वचिदपवादविषये.

P. 72, 16. शेषग्रहणमनर्थकं.

P. 77, 9. ४.१.२५.

P. 77, 14. नद्यन्तप्रकृतिकसुबन्तोत्तर°.

P. 79, 5. जोट.

P. 92, 5 and 6. शविकरणस्य. See Transl. pag. 434, note 5.

P. 97, 11. २.३.३७.

P. 109, 7. अन्यथा.

TRANSLATION.

P. 1, 8 and p. 509, 1. See Preface pag. iv. etc.

P. 52, 4. Read नु instead of न.

P. 97, 4. Read 'as an independent rule' instead of 'in the form of a Vârttika.'

P. 128, 11. Om. 1 after VI., 3.

P. 160, 2 from the bottom, and p. 180, 2 from the bottom. Read 'Chitprabhâ' instead of 'Sarvamangalâ'.

P. 171, 13. Read 'is naturally established as correct', instead of 'is established by a maxim accepted in grammar'. And in note 5 omit the words 'it is established—for'.

P. 492, 3 from the bottom. Read 2 instead of 1.

HOMAGE TO GAṆES'A!

Having paid homage to S'iva who, though united with Ambâ, is the supreme object of meditation, the learned Nâges'a composes the Paribhâshendus'ekhara, that students may learn (the Paribhâshâs) with ease.

(In this work) are explained the Paribhâshâs which in the works of older grammarians[1] were given as Sûtras but are in this grammar of Pâṇini's (mostly) established by Jnâpakas and Nyâyas, provided[2] they are contained in the Bhâshya and the Vârttikas.

PARIBHÂSHÂ I.

The same letter ण् is made use of (as Anubandha) both in (the sixth S'ivasûtra) ऌण् and in (the first) अ इ उण्; there arises consequently the doubt whether (the Pratyâhâras) अण् and इण्, when they are employed (in Pâṇini's grammar, are formed with the ण् of the former or with the ण् of the latter Sûtra), and one might (on that account) consider it impossible to ascertain (what

1 *I. e.*, Indra and others.

2 Hereby Nâgojibhatta intimates that those Paribhâshâs which are actually given in Pâṇini's grammar, will not be explained, and that some Paribhâshâs of the older grammarians are not authoritative.

Pâṇini intends to denote by अण् and इण् when he employs these terms. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. I : The precise (meaning of an ambiguous term) is ascertained from interpretation, for (a rule), even though it contain an ambiguous term, must nevertheless teach (something definite).

I.e., the precise (meaning of an ambiguous term), *i.e.*, what particular meaning out of the two or more (meanings which an ambiguous term may convey) it actually does convey (in a particular rule), is ascertained from the interpretation[1] given by the learned,[2] for a rule must necessarily teach something (definite) even though (one of its terms) be ambiguous ; the reason being that a rule ought to teach something which does not admit of any doubt. In other words : the object of this grammar (of Pâṇini's) is to teach something that does not admit of any doubt ; if Pâṇini then employs in it terms which are ambiguous (and on that account give rise to doubt) he informs[3] us thereby that inter-

1. *I. e.*, by traditional instruction of such kind as is described in the verse

पदच्छेदः पदार्थोक्तिर्विग्रहो वाक्ययोजना ।
आक्षेपोऽथ समाधानं व्याख्यानं षड्विधं मतम् ॥

'interpretation is considered to be concerned with the following six points, viz., the separation of the words, the rendering the meanings of the words, the analysis of the words formed by means of affixes or by composition, the construction of the sentences, the raising of objections, and afterwards the removal of them.'

2. *I. e.*, the author of the Bhâshya and others.

3. Nâgojibhatta purposely uses the word बोध्यते (and not ज्ञाप्यते) in order to show that the employment of the same Anubandha ण् in two Śivasûtras, although it suggests the existence of the Paribhâshâ under discussion, can nevertheless not be called its *Jnâpaka*. A Jnâpaka, meaningless and superfluous before the Paribhâshâ the existence of

pretation is the only means required for the removal of their ambiguity. Accordingly[1] (we learn from interpretation that) the term अण्, except in P. I., 1, 69, is formed by means of the (ण् of the) first (S'ivasûtra अ इ उण्), and that the term इण् is formed by means of the (ण् of the) subsequent (S'ivasûtra लण्). All this is found in the Bhâshya on the Sûtra लण्.

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which it indicates has been established by it, becomes necessary and significant, as soon as that Paribhâshâ has been accepted. Such is however not the case with the employment of ण् in the two S'ivasûtras.

1 तेन, *i. e.*, व्याख्यानेनैव. P.—The ambiguity being removed by the interpretation of the learned, it is useless to take the trouble to seek for Jnâpakas that might remove it.

Bhâshya on S'ivasûtra 6, लण्॥ अयं णकारो द्विरनुबध्यते पूर्वश्चैव परश्च। तत्राण्ग्रहणेष्विण्ग्रहणेषु च संदेहो भवति पूर्वेण वा स्युः परेण वेति। कतरस्मिंस्तावदण्ग्रहणे संदेहः। ढ्लोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः [६.३.१११] इति। असंदिग्धम्। पूर्वेण न परेण। कुत एतत्। परिभाषात्। न हि ढ्लोपे परेऽणः सन्ति। ननु चायमस्ति। आतृढ इति। आवृढ इति[2]। एवं तर्ह्यण्ग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्[3]पूर्वेण न परेण। यदि हि परेण स्यादण्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्। ढ्लोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽच इत्येव ब्रूयात्। अथवैतदपि न ब्रूयात्। अचो ह्येतद्भवति ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति॥ अस्मिंस्तर्ह्यण्ग्रहणे संदेहः। केऽणः [७. ४. १३.] इति। .....refuted as before. ॥ अस्मिंस्तर्ह्यण्ग्रहणे संदेहः। अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः [८. ४. ५७.] इति। .....similarly refuted. ॥ अस्मिंस्तर्ह्यण्ग्रहणे संदेहः। उरण् रपरः [१. १. ५१.] इति। असंदिग्धम्। पूर्वेण न परेण। कुत

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1. Ed. कतमस्मिन्. 2. Ed. आतृढम् आवृढामिति। 3. Ed. om. अण्ग्रहण.

एतत्। पराभावात्। न ह्युः स्थाने परेऽणः संभवन्ति[1]। ननु चाण्-मस्ति। कर्वर्थम्• हर्लर्थमिति। किं च स्यात्। यद्यत्र रपरैः[2] स्याद्वयो रेफयोः श्रवणं प्रसज्येत। हलो यमां यमि [८. ४. ६४.] इत्येवमेक-स्यात्र लोपो भविष्यति[3]। विभाषा स लोपः। विभाषा श्रवणं प्रसज्येत। अथ तर्हि नित्यो लोपो रो रि [८. ३. १४.] इति। पदान्तस्येत्येवं सः। न शक्यः पदान्तस्येति[4] विज्ञातुम्। इह हि लोपो न स्यात्। जर्गृधेर्लङ्। अजघाः। पास्पर्धेः। अपास्पा इति। इह तर्हि मातॄणां पितॄणामिति रपरत्वं प्रसज्येत। आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नात्र रपरत्वं भवति यदयमृत इद्धातोः [७. १. १००.] इति धातुग्रहणं करोति। कथं कृत्वा ज्ञाप-कम्। धातुग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम्। इह मा भूत्। मातॄणां पितॄणामिति। यदि चात्र रपरत्वं स्याद्धातुग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्। रपरत्वे कृतेऽनैन्त्यत्वा-दित्त्वं न भविष्यति। पश्यति त्वाचार्यो नात्र रपरत्वं भवतीति ततो धातुग्रहणं करोति। इहापि तर्हीत्त्वं[6] न प्राप्नोति। चिकीर्षति जिहीर्ष-तीति। मा भूदेवम्। उपधायाश्च [७. १. १०१.] इत्येवं भविष्यति। इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति। मातॄणां पितॄणामिति। तस्मात्तत्र धातुग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्। एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात्। अण्ग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्पूर्वेण न परेण। यदि हि[8] परेण स्यादण्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्। उरत्रपर इत्येव ब्रूयात्॥ अस्मिंस्तर्ह्यण्ग्रहणे संदेहः। अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः [१. १. ६९.] इति। असंदिग्धम्। परेण न पूर्वेण। कुत एतत्। सवर्णेऽण्ग्रहणं तपरं ह्युर्कृत् [७. ४. ७.]। यदयमुर्कृदिति तपरं[10] करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः

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1. Ed. सन्ति. 2. Ed. रपरत्वं. 3. Ed. भविष्यतीति. 4. Ed. शक्यः स पदान्तस्येत्येवं. 5. Ed. अन्त्यत्वात्. 6. Ed. om. इत्त्वं. 7. Ed. om. अण्ग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्. 8. Ed. om. हि. 9. Ed. सवर्णेऽण्. 10. Ed. ऋकारस्य तपरकरणं.

परेण न पूर्वेणेति ॥ इण्ग्रहणेषु तर्हि संदेहः । असंदिग्धम् । परेण न पूर्वेण[1] । कुत एतत् । ग्वोरन्यत्र (cf. VI, 4, 77) परेणेष् स्यात् । यत्रेच्छति पूर्वेण संमृद्य ग्रहणं तत्र करोति ग्वोरिति । तद्धुरु[2] भवति । कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् । तत्र विभक्तिनिर्देशे संमृद्य ग्रहणे चार्धचतस्रो मात्राः प्रत्याहारग्रहणे पुनस्तिस्रो मात्राः । सोऽयमेवं लघीयसा न्यासेन सिद्धे सति यद्गरीयांसं यत्नमारभते तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः परेण न पूर्वेणेति[3] ॥ किं पुनर्वर्णोत्सत्ताविवायं णकारो द्विरनुबध्यते । एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषा व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि संदेहादलक्षणमित्यणुदित्सवर्णं परिहाय पूर्वेणाण्ग्रहणं परेणेण्ग्रहणमिति व्याख्यास्यामः ॥

Nâgojîbhaṭṭa on सवर्णेऽण्ग्रहणं तपरं ॥ यदुर्कृत्सूत्रे तपरं करोति तज्ज्ञापकं सवर्णेऽण्ग्रहणं परणकारकमिति वार्त्तिकाक्षरार्थः ॥

The same on संमृद्य ॥ आदेशेन तौ निवर्त्येत्यर्थः ॥

Kaiyaṭa on अर्धचतस्र इति ॥ अर्धेन चतस्रः । चतुर्थी हि मात्रा तत्रार्धमिति ॥ किं पुनरिति । वर्णोत्सत्तिर्वर्णोच्छेदः । वर्णान्तरमनुबन्धः किं न क्रियत इत्यर्थः ॥ व्याख्यानत इति । न्यायादागमाद्वा शब्दशक्तिरनुसरणीयेत्यर्थः ॥

Nâgojîbhaṭṭa on the last words of Kaiyaṭa: ननु ज्ञापितेऽपि प्रवर्तकतया निवर्तकतया वा नास्य चारितार्थ्यमत आह । न्यायादिति । उक्तो न्यायः । आगम उपदेशपरंपरा तत्सिद्ध एवायमर्थो णकारानुबन्धनरूपस्वव्यवहारेण बोध्यत इत्यर्थः । एवं च व्याख्यानेनैव पूर्वणकारेण केचित्परणकारेणेति निर्णये ज्ञापकानुसरणक्लेशो वृथेति सूचितम् ॥

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1. Ed. पूर्वेण. 2. Ed. तच्च गुरु. 3. Ed. पूर्वेण.

PARIBHÂSHÂS II. AND III.

In order to show that there are two alternatives under which Saṃjnâs, (*i. e.*, technical terms or rules teaching them), and Paribhâshâs may be viewed in this[1] (grammar of Pâṇini's, the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. II: Saṃjnâs and Paribhâshâs remain where they are taught.

P. III: Saṃjnâs and Paribhâshâs are attracted by, (or unite with, the rules that enjoin certain) operations, (provided the Saṃjnâs occur or are valid in those rules, and provided the Paribhâshâs concern them).

यथोद्देशम् (is an Avyayîbhâva-compound, meaning) 'not going beyond the उद्देश'; and this (word उद्देश)[2] denotes 'the place where (a Saṃjnâ or a Paribhâshâ) is taught.' Saṃjnâs and Paribhâshâs are everywhere in grammar employed with that force and in that sense which is assigned to them by the meaning of a sentence in that place in which they are taught. 'Place' however we call in grammar simply the time of utterance, (*i. e.*, the time when a Saṃjnâ-rule or a Paribhâshâ is given).

According to Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 11 this (first) alternative refers to those scholars who accept what they are taught as they hear it, and who, when they have understood the meaning of a parti-

1. In order to establish a connection with the preceding, Nâgojîbhaṭṭa says तत्र 'in this,' *i. e.*, 'in this Śâstra,' the word लक्षणे being supplied from the last word अलक्षणम् of Paribhâshâ I.

2. अधिकरणसाधनश्चायम्, *scil.* उद्देशशब्दः.

ular sentence (in which a Saṃjñâ or a Paribhâshâ is taught) rest satisfied with the general knowledge[1] that what they have learned will be of some use on a future occasion.

Some[2] however (give the following explanation of the Yathoddes'apaksha). They maintain in regard to the Paribhâshâs that, as soon as one has learned the meaning *e. g.* of the sentence P. I., 1., 66. तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य (which is a Paribhâshâ), one has to ascertain in which (rules) a term is exhibited in the Locative case, has to place all these rules near the Paribhâshâ, has further, in order to construe each of them properly,[3] to repeat the (Paribhâshâ, which is) subservient (to them), as often as there are

1. ज्ञानमात्रेण ; P. मात्रपदेन विशेषज्ञानव्यावृत्तिः; they know generally that what they have learned will be useful, but they have not the special knowledge how it will be useful.—Cf. Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 11: यथोद्देशपक्षाश्रयेण परिहारः। कथं पुनरयं पक्षो यावता कार्यार्थत्वात्संज्ञापरिभाषस्य कार्यकालतैव न्याय्या। नैष दोषः। यदानुद्दिश्य प्रयोजनविशेषं प्रयोजनमात्रमभिसंधाय भविष्यति किंचिदनेन प्रयोजनमिति संज्ञापरिभाषं प्रणीयते तदा संभवत्येवायं पक्षो यथाश्रुतग्राहिप्रतिपत्तृपेक्षः। महावाक्यार्थपर्यालोचनप्रवृत्तप्रतिपत्तृपेक्षस्तु कार्यकालपक्षः॥

2. In order to show that Kaiyaṭa's view of the Yathoddes'apaksha is not merely open to objections, but is quite inadmissible, and to indicate his own dissent from Kaiyaṭa which he had already hinted at by saying कैयटः, Nâgojibhatta now gives from केचित्तु—आहुः (on pag. 4, 1), the established view of the Bhâshya; he does not however entirely approve even of this view (see below).—केचित्; *i. e.*, भाष्यतत्त्वविदः 'those who know the real meaning of the Bhâshya.'

3. P. संस्कारो विशिष्टवाक्यार्थनिश्चयः; *e. g.*, after one has placed the rule VI., 1, 77 इको यणचि near the Paribhâshâ तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य, one construes the former rule by the help of this Paribhâshâ thus : अचि परतः पूर्वस्याव्यवहितस्येको यण् भवति.—गुणभेदम्, *i. e.*, परिभाषाभेदम्; the Paribhâshâs are given for the sake of other rules and are therefore subservient to them.

rules (containing a Locative), and to form (of each rule with the Paribhâshâ that has thus been assigned to it) *one* sentence. The difference (between the Yathoddes'a- and Kâryakâlapaksha according to this view is this, that on the Yathoddes'apaksha the rules given in P. VIII, 2-4 cannot be placed near the Paribhâshâs contained in or indicated by a Jnâpaka in P. I.-VIII., 1, because they so far as the latter are concerned do not exist, whereas) on the Kâryakâlapaksha (the Paribhâshâs) are also placed (near those rules which are given) in P. VIII., 2-4.[1]

With a view to this very circumstance, (that the Paribhâshâs become united with the rules which they concern, on the Yathoddes'apaksha as well as on the Kâryakâlapaksha,) it has been said in the Bhâshya[2] on P. I., 1, 49: '*Adhikâras*, as is well known, are of three kinds; some elucidate, though standing in *one* place, the whole grammar, just as a bright-shining lamp illuminates a whole house.' Kaiyaṭa remarks on this passage, that the word *Adhikâra* denotes also a Paribhâshâ because the latter (like an Adhikâra) is given for the sake of other (rules), and that the word 'some' means 'the Paribhâshâs.'—The drift of all this is, that a Paribhâshâ by conveying its meaning becomes of service to the whole grammar just as a lamp illuminates with its light

1. On the Kâryakâlapaksha, therefore, a Paribhâshâ forms one sentence with any rule in Pâṇini's grammar, which it concerns, but on the Yathoddes'apaksha only with the rules in P. I.-VIII., 1. In both cases the meaning of the Paribhâshâ is learned in the place where the Paribhâshâ is taught.

2. Cf. Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 49: अधिकारो नाम त्रिप्रकारः। कश्चिदेकदेशस्थः सर्वशास्त्रमभिज्वलयति यथा दीपैः सुप्रज्वलितः सर्वं वेश्माभिज्वलयति ॥; Kaiyaṭa: अधिकारो नामेति। पारार्थ्यसाम्यात्परिभाषाप्यधिकार इत्युच्यते ॥ कश्चिदिति। परिभाषारूप इत्यर्थः ॥

1. Ed. सर्वं शास्त्र°. 2. Ed. प्रदीपः.

a whole house. And the above (passage from the) Bhâshya refers equally to both alternatives (the Yathoddes'a- and the Kâryakâlapaksha), because we learn from it that under both alternatives (a Paribhâshâ unites itself and) forms one sentence with each of the rules (which it concerns.) Regarding this (union, however,) there is this difference. On the Yathoddes'apaksha, all rules (that are concerned by particular Paribhâshâs) being present to the mind at the time when those Paribhâshâs are met with, each Paribhâshâ is understood so often as there are rules (concerned by it) and unites itself severally with all of them. This has been stated by Kaiyaṭa[1] on P. I., 1, 5: 'on the Yathoddes'apaksha the main rules are for their own proper construction placed near the rules subservient to them and cause the latter to be

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1. Cf. Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 5: अथवा कार्यकालं हि[1] संज्ञापरिभाषम् । यत्र कार्यं तत्र द्रष्टव्यम् । पुगन्तलघूपधस्य गुणो भवतीत्युपस्थितमिदं भवति क्ङिति नेति ॥ अथवा यदेतस्मिन्योगे क्ङिद्वचनं तदनवकाशम् । तस्यानवकाशत्वाद्गुणवृद्धी न भविष्यतः ॥ Kaiyata: यत्र गुणवृद्धी विधीयेते तत्र क्ङिति नेत्युपतिष्ठत इत्येवमियं परिभाषा भवति । तत्र पुगन्तलघूपधस्येत्यत्रास्या उपस्थाने सति येन नाव्यवधानमिति भिन्नमित्यादौ निषेधो भविष्यति ॥ अथवेति । मा भूत्परिभाषा । तथापि प्रतिषेधस्य प्रतिषेध्यापेक्षायां यावन्तो यादृशाः प्रतिषेधव्यास्तावन्ति प्रतिषेधसूत्राणीति पुगन्तलघूपधगुणे प्रतिषेध्ये ऽनवकाशाः प्रतिषेधो व्यवहितेऽपि प्रवर्तते ॥ अथवा यथोद्देशपक्षाश्रयेण भाष्यम् । तथा हि प्रधानान्यात्मसंस्काराय संनिधीयमानानि गुणभेदं प्रयुञ्जत इति यदेतस्मिन्नित्युक्तम् ॥

This passage refers in the first instance to the relationship between Nishedhas or rules forbidding something and Vidhis or rules enjoining that which the Nishedhas forbid. In the present case all rules that enjoin the substitution of Guna (*e. g.*, P. VII., 3, 86 पुगन्तलघूपधस्य च) have on the Yathoddes'apaksha to be placed near the Nishedha P. I., 1, 5 क्ङिति च; and the latter has to be repeated as many times as there are rules enjoining Guna, so that each of the latter rules may be taken together with, as it were, one copy of the Nishedha. See below.

1. Ed. om. हि.

understood as many times as there are main rules.' On the Kâryakâlapaksha however the Paribhâshâ is understood whenever any of the rules (concerned by it) is met with, and unites itself (with each of these rules.) In the above (quotation from the Bhâshya Patanjali) employs the phrase 'standing in *one* place' in order to show that, although the various (Paribhâshâs on the Kâryakâlapaksha) are understood whenever any (rules which they concern) are met with, they nevertheless do not actually assume a new position near these rules. The case is the same with people engaged in business transactions; although they visit various countries in pursuit of their vocations, they are nevertheless not called residents of those countries but inhabitants of the places in which their ancestors have been settled.

Rules[1] which forbid anything, as they require something particular that should be forbidden by them, must be taken together with the rules which enjoin (what they themselves forbid); and as they in this respect resemble the Paribhâshâs (which likewise unite themselves with the rules to which they relate), they also are called *Paribhâshâs* in the Bhâshya on P. I., *1*, *5*. They either form actually one sentence (with the rules that enjoin what they forbid) by entering them as limitations; or when they are added separately as exceptions to the rules, their meaning and the meaning of the rules of which they are exceptions are joined together so as to form one meaning.[2]

1. In the passage from the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 5, quoted above, Nishedhas are comprised under the term *Paribhâshâ*; this requires an explanation which is given here.

2. The terms पर्युदास and प्रसज्यप्रतिषेध are explained in the S'loka

पर्युदासस्तु विज्ञेयो यत्रोत्तरपदेन नञ्।
प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधस्तु क्रियया सह यत्र नञ्॥

A Saṃjnâ-rule however does on the Kâryakâlapaksha not by itself convey any meaning but does so only in conjunction with the meaning of a rule (in which the Saṃjnâ occurs). As therefore (the Saṃjnâ-rule) P. I., 1, 12 (by which the vowels ई and ऊ of अमी and अमू are termed *pragrihya*,) unites itself (on the Kâryakâlapaksha) with P. VIII., 4, 57 (in which the term *pragrihya* occurs), the substitution of मु etc. (for the द of अदस which is taught in P. VIII., 2, 80, etc.), is not (by P. VIII., 2, 1) *asiddha*, (*i. e.*, considered as not having taken place) in regard to it. For as (an operation) is asiddha in regard to (another) operation, (the meaning of P. VIII., 2, 1 being पूर्वस्मिन्कर्तव्ये परमसिद्धम्), it can be asiddha only after the (other) operation has become known; (in the present case), however, the (other) operation (viz., the application of the term *pragrihya* to the ई and ऊ of अमी and अमू) becomes known only when the rule (P. VIII., 4, 57 in which the term *pragrihya* occurs) is being taught, and as this rule and everything connected with it is (itself) asiddha (in regard to the preceding rule VIII., 2, 80) it cannot be included in the term पूर्व (of P. VIII., 2, 1 पूर्वत्रासिद्धम्. In other words, the substitution of मु which is taught in P. VIII., 2, 80, cannot be

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In the Nishedha P. I., 1, 5 क्ङिति च Guna and Vriddhi are forbidden, गुणवृद्धी being valid from one of the preceding rules. As soon as we, therefore, learn this Nishedha we have to place all rules that enjoin Guna or Vriddhi, (*e. g.*, P. VII., 3, 84 सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः) near it, and have to combine the Nishedha severally with each of these rules. This union may be effected in two ways. We may either unite the *words* of the Nishedha with those of, *e. g.*, P. VII., 3, 84 and form one sentence of both rules, thus: अक्ङित्सार्वधातुकादौ *i. e.* क्ङिद्भिन्नसार्वधातुकादौ गुणः; or we may place one rule close by the other, *e. g.*, thus, सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः (परयोर्गुणः), क्ङिति (परे गुणौ) न (भवति), and unite the *meanings* of both.

asiddha in regard to the application of the term *pragṛihya* taught in P. I., 1, 12, because P. I., 1, 12 does not precede, but follows upon, P. VIII., 2, 80, its position being near the rule P. VIII., 4, 57).

In like manner the question whether a Saṃjnâ-rule or another rule that applies simultaneously with it, ought to take effect, can only be decided after the meaning of the Saṃjnâ-rule has become known (in the place where a rule that contains the Saṃjnâ is taught), and consequently (the Saṃjnâ-rule) must, so far as the working of the Vipratishedha-rule (P. I., 4, 2.) is concerned, be considered as subsequent (to all rules that precede the rule in which the Saṃjnâ occurs). This is the reason why it has been said in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 12, that on the Kâryakâlapaksha the term *pragṛihya* (or the rule which teaches the application of this term) is subsequent to (the substitutes) अय् etc. (taught in P. VI., 1, 78 etc.).[1]

In regard, however, to the terms *Bha*, *Pada*, etc., taught in P. I., 4—II., 2 (where of several Saṃjnâs that apply simultaneously the subsequent one supersedes the preceding one) there exists only the Yathoddes'apaksha, and whenever therefore the Vipratishedha-rule P. I., 4, 2 is brought

1. Because, although the Pragṛihya-Saṃjnâ-rule in Pâṇini's grammar precedes the rule which teaches the substitution of अय्, etc., the meaning of the Saṃjnâ-rule is not learned in the place where the Saṃjnâ-rule is taught. With regard to Saṃjnâ-rules, therefore, it is clear that they on the Kâryakâlapaksha are *para* in reference to all rules that precede a rule in which the Saṃjnâ occurs or is valid. The Paribhâshâs, on the other hand, are even on the Kâryakâlapaksha *para* only in regard to such rules as actually precede them (or their Jnâpakas) in Pâṇini's work.—See below.

to bear on them, they are subsequent to (and supersede consequently) only such rules as actually precede them (in Pâṇini's grammar).[1] The terms *pada* etc. are also in P. VIII., 2-4 employed with that force which the meaning of the rules in which they are taught assigns to them. (As these terms) therefore (are on the Yathoddes'apaksha beyond any doubt valid also in P. VIII., 2-4), it has in the Bhâshya on P. VIII, 2, 1[2] only in

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1. If the Kâryakâlapaksha were admitted for the Samjnâ-rules which teach the meaning of *bha*, *pada*, etc., then the Pada-Samjnâ-rule I, 4, 17, for instance, would in the manner described before take its position near the rule P. VIII., 2, 7, in which the word पद is valid. Rule I, 4, 17 would then stand in P. VIII., 2-4 and being therefore asiddha in regard to the Bha-Samjnâ-rule I., 4, 18, would not be superseded by the latter rule. In the formation of *e. g.* the Accusative Plur. of राजन् (from राजन् + अस्), राजन् would consequently by P. I., 4, 17 be termed *Pada*, and would be subject to the substitution of Lopa for its final न् by VIII., 2, 7. On the Yathoddes'apaksha, on the other hand, the Bha-Samjnâ-rule follows upon and supersedes therefore the Pada-Samjnâ-rule.—P: When in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 13 the Kâryakâlapaksha of the Samjnâ *bha* is spoken of, then that must be considered as the statement of one who is only partly acquainted with the opinions of the author of the Bhâshya. Cf. note on Paribhâshâ XXXVII.

2. Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 1:

पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् ॥ येयं सपादसप्ताध्याय्यनुक्रान्तितस्यामयं पादोनोऽध्यायोऽसिद्धो वेदितव्यः । यदि सपादायां सप्ताध्याय्यामयं पादोनोऽध्यायोऽसिद्ध इत्युच्यते य इह सप्तमीनिर्देशाः पञ्चमीनिर्देशाः षष्ठीनिर्देशाश्चोच्यन्ते तेऽप्यसिद्धाः स्युः । तत्र को दोषः । झलो झलि [८. २. २६] इत्त्वादज्ञात् [८. २. २७] संयोगान्तस्य लोपः [८. २.२३] इत्येतेषां निर्देशानामसिद्धत्वात्तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य षष्ठी स्थानेयोगेत्येताः परिभाषा न प्रकल्पेरन् । नैष दोषः । यद्यपीदं तत्रासिद्धं तच्चिह सिद्धम् । कथम् । कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषं यत्र कार्यं तत्रैवोपास्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् । झलो झलि इत्त्वा-

regard to the Paribhâshâs been questioned whether they apply (also to rules) in P. VIII., 2-4; subsequently (the doubt thus raised) is removed by the adoption of the Kâryakâlapaksha.

The Yathoddes'apaksha[1] has been treated of in the Bhâshya in the chapter on the term *pragrihya*.

The word कार्यकालम्, on the other hand, means 'attracted by an operation' (or rather, by a rule that teaches an operation. The meaning of Paribhâshâ III. is consequently) in other words this, that (a rule which teaches) an operation requires for its own construction the Paribhâshâs that are indicated by certain peculiarities in the rule.[2] Therefore it has been said in the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 1, after it had

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दङ्गात् संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । उपस्थितमिदं भवति तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य षष्ठी स्थानेयोगेति ॥ यदि कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषमित्युच्यत इयमपि परिभाषास्ति विप्रतिषेधे परमिति सापीहोपतिष्ठेत । तत्र को दोषः । विस्फोर्यमवगोर्यमिति गुणाद्दीर्घत्वं स्याद्विप्रतिषेधेन । अत उत्तरं पठति । पूर्वत्रासिद्धे नास्ति विप्रतिषेधो ऽभावादुत्तरस्य । पूर्वत्रासिद्धे नास्ति विप्रतिषेधः । किं कारणम् । अभावादुत्तरस्य । द्वयोर्हि सावकाशयोः समवस्थितयोर्विप्रतिषेधो भवति न च पूर्वत्रासिद्धे परं पूर्वं प्रति भवति ॥ यद्येवं दोग्धा दोग्धुं घन्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्धत्वं प्राप्नोति । काष्ठतट् संयोगादिलोपस्यासिद्धत्वात्संयोगान्तलोपैः प्राप्नोति । अपवादो वचनप्रामाण्यात् । अनवकाशावेतौ विधी तौ वचनप्रामाण्याद्भविष्यतः । तस्मात्कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषमिति न दोषः ॥

For Kaiyaṭa's comment on the words तच्चिह सिद्धम् see pag. 16.

1. P: Nâgojibhaṭṭa adduces this proof for the existence of the Yathoddes'apaksha, because this alternative is weak.

2. *E. g.* In order to construe the rule इको यण्अचि, we must know the Paribhâshâ तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य which is indicated to us by the Locative case अचि; and we must likewise know the Paribhâshâ षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा indicated by the Genitive इकः.

1. By P. VIII., 2, 77. 2. By P. VIII., 2, 31. 3. By P. VIII., 2, 23.

previously been questioned whether the Paribhâshâs[1] contained in P. I.-VIII., 1 apply to the rules in P. VIII., 2-4, considering that these latter rules are asiddha (in regard to what precedes them in Pâṇini's grammar) : 'although what is taught in P. VIII., 2-4 is asiddha in regard to that which is taught before, nevertheless that which is taught in P., I.-VIII, 1 is siddha in regard to the rules in P. VIII., 2-4;' and when (the opponent) asks 'how is this?' intimating thereby that it is nevertheless (impossible for the Paribhâshâs in P. I-VIII., 1 to get near the rules in P. VIII., 2-4, so long as the latter are) asiddha, he is answered thus 'कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम्' *i. e.* 'Saṃjnâ-rules and Paribhâshâs must be considered to take their position near (the rules that enjoin) an operation (when they occur or are valid in, or concern, those rules).'[2]

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1. The Saṃjnâ-rules have been spoken of before.

2. The meaning of कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् is not 'Saṃjnâ-rules and Paribhâshâs are effective in the formation of a word at the same time (*kâla*) with (a *kârya*, *i. e.*,) a rule that teaches a certain operation.'—Saṃjnâ-rules and Paribhâshâs take their position by the rules that teach an operation (provided the Saṃjnâs occur or are valid in those rules, and provided the Paribhâshâs concern them), because they are postulated by the latter rules. A rule which teaches an operation postulates for its own completion or construction a certain Paribhâshâ; the Paribhâshâ, likewise, postulates as something to be completed or construed by it, the rules which it concerns. In P. I.-VIII., 1 the rules and Paribhâshâs postulate each other mutually, while rules in P. VIII., 2-4 only postulate their Paribhâshâs, but are not postulated by them. Kaiyaṭa is wrong when he adopts the interpretation of the Paribhâshâ mentioned at the beginning of this note, and assumes a *mutual* postulation also for the rules in P. VIII., 2-4 and their Paribhâshâs. The passage of

Now one might say, and one might support one's view by referring to Kaiyaṭa's remark on P., I, 1, 3,[1] that, when two Paribhâshâs concern the same rule, one ought according to the above on the Kâryakâlapaksha not to speak of one Paribhâshâ being *para i. e.* subsequent to the other, because they both stand in one and the same place, both being attracted by the same rule; and that consequently the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 66 which does assume *paratva* in such a case, does not agree with the preceding. The Bhâshya[2] *l. c.* says namely with reference to P. VIII., 3, 32 and similar rules[3] by which (as they contain a term that stands in the Ablative and another term in the Locative case) on the Kâryakâlapaksha the two Paribhâshâs P. I., 1, 67 तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य and P. I., 1, 66 तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य are attracted, that 'when in one and the same rule one term stands in the Locative and another in the Ablative case, the term which stands in the Ablative possesses great-

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Kaiyaṭa here referred to occurs in his comment on the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 1: तत्त्विह सिद्धमिति ॥ कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषमित्यस्मिन्दर्शने । संज्ञापरिभाषाणां ह्यत्यन्तपारार्थ्यान्न स्वातन्त्र्येण कार्यावगमे हेतुत्वं केवलमाचार्येण लाघवायानेकप्रधानाङ्गभावप्रतिपत्तये पृथगुपदेशः कृतः । ततश्च तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्येत्यनेन केवलेन न किंचित्क्रियते नापि झलो झलि [८. २. २६.] इत्यनेन । किं तर्हि । संहत्य कार्यं क्रियते । ततो झल्यनन्तरे पूर्वसकारस्य झलः परस्य लोप इति वाक्यार्थः इत्येकवाक्यतायां पौर्वापर्याभावादसिद्धत्वाभावः ॥.—On the Yathoddes'apaksha Paribhâshâs which stand in P. I.-VIII., 1, cannot attract rules in P. VIII., 2-4, because the latter are asiddha in regard to the former.

1. Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 3: यथोद्देशपक्षे परिभाषयोः पौर्वापर्यं न तु कार्यकालतायाम् ॥

2. Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 66: उभयनिर्देशो विप्रतिषेधात्य उच्चमीनिर्देशो भविष्यति॥; Kaiyaṭa: विप्रतिषेधादिति ॥ सूत्रपाठापेक्षया परस्य व्यवस्थापकत्वमित्यर्थः ॥

3. Like P. VIII., 3, 29 ङः सि धुट्.

er force than the other which stands in the Locative, (in other words, that Paribhâshâ 67 तस्मादि० supersedes Paribhâshâ 66 तस्मिन्नि०), because the former (in the order of Pâṇini's grammar) *follows* upon the latter Paribhâshâ.'—But (this statement of the Bhâshya) is quite correct (and the view according to which the one Paribhâshâ ought not to be considered as subsequent to the other, is) untenable, for the sequence spoken of in the Viprati-shedha-rule (P. I., 4, 2) is (so far as the Paribhâshâs are concerned) established by the order in which (the Paribhâshâs) are actually given in Pâṇini's grammar; nor does this (sequence) cease to exist because (Paribhâshâs) are viewed under the Kâryakâlapaksha. Both alternatives namely (the Yathoddes'a- and the Kâryakâlapaksha) do not differ in this point that in both (the Paribhâshâs do not themselves leave the places in which they are taught, but merely) convey their meaning concerning the rules to which they relate, (either in their own place or near those rules); for a lifeless (Paribhâshâ-)rule cannot even on the Kâryakâlapaksha leave its own place and go to that place (where a rule stands which it concerns), nor does it abandon its own place by the fact that we or others refer its meaning (to the rule which it concerns).[1] For this reason, (*i. e.*, because a Paribhâshâ does not really abandon its place,) was it stated in the Bhâshya (quoted above), that (a Paribhâshâ) 'although standing in *one* place, elucidates the whole grammar,' and for the same reason says Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 66 that 'the sequence in which we read (the Paribhâshâs) in Pâṇini's grammar decides

1. All this refers to the Paribhâshâs only; the Samjnâ-rules abandon, as we have observed before, on the Kâryakâlapaksha their own place and take their position near the rules in which the Samjnâ occurs or is valid. See below.

the question, which is to supersede which.' Kaiyaṭa's (remark) on P. I., 1, 3, however, (which was alluded to before,) is untenable.[1] Else, (were we to admit the view expressed by Kaiyaṭa

1. In reality sequence of rules is, so far as the Vipratishedha-rule is concerned, *everywhere* established by the order in which the rules are actually given in Pâṇini's grammar, and the Samjñâ-rules form even on the Kâryakâlapaksha no exception. Nâgojîbhaṭṭa does not admit the statement on p. 3, 11 'एवं तर्ह्योत्तरमेव विरोधप्रतिसंधानं चेति तत्यपरत्वमेव विप्रतिषेधसूत्रप्रवृत्तौ बीजम्' and he therefore (on p. 2, 4) has introduced the long passage of which that statement forms part, with the words केचित्तु. Had he altogether approved of the views propounded in the words केचित्तु—आहुः, then he would have introduced them with the words परे तु, as he does elsewhere. His own view he states when commenting on the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 12. The Vârttikakâra adopts on P. I., 1, 12 the view that a Samjñâ-rule takes its position near the rules, in which the Samjñâ occurs or is valid, and that it is *para* in reference to all rules that precede the rules near which it has taken its position. He says namely first that, ई, ऊ, and म् in अमी and अमू being asiddha (and the latter words therefore really = अदे and अदौ, in instances like अमी आसते, अमू आसाते, and अमी अत्र) the Sandhi-rule P. VI., 1, 78 which teaches the substitution of अय् for ए, and of आव् for औ, and P. VI., 1, 109 which teaches the substitution of ए for ए + अ would apply, if their application were not forbidden. Thereupon he goes on to say विप्रतिषेधाद्वा *i. e.* 'or when the question arises whether (in अमी आसते etc.) the term *pragrihya* is to be applied by P. I., 1, 12, or अय् etc. to be substituted by P. VI., 1, 78 etc. the term *pragrihya* will be applied by the Vipratishedha-rule'. To this the objection is raised that by the Vipratishedha-rule a subsequent rule supersedes a preceding one, whereas in the present instance the rules which teach the substitution of अय् etc. are preceded and not followed by the Pragrihya-Samjñâ-rule. This objection is answered with एवं तर्हि परत्वेन प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा । कथम् । कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् । यत्र कार्यं तत्रोपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् । प्रगृह्याः प्रकृत्येत्युपस्थितमिदं भवति । अदसो मादीति । By the Paribhâshâ कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् the Samjñâ-rule stands (near P. VI., 1,

on P. I., 1, 3 to be correct, then one might also maintain that), the object of all rules being the formation of words, they all stand, because they meet in the formation of words, in one and the same place, and thus there would nowhere be any sequence (of rules). Moreover, as in the manner described by Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 5, the rules (that are concerned by certain Paribhâshâs) are on the Yathoddes'apaksha placed near their Paribhâshâs, their sequence (also) would be destroyed. And (all sequence of rules having) thus (ceased), such (statements) as this that 'in (the formation of) वृक्षेभ्यः ए is by P. VII., 3, 103 substituted (for the final अ of वृक्ष) in supersession of (the lengthening of the final अ taught in) P. VII., 3, 102, because the rule (which teaches the substitution of ए) *follows* (upon the other rule),' would be subverted. Sapienti sat.

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125 and is therefore *para* in regard to P. VI., 1, 78 and 109 which rules teach the substitution of अय् etc. Here Nâgojîbhaṭṭa states his own view thus: परे तु परैवेत्यस्य संज्ञापदेन तत्कार्यं प्रकृतिभाव उच्यत इति भावः। आशयानभिज्ञस्य प्रश्नः। कथमिति। एकदेशिन् उत्तरं कार्यकालमित्यादीत्याहुः॥ एतेन कार्यकालपक्षे ऽ पि पाठकृतपरत्वमयादीनामेव॥ 'Others however (and I concur with them) say, that the word *pragṛihya-samjnâ* of the Bhâshya denotes that which is to be caused by it, viz. the unchangeableness of the vowels called *pragṛihya*; that the question 'how is this?' is raised by somebody who does not understand the purport of the preceding; and that the answer to it contained in the words कार्यकालम् etc. does not convey the established opinion of Patanjali, but merely the view of somebody who is only partly acquainted with what Patanjali considers correct. Accordingly the rules which teach the substitution of अय् etc. stand even on the Kâryakâlapaksha *after* the Pragṛihya-samjnâ-rule, just as they in Pânini's grammar are read after it.'

Nâgojîbhaṭṭa has stated that the Yathoddes'apaksha has been treated of by Patanjali in the chapter on the Pragṛihya-saṃjnâ. We proceed therefore to give a short analysis of part of the Bhâshya on P. I, 1, 11 (Ballantyne Ed. p. 345) which may serve to illustrate the bearing of both Paribhâshâs II. and III. on Saṃjnâ-rules. The Bhâshya commences with the statement that if we read in P. I., 1, 11 ईत्, ऊत् and एत्, the pluta vowels ३ई, ३ऊ, and ३ए will not be termed *pragṛihya*, because ईत्, ऊत् and एत् denote on account of their final त् the vowels ई, ऊ and ए containing two Mâtrâs, whereas the pluta vowels ३ई, ३ऊ, ३ए contain three Mâtrâs. Hereupon begins the following discussion: 'The pluta vowels (being taught in P. VIII, 2-4) are (in regard to the Pragṛihya-saṃjnâ-rule) asiddha, contain therefore (in regard to it) only two Mâtrâs, (and will be termed pragṛihya by P. I., 1, 11).' "The pluta vowels are siddha in regard to the Sandhi of vowels." 'How do you know this?' "It results from the fact that Pâṇini in VI., 1, 125 teaches that a pluta vowel remains unchanged when it is followed by a vowel." 'How does this proceeding of Pâṇini indicate that pluta vowels are siddha in regard to the Sandhi of vowels?' "It does indicate it because only something actually existing can undergo an operation; (if a pluta vowel because of its being taught in P. VIII, 2-4, were asiddha in regard to a Sandhi-rule in P. VI., Pâṇini would not teach in VI., 1, 125, that a pluta vowel remains unchanged when it is followed by a vowel)." 'What is the object for which Pâṇini indicates in VI., 1, 125, that pluta vowels are siddha in regard to the Sandhi of vowels?' "The object is this, that we need not read the words अम्नादप्लुते in P. VI., 1, 113. (If pluta vowels are siddha in regard to a Sandhi-rule, it suffices to say in P. VI., 1, 113 अतो रोः, for the त् both of अतः and of the supplied अति will prevent

us from applying the rule to pluta vowels.)" 'What does follow from the fact that pluta vowels are siddha in regard to the Sandhi of vowels? They are still asiddha in regard to a Saṃjnâ-rule, contain therefore (so far as P. I., 1, 11 is concerned) only two Mâtrâs (and will be termed pragṛihya by P. I., 1, 11).' "The pluta vowels are siddha likewise in regard to the Saṃjnâ-rule." 'How is this possible?' "कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम्। यत्र कार्यं तत्रोपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम्। प्रगृह्यः प्रकृत्येत्युपस्थितमिदं भवति। ईदूदेद्द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यमिति। Saṃjnâ-rules and Paribhâshâs must be considered to take their position near the rules that teach an operation, provided the Saṃjnâs occur or are valid in them, and provided the Paribhâshâs concern them. (According to this Paribhâshâ) the Saṃjnâ-rule P. I., 1, 11 has taken its position near the (Sandhi-) rule P. VI., 1, 125 प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि (and the pluta vowels being siddha in regard to the latter rule are therefore likewise siddha in regard to P. I., 1, 11)."

'What reason is there, however, why a pluta vowel should be termed pragṛihya?' "The reason is that it should possess the unchangeableness which would result from its being pragṛihya." 'For the sake of the unchangeableness the application of the term pragṛihya to a pluta vowel is unnecessary, for the unchangeableness will result from प्लुतः प्रकृत्या (of P. VI., 1, 125).' "This[1] cannot be admitted, for by admitting it we should disagree with the statement on P. VI., 1, 129 according to which the unchangeableness which (by the rule प्लुतः प्रकृत्या) attaches to a vowel on account of its being *pluta* is entirely distinct from the unchangeableness which (by the rule प्रगृह्यः प्रकृत्या) attaches to a vowel on account of its being *pragṛihya*; or, in other words, according to which a pluta vowel may lose the unchangeableness that

1. The above is not a literal translation of the words of the Bhâshya.

accrues to it from the rule प्लुतः प्रकृत्या, and still retain that unchangeableness which accrues to it from the rule प्रगृह्याः प्रकृत्या. Therefore we ought (in addition to P. I., 1, 11) to make the rule that pluta ई३, ऊ३ and ए३ must likewise be termed pragṛihya, in order that they may possess the unchangeableness that would result from their being termed pragṛihya."

'But suppose we were in P. I., 1, 11 to read ई३, ऊ३, and ए३, instead of ईत्, ऊत्, and एत्, (would it also in that case be necessary to make the additional rule)?' "(Certainly, for) even then only the vowel ए३ would denote (also) the vowels homogeneous to it (and therefore also pluta ए३) but ई३ and ऊ३ would not do so." 'Why not?' "Because they are not contained in the Pratyâhâra अण् (and because therefore P. I., 1, 69 does not apply to them)."

'Suppose, then, we were in P. I.,1, 11 to read इ३, उ३, ए३ (instead of ईत्, ऊत्, एत्? (Here इ३ and उ३ would by P. I., 1, 69 denote the vowels homogeneous to them and therefore also ई३ and ऊ३, because इ३ and उ३ *are* contained in the Pratyâhâra अण्).' "This is impossible, for in this case the term pragṛihya would be applied also *e. g.* to the final इ३ of अकुर्वीहि."

'We must therefore leave the rule P. I., 1, 11 as Pâṇini has given it, *i. e.* read in it the long vowels ईत्, ऊत्, and एत्. At the same time, if we do so, the pluta vowels ई३, ऊ३, and ए३ will not be termed pragṛihya by P. I., 1, 11. (How can we get rid of this difficulty?) Only by rejecting the opinion that pluta vowels are siddha in regard to the Sandhi of vowels, an opinion which was established by rather too many artifices (such as the assumption of a Jnâpaka and the actual change of one of Pâṇini's rules). Pluta vowels are asiddha, contain therefore only two Mâtrâs (and will be termed pragṛihya by P. I., 1, 11)." "How about

the Jnâpaka mentioned above, प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि, (which was said to indicate that pluta vowels are siddha in regard to the Sandhi of vowels)?" 'प्लुतः प्रकृत्या (does not mean, that a pluta vowel is unchangeable, but) means, that a vowel for which a pluta vowel will be substituted, is unchangeable.' "But what about the object (for which Pâṇini was said to have indicated that pluta vowels are siddha in regard to the Sandhi of vowels), viz. that we need not read the words अप्लुतादप्लुते in P. VI., 1, 113?" '(To this we simply answer that Pâṇini) has actually given the words अप्लुतादप्लुते in VI., 1, 113.'

("So far so good. Still we maintain that we want a rule, in addition to P. I., 1, 11, to teach us that the pluta vowels ई३, ऊ३, and ए३ are likewise pragṛihya. In the preceding we have mentioned the Paribhâshâ कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् and have said that by it the Saṃjnâ-rule takes its position near the rules that teach an operation, when the Saṃjnâ occurs or is valid in them. P. I., 1, 11 took, as we have seen, its position near P. VI., 1, 125 प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि, and we admit now that the pluta vowels, being asiddha in regard to P. VI., 1, 125, are asiddha also in regard to P. I., 1, 11. However, by the same Paribhâshâ,) the Saṃjnâ-rule I., 1, 11 stands likewise near P. VIII., 4, 57 अणो ऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः, and as the pluta vowels are siddha in regard to *this* rule (being taught before it) they are likewise siddha in regard to the Saṃjnâ-rule. (The result hereof is that, as far as the working of P. VIII., 4, 57 on *e. g.*, अग्नी३ is concerned, the final ई३ is not pragṛihya and we may therefore substitute for it the anunâsika ई३)." 'एवं तर्हि किं न एतेन यत्नेन कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषमिति। ययोद्देशमेव संज्ञापरिभाषम्। अत्र चासावसिद्धः। तस्यासिद्धत्वात्तत्काला एव भवन्ति॥ Very well; we give up the Paribhâshâ कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् and adopt the Paribhâshâ which teaches us that Saṃjnâ-rules and Paribhâshâs remain in the place where they are taught.

And under this view the pluta vowel is asiddha (in regard to the Pragṛihya-Saṃjnâ-rule I., 1, 11) contains therefore only two Mâtrâs (and will be termed pragṛihya by P. I., 1, 11).'

In order to illustrate the difference between the Yathoddes'a- and Kâryakâlapaksha in regard to Paribhâshâs, we quote the remarks of Bhaṭṭojîdîkshita on the formation of the Acc. Plur. राज्ञः (Si. Kau. I., p. 155) and on that of the Acc. Plur. प्रियाष्टः (Si. Kau. I., p. 163); in the former passage the Yathoddes'apaksha has been adopted, in the latter the Kâryakâlapaksha.

(*a*). The *Yathoddes'apaksha:* Si. Kau. अल्लोपोऽनः। श्नुत्वम् । न चाल्लोपः स्थानिवत्पूर्वलासिद्धे तन्निषेधात् । नापि बहिरङ्गत्वयासिद्धो यथोद्देशपक्षे षाष्टीं परिभाषां प्रति श्नुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वयान्तरङ्गाभावे परिभाषाया अप्रवृत्तेः । जश्त्वोर्ज्ञः । राज्ञः ॥

शस् is the affix of the Acc. Plur.;

राजन्+शस् becomes by P. I., 3, 8 and 9

राजन्+अस्; here राजन् is termed *Bha* by P. I., 4, 18; consequently there applies P. VI., 4, 134 (अल्लोपोऽनः), which teaches the substitution of Lopa for the अ of राजन्. This substitution is indirectly caused by the affix अस्, because it is this affix which is the cause of राजन् being termed *Bha*. By the substitution of Lopa for अ, we obtain राज्न् + अस्. Here applies P. VIII., 4, 40 (स्तोः श्चुना श्चुः) by which ञ् should be substituted for न्.

Now arises the question whether P. I., 1, 57 (अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ one meaning of which rule is this, 'that a substitute for a vowel (such as Lopa for अ) when it is caused by something following (as *e. g.* by the affix अस्) is to be considered as not having taken place in regard to a rule which concerns that (न्) which follows upon that (ज्) which originally preceded the vowel (अ) for which the substitute (Lopa) has been substituted') applies here. If it did apply, ज् न् would be regarded as still separated by अ, and ञ् would not be substituted for न्. However, P. I., 1, 57 does not

apply, because the rule which teaches the substitution of ञ् for न् stands in P. VIII., 2-4 and because consequently the application of P. I., 1, 57 is in this case forbidden by the Vârttika on P. I., 1, 58 पूर्वत्रासिद्धे न स्थानिवत्.

But one might raise another objection to the substitution of ञ् for न्. The substitution of ञ् for न् is caused by the meeting of the two letters ज् and न्; the substitution of Lopa for the अ of राजन्, on the other hand, is caused, as we have seen, by the following affix अस्; the substitution of ञ् is therefore antaranga, and the substitution of Lopa for अ bahiranga. If we then apply here the Antaranga-paribhâshâ (Paribh. L.), the bahiranga substitute Lopa for अ will be asiddha *i. e.* regarded as not having been substituted, so far as the antaranga substitution of ञ् for न् is concerned; in other words, ज् and न् will be regarded as still separated by अ and the substitution of ञ् for न् can therefore not take place.

This objection is met by the statement that Paribhâshâs remain in the place where they are taught. The Antaranga-paribhâshâ, indicated as it is by ञ्ठ् in P. VI., 4, 132, stands on the Yathoddes'apaksha near the rule P. VI., 4, 132; consequently the substitution of ञ् for न्, being taught in P. VIII., 4, 40, is in regard to it asiddha, *i. e.* the substitute ञ्, which was said to be antaranga, does so far as the Antaranga-paribhâshâ is concerned not exist; it follows therefore that, as there is no antaranga, the Antaranga-paribhâshâ cannot apply, and that the substitution of Lopa for अ is not asiddha.—We substitute consequently ञ् for न् and obtain thus the form राज् ञ्+अस्=राज्ञः. (Cf. also Si. Kau. I., p. 157. प्रतिदीव्नः.)

(*b*). The *Káryakálapaksha*: Si. Kau: शसि प्रियाष्टुः। इह पूर्वस्मादपि विभावक्रोपस्य स्थानिवद्भावान्न ष्टुत्वं कार्यकालपक्षे बहिरङ्गस्याक्रोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्वा ॥

प्रियाष्टन्+शस्;=प्रियाष्टन्+अस्;=प्रियाष्ट् न्+अस्; here P. VIII., 4, 41 (ष्टुना ष्टुः) is applicable and by it ण् should be substituted for न्. But the taking effect of P. VIII., 4, 41 is prevented by the circumstance that the substitution of Lopa for अ must be considered as not having taken place; for in this case P. I., 1, 57 is not invalidated by the Vârttika पूर्वत्रासिद्धे न स्थानिवत्, because this Vârttika is limited by the other Vârttika (on P. I., 1, 58) तस्य दोषः संयोगादिलोपलक्षणत्वेषु. ष् and न् being regarded as separated by अ, न् cannot be changed to ण् by P. VIII., 4, 41.

Besides the substitution of ण् for न् is also prevented by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ. By that Paribhâshâ the bahiranga substitution of Lopa for अ is asiddha in regard to the antaranga substitution of ण् for न्, consequently ष् and न् are regarded as still separated by अ, and P. VIII., 4, 41 cannot take effect. One might object, that, as in the case of राज्ञः, so also here the Antaranga-paribhâshâ does not apply, because the substitution of ण् for न्, as being taught in P. VIII., 4, 41, is asiddha in regard to the Antaranga-paribhâshâ which stands near P. VI., 4, 132. But this objection is easily refuted. In the case of राज्ञः we had recourse to the Yathoddes'apaksha, but in the present instance we adopt the Kâryakâlapaksha. On the Kâryakâlapaksha the Antaranga-paribhâshâ stands near the antaranga rule P. VIII., 4, 41, and the substitution of ण् for न् which is taught by the latter rule, is therefore not asiddha in regard to the Antaranga-paribhâshâ. As therefore in this case an antaranga operation does exist, there is nothing to prevent the application of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ. (Cf., however, the Antaranga-paribhâshâ).

PARIBHÂSHÂS IV. AND V.

Anubandhas (*i. e.* indicatory letters etc. attached)' are the (letters etc.) termed *it*; as it may appear doubtful whether they are or are not part (of that to which they are attached, the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. IV: The Anubandhas are no part (of that to which they are attached);

for that which forms part of anything is certainly some time or other observed in or on that (of which it is a part); but such is not the case with an Anubandha because we never see it in or on that which is intended to be denoted (by the term to which the Anubandha is attached).[1] In the case of such (Bahuvrîhi compounds) as शित् 'that whose Anubandha is श्', कित् 'that whose Anubandha is क्', the composition must be regarded to have taken place (not because श् or क् *are* part of the terms to which they are attached, but) because they, though (in reality they merely) stand near (those terms), have by a kind of metaphor been considered part of them.

However (one might object that, if the Anubandhas did not form part of the terms to which they are attached but did merely stand near them, then in rules like P. IV., 2, 80 वुञ्छण्क° the letter ण् ought to be considered as Anubandha both of the preceding छ and of the following क, for it stands near both, and consequently the operation which results from an affix having the Anubandha

1. The branch of a tree, although, after it has been cut off, it does not appear on the tree, was observed on it before; therefore Nâgojîbhaṭṭa says 'is *some time or other* observed'. In the real language we see the affixes अ, इ, etc. which are intended to be denoted by अच्, इञ् etc., but we never see their Anubandhas च्, ञ् etc.

ण् ought to take place both in the case of the affix उ and also in that of क. But this objection is easily refuted; for) such facts as this 'that in cases like P. IV., 2, 80 तृऽछण्क्° the operation which results from (an affix) having the Anubandha ण् (results from ण्) only in so far as it is connected with the preceding (उ and not in so far as it is connected with the following क)', must be ascertained from the interpretation (of P. IV., 2, 80 etc). In[1] the rule P. I., 3, 3, which teaches that a *final* consonant is termed *it* (and according to which the Anubandhas, if they really are no part of that to which they are attached, would therefore seem to be no Anubandhas at all) the word *final* denotes (metaphorically the consonant which stands) near the rest.

In reality however it is only correct to say that

P. V: (The Anubandhas *are*) part (of that to which they are attached);

for in grammar we do find them in those (particular affixes etc. to which they are attached), whereas we find them nowhere else. That namely which forms no part (of a particular thing) is observed to form the same connection (which it forms with this particular thing also with other things), *e. g.* a crow (may be seen sitting) on a house and (it may also be seen) on a tree etc., (and it is therefore no part of the house); but an Anubandha is not (found to be) thus (connected with any affixes etc. whatsoever, and it can therefore not be correct to say that it is no part of that to which it is attached). Further (the Anubandhas are part of that to which they are attached) because only thus

1. Now one might say: 'You certainly put the axe to the root, for you destroy the *ittva* altogether, because P. I., 3, 3 cannot apply to your Anubandha.' Therefore he says 'In the rule' etc.

the formation of the Bahuvrîhi compounds (शित्, कित् etc.), can be properly[1] explained, and (because this view does) not (necessitate the assumption that) the word अन्त्य 'final' (in P. I., 3, 3) has a metaphorical meaning. And besides, if (the Anubandhas) were no part (of that to which they are attached), then (the letters) ण् etc. in such affixes as ण, श, क would not (by P. I., 3, 7 and 8) be termed *it*, because they would not be the initial letters of those affixes; moreover[2] the letter च् of दघ्नच् (in P. V., 2, 37) would be superfluous (because the च् which stands between द्रयस and दघ्न would serve as Anubandha for both द्रयस and दघ्न). And[3] (all) this (that has been said in the preceding) is found in the Bhâshya on P. I., 3, 9; for there it has been said (after both

1. *I. e.* without assuming a metaphor.

2. The meaning of this is: 'If you maintain that the word आदि "initial" can easily be explained, *viz.* like the word अन्त्य "final" in the preceding, by परसमीप, I can give you another reason why the Anubandhas should be part.'

3. If you say that we learn from the traditional interpretation that the च् which stands before दघ्न, belongs only to the preceding द्रयस and not also to दघ्न, and that therefore the च् of दघ्नच् is not superfluous, I rejoin: 'And all this' etc. If the Anubandha *is* a part of something else, interpretation may determine of what it is a part, for it cannot be part of two things; but if it is not a part, interpretation is of no avail. Anything that stands near a certain thing may well at the same time stand near something else; no confusion can arise from this and interpretation is therefore out of place. Interpretation would have nothing to do with P. V., 2, 37 and the च् of दघ्नच् would be superfluous if the Anubandhas were no part of that to which they are attached. In the same manner interpretation would have nothing to do with the rule P. IV., 2, 80 mentioned above, and ण् would be Anubandha both of छ and of क.

alternatives have been considered): 'correct is only that (alternative) according to which the Anubandhas are part (of that to which they are attached)'; this[1] then is the point of view (from which we have to look at the whole question).

1. Both the greater simplicity of the second alternative which results from its not necessitating the assumption of metaphors, and the reason brought forward in support of it ('for in grammar we do find them etc.') prove the correctness of this alternative.

Extract from the Bhâshya[1] on P. I., 3, 9:

अथ यस्यानुबन्ध आसज्यते किं स तस्यैकान्तो भवत्याहोस्विदनेकान्तः। **एकान्तस्तत्रोपलब्धेः**। एकान्त इत्याह। कुतः। **तत्रोपलब्धेः**। तत्रस्थो ह्यसावुपलभ्यते। तद्यथा वृक्षस्था शाखा वृक्षैकान्तोपलभ्यते॥ तत्रासरूपसर्वादिशदाप्प्रतिषेधेषु[2] पृथक्त्वनिर्देशोऽनाकारान्तत्वात्। तत्रासरूपाविधौ दोषो भवति। कर्मण्यण् [३. २. १.] आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः [३. २. ३.] इति कविषयेऽण्णपि प्राप्नोति। सर्वादेशे च दोषो भवति। दिव औत्सर्वादेशः प्राप्नोति [७. १. ८४.]। दाप्प्रतिषेधे पृथक्त्वनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः। अदाब्दैपाविति वक्तव्यम्। किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति। अनाकारान्तत्वात्। ननु चात्त्वे कृते भविष्यति। तद्धात्त्वं न प्राप्नोति। किं कारणम्। अनेजन्तत्वात्॥ अस्तु **तर्ह्यनेकान्तः**। अ-

1. Extract from Kaiyaṭa on the above: एकान्तस्तत्रोपलब्धेरिति॥ ननु यदेव संशयमितिनिमित्तं स एव कथं निश्चयहेतुः। उच्यते। सामर्थ्यादवधारणमाश्रीयते तत्रैवोपलब्धेरिति। अवयवस्तत्रैवोपलभ्यते ऽनवयवस्तु तत्र चान्यत्र च॥ ननु वकारस्य वनत्रणवृक्षादिष्वपलब्धिर्न चासावनवयवः। नैष दोषः। भिन्नसमुदायविषयं वर्णान्तरमेव तदिति शकुनिभाष्ये प्रतिपादितम्॥.....अस्तु तर्हीति॥ कार्यलक्षणाय केवलमनुबन्ध उपा-

2. Ms. °षेषे; but cf. below and Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 55. 3. Ms. वनत्रह्मणवृक्षा°.

नेकान्ते **वृत्तिविशेषः**। यद्यनेकान्तो वृत्तिविशेषो न सिध्यति। किति णितीति कार्याणि न सिध्यन्ति। किं हि स तस्येद्भवति येनेत्कृतं स्यात्। एवं **तर्ह्यनन्तरः**। अनन्तर इति चेत्पूर्वोत्तरयोरित्कृतप्रसङ्गः। अनन्तर इति चेत्पूर्वोत्तरयोरित्कृतं प्राप्नोति। वुञ्छण्। सिद्धं तु **व्यवसितपाठात्**। सिद्धमेतत्। कथम्। व्यवसितपाठः कर्तव्यः। वुञ् छण्। स चावश्यं कर्तव्य इतरथा ह्येकान्तेऽपि संदेहः। अक्रियमाणे व्यवसितपाठ एकान्तेऽपि संदेहः स्यात्। तत्र न ज्ञायते किमयं पूर्वस्य भवत्याहोस्वित्परस्येति। संदेहमात्रमेतद्भवति सर्वसंदेहेषु चेदमुपतिष्ठते **व्याख्यानतो** विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि संदेहादलक्षणमिति पूर्वस्येति व्याख्यास्यामः। **वृत्ताद्वा**। वृत्ताद्वा सिद्धमेतत्। वृद्धिमन्तमाद्युदात्तं दृष्ट्वा त्रिदिति व्यवसेयमन्तोदात्तं दृष्ट्वा किदिति। युक्तं पुनर्यद्वृत्तिनिमित्तको नामानुबन्धः स्यान्नानुबन्धनिमित्तकेन नाम वृत्तेन भवितव्यम्। वृत्तिनिमित्तक एवानुबन्धो वृत्तज्ञो ह्याचार्योऽनुबन्धानासर्ज्जयति॥ उभयमिदमनुबन्धेषूक्तमेकान्ता अनेकान्ता इति। किमत्र न्याय्यम्। एकान्ता इत्येव न्याय्यम्। कुत एतत्। अत्र हि हेतुर्व्यपदिष्टो यच्च नाम सहेतुकं तन्न्याय्यम्। ननु चोक्तं तत्सासरू-

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त्तौ न तु तस्यावयवः॥ वृत्तिविशेष इति॥ बहुव्रीहिर्न सिध्यति। अनेकान्तत्वे क इद्यस्येति संबन्धाभावात्॥ अनन्तर इति॥ यद्यप्यनन्तरादिषु बहुव्रीहिर्न भवति तथापीह वचनसामर्थ्याद्भवति॥ व्यवसितपाठादिति॥ व्यवसितानां विच्छिन्नानां पाठः कर्तव्यस्ततः पूर्वस्यैवासावनन्तरो न तु परस्य कालव्यवधानात्॥ व्याख्यानत इति॥ एकान्तपक्ष एको ऽयवौ द्वयोर्न भवतीति संदेहे व्याख्यानान्निश्चयः। अनेकान्तत्वे त्वानन्तर्यस्योभयापेक्षस्य विरोधाभावाद्व्यवसितपाठे एव कर्तव्यः॥ वृत्ताद्वेति॥ वृत्तं प्रयोगः। नन्वाचार्यो भवतु वृत्तज्ञः शिष्यास्तु कथं प्रतिपद्यन्ते। व्याख्यानाच्चेति पूर्वमेवैतदुक्तं वृत्ताद्वेत्यनेन किं तदेवोच्यते। नैष दोषः। पूर्वं हेतुरहितं व्याख्यानमुक्तं वृत्ताद्वेत्यनेन तु हेतुरुच्यते। तस्मिन्प्रतिपन्ने साध्यं स्वय-

1 Ms. ऽनुबन्ध्याना°. 2. Ms. विरोधाभाषाववाद्यवसित.° 3. Ms. प्रतिपद्यते. 4. Ms. °रहितां.

पसर्वादेशदाप्प्रतिषेधेषु पृथक्कानिर्देशोऽनाकारान्तत्वादिति । असरूपविधौ तावन्न दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नानुबन्धकृतमसारूप्यं भवतीति यदयं ददातिदधात्योर्विभाषां शास्ति । यदप्युक्तं सर्वादेश इति तत्राप्याचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नानुबन्धकृतमनेकाल्त्वं भवतीति यदयं शित्सर्वस्य [१. १. ५५.] इत्याह । यदप्युक्तं दाप्प्रतिषेधे पृथक्कानिर्देशः कर्तव्य इति न कर्तव्यः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नानुबन्धकृतमनेजन्तत्वं भवतीति यदयमुदीचां माङो व्यतीहारे [३. ४. १९.] इति मेङः सानुबन्धकस्यात्त्वभूतस्य ग्रहणं करोति ॥

मेवेति । भाष्यकारेण वा तदुक्तमिदं तु वार्त्तिककारेण ॥ मेङ इति ॥ यद्यप्यनेकान्तपक्षस्यापि ज्ञापकमेतद्व्याख्यातुं युज्यते तथापि हेतुरहितत्वादिहानेकान्तपक्षो भाष्यकृता त्यक्तः । प्रदेशान्तरे त्वनेकान्तपक्षेणापि व्यवह्रियते सिद्धमनुबन्धस्यानेकान्तत्वादिति ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ VI.[1]

Now one might say: 'As (the Anubandhas) are part (of that to which they are attached, terms like औश् etc. in P. VII., 1, 21 etc. contain more than one letter and therefore) it results (by the first portion अनेकाल् of P. I., 1, 55) already from (this) their containing more letters than one that औश् etc. are substituted for the whole (of that for which they are substitutes); consequently the word शित् in P. I., 1, 55 (which is intended to teach that that which

1. It has been stated in the Bhâshya on P. I., 3, 9, that three objections may be raised against the view that the Anubandhas are part of that to which they are attached, and in the same place it has also been shown how those objections may be removed by the assumption of three Paribhâshâs. Nâgojibhaṭṭa proceeds therefore to give in P. VI., VII., VIII. the three Paribhâshâs mentioned in the Bhâshya on P. I., 3, 9.

has the Anubandha श् is substituted for the whole of that of which it is a substitute) is (wholly)[1] useless.' (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. VI : (That which, when destitute of Anubandhas, consists of only one letter, must) not (be considered) to contain more letters than one when (one or more) Anubandhas are attached to it.[2]

The very word शित् (in P. I., 1, 55 which would be superfluous if this Paribhâshâ did not exist) indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ).[3] Accordingly such (substitutes) as तृ for अर्वन् in P. VI., 4, 127 etc. are not substituted for the whole (अर्वन् etc. but only by P. I., 1, 52 for the final letter न् etc.).

1. That शित् is not necessary for P. VI., 4, 119 may be seen in the Bhâshya etc. The Lopa taught in P. VI., 4, 119 is substituted for the whole reduplicative syllable of दा etc., not because it has the Anubandha श्, but because the word लोप which would be valid from VI., 4, 118 is repeated in VI., 4, 119.

2. P.: अनुबन्धकृतमनेकाल्त्वं नाश्रयणीयमिति परिभाषार्थः । एवमग्रेऽपि । (Viz. in P. VII. and VIII.)

3. After the existence of this Paribhâshâ has thus been established, terms like औश् must in accordance with the Paribhâshâ be regarded to contain only one letter; they consequently fall no longer under the first portion अनेकाल् of P. I., 1, 55, and we can learn only from the word शित् of that rule that they are substituted for the whole of that for which they are substitutes. So long as Paribhâshâ VI. does not exist, शित् in P. I., 1, 55 is *vyartha i. e.* meaningless and superfluous; but as soon as the Paribhâshâ has been established, शित् becomes *charitârtha i. e.* significant and necessary.

With[1] regard, however, to (substitutes like) ञ etc. (that take the place of the affix तिप् in the Periphrastic Future etc., the circum-

1. P. According to the above Paribhâshâ णल् which is a substitute for मिप् and for तिप् in the Perfect, consists of only one letter, for ण्, being taught P. III., 4, 82-4, is an affix and its initial ण् is therefore by P. I., 3, 7 an Anubandha. Consequently णल् should be substituted only for the final इ of मि and of ति. Nevertheless णल् is substituted for the whole मि and ति because its अ is considered to be contracted from अ+अ and thus to consist of more letters than one. The substitutes ञ etc. on the other hand need not be regarded as contracted from ञ+आ etc. for in their case another explanation is possible, viz. that which is given in the text. The आदि of ञादि is intended to include शी in P. VII., 1, 17, शै in P. VII., 1, 39 etc.; ञ, शी, and शै are not in Pâṇini's grammar put down as affixes, and their initials ञ् and श् are therefore no Anubandhas. By being substituted for the whole original affixes, ञ, शी and शै become affixes and their initial letters Anubandhas. (Cf. Si. Kau. I., p. 96). The initials ञ् and श् of ञ, शी and शै cannot because they subsequently become Anubandhas be termed Anubandhas from the beginning. In णल् however the initial ण् is from the beginning an Anubandha because णल् has in Pâṇini's grammar been put down as an affix; Siradeva and others are therefore wrong when they explain the substitution of णल् for the whole मि and ति in the same manner in which the case of ञ etc. has been explained here.

Nâgojibhaṭṭa in ञादिविषये-सिद्धम् does not give his own view, but that of former grammarians, and he shows by employing the word तु 'however' after ञादिविषये, that he does not approve of their view. In reality the ञ् and श् of ञ, शी and शै must from the very beginning be regarded as Anubandhas; ञ is substituted for the whole ति because its अ is contracted from आ+आ and शी and शै take the place of the whole affixes of which they are substitutes, because they have the Anubandha श्. This is shown by Nâgojibhaṭṭa elsewhere.

stance of their being substituted for the whole तिप् etc.) results from the order (in which the various grammatical operations take place. ज्ञा etc. are at first no affixes, and as their initial letters ज्ञ् etc. therefore are not by P. I., 3, 7 Anubandhas, ज्ञा etc. are substituted for the whole affixes तिप् etc. After this substitution has taken place, however, ज्ञा etc. have become affixes, and their initial ज्ञ् etc. are consequently Anubandhas by P. I., 3, 7, and they are dropped by P. I., 3, 9. ज्ञा etc. must be substituted for the whole तिप् etc.) because without their being substituted for the whole (तिप् etc., ज्ञ् etc.) would be no Anubandhas at all.

PARIBHÂSHÂ VII.

Now one might say: 'Even (when our first objection to Paribhâshâ V. has) thus (been removed by the assumption of Paribh. VI., there remains another objection to the view expressed in Paribh. V., viz. this: If the Anubandhas were part of that to which they are attached, the root) दैप् in which आ is (by P. VI., 1, 45) substituted (for ऐ) after the elision of (the Anubandha) प्, would (in the formation of the *Past Pass. Partic.* which we see *e. g.*) in अवदातं मुखम् 'a bright face' not by (the prohibition) अदाप् in P. I., 1, 20 be forbidden to be termed घु[1], because it would not have the form दाप्. So long, namely, as the letter प् remains, आ cannot (by P. VI., 1, 45) be substituted (for the ऐ of दैप्) because (the root) does not end in either ए or ओ or ऐ,[2] and when प् has been dropped (and when the substitution of आ has thus become

1. If दैप् were termed घु, P. VII., 4, 47 would apply to it.

2. The Pratyâhâra एच् denotes the vowels ए, ओ, ऐ and औ; there are however no roots ending in औ.

possible) the letter ए् is no longer present.' (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. VII: (A root which, when destitute of Anubandhas, ends in either ए or ओ or ऐ, must) not (be considered) to have ceased to end in either ए or ओ or ऐ, when an Anubandha has been attached to it.[1]

(The fact that the root मे) has in P. III., 4, 19 been put down (as माङ्, with the Anubandha ङ्, and with the vowel आ instead of ए,) indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ). By the rule P. VI., 1, 45 आ is substituted for (the final of) that which in that form in which it is enunciated (in grammar) ends in ए or ओ or ऐ. (माङ् in P. III., 4, 19 has been formed according to this rule, and thereby the existence of Paribh. VII. is established; did this Paribhâshâ not exist) माङ् (in P. III., 4, 19) would be incorrect, for the substitution of आ would not apply (to मेङ्) because (this root), so long as the letter ङ् remains, would not end in either ए or ओ or ऐ.[2] Nor (can one object) that the substitution of आ (for the ए of मेङ्) cannot take place (even if by the Paribhâshâ मेङ् has to be consi-

1. By this Paribhâshâ दैप् must be regarded as ending in ऐ, and as therefore आ may be substituted for the vowel ऐ even while प् remains, दैप् does assume the form दाप् and is consequently by the prohibition अदाप् in P. I., 1, 20 forbidden to be termed घु.

2. The reading तस्य तदर्थज्ञापकतासंगतिः ought to be explained: 'that (Nirdes'a माङ् in P. III., 4, 19) is in harmony with the fact of its indicating the sense expressed by this (Paribhâshâ)' *i. e.* it would be improper if it did not indicate the existence of this Paribhâshâ.

dered as ending in ए), on the ground that मे in this form (मेङ् *i. e.* so long as its Anubandha remains) is no root[1] (and does therefore not fall under P. VI., 1, 45 which applies only to roots); for it has elsewhere been fully stated, that the word धातोः 'of a root' of P. VI., 1, 8 is no longer valid[2] in P. VI., 1, 45.—And this (statement that the existence of Paribh. VII. is indicated by माङ in P. III., 4, 19) is found in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 20.[3]

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1. *Scil.* because according to the Bhâshya and Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 4 the term धातु 'root' applies only after the Anubandhas have been dropped.

2. P: P. VI., 1, 45 does not apply to words like गौ and to the first part of words like टौकिता because these words and parts of words are not taught (उप दिश्) in works on grammar; nor does it apply to the termination of the 3 *Pers. Plur. Perf. Âtm.* इरे etc., which are taught in grammar, because इरे etc. cannot be followed by any affixes. Besides the fact that Pâṇini in III., 4, 81 actually puts down the affixes एश् and इरेच् as containing the vowel ए (which vowel, one should have thought, would have resulted from P. III., 4, 79) does not merely indicate (as Bhaṭṭoji. Si. Kau. II., p. 24 assumes) that P. III., 4, 79 does not apply to the substitutes for the terminations त–महिङ् (given in III., 4, 78), but it indicates also (according to the maxim यावता विनानुपपत्तिस्तावतो ज्ञाप्यत्वम् *i. e.* 'all that, without which there would be any incorrectness' in Pâṇini's rules, 'ought to be indicated' by a Jnâpaka) that their ए is not liable to be changed to आ by P. VI., 1, 45.—Cf. also the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 45: तस्मात्प्रातिपदिकानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः | धात्वधिकारात्प्रातिपदिकस्याप्राप्तिः | धात्वधिकारात्प्रातिपदिकस्यात्त्वं न भविष्यति | धातोरिति वर्तते | क्व प्रकृतम् | लिटि धातोरनभ्यासस्येति | अथापि निवृत्तम् | एवमप्यदोषः | उपदेश इत्युच्यते | उद्देशश्च प्रातिपदिकानां नोपदेशः ||; Kaiyaṭa on the last words: उद्देशश्चेति || उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानीति भाव इत्यादि ||.—Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 8: तदेतद्धातुग्रहणं सांन्यासिकं तिष्ठतु तावत् ||

3. Also in the Bhâshya on P. I., 3, 9.

Extract from the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 20:[1]

दाप्प्रतिषेधे न दैप्यनेजन्तत्वात्। दाप्प्रतिषेधे दैपि प्रतिषेधो न प्राप्नोति। **अवदातं** मुखम्। ननु चात्त्वे कृते भविष्यति। तद्ध्यात्त्वं न प्राप्नोति। किं कारणम्। अनेजन्तत्वात्। सिद्धमनुबन्धस्यानेकान्तत्वात्। सिद्धमेतत्। कथम्[2]। अनुबन्धा अनेकान्ताः॥ पित्प्रतिषेधाद्वा। अथवा दाधा घ्वपिदिति वक्ष्यामि। तच्चावश्यं वक्तव्यम्। अदाविति ह्युच्यमान इहापि प्रसज्येत प्रणिदापयतीति॥ **शक्यं तावदनेनादाविति ब्रुवता** बान्तस्य प्रतिषेधो विज्ञातुम्। सूत्रं तर्हि भिद्यते। यथान्यासमेवास्तु। ननु चोक्तं दाप्प्रतिषेधे न दैपीति। परिहृतमेतत्। सिद्धमनुबन्धस्यानेकान्तत्वादिति। अथैकान्तेषु दोष एव। एकान्तेषु चै[3] न दोषः। आत्त्वे कृते भविष्यति। ननु चोक्तं तद्ध्यात्त्वं न प्राप्नोति किं कारणम् अनेजन्तत्वादिति। पकारलोपे कृते भविष्यति। न ह्ययं तदा दाञ्भवति। भूतपूर्वगत्या भविष्यति। एतच्चात्र युक्तं यत्सर्वेष्वेव सानुबन्धकग्रहणेषु भूतपूर्वगतिर्विज्ञास्यते[4]। अनैमित्तिको ह्यनुबन्धलोपस्तावत्येव भवति॥ **अथवाचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति** नानुबन्धकृतमनेजन्तत्वं यदयमुदीचां माङो व्यतीहारे [३.४.१९.]

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1. Kaiyata: दाप्प्रतिषेध इति। दाप् लवन इत्यस्यैव निषेधः स्यादित्यर्थः॥ अवदातमिति। तत्त्वमत्र प्राप्नोति॥ शक्यं तावदिति। दापूदैपौ धातुषु बान्तौ पठितव्यौ॥ तावत्येवेति। इत्संज्ञायां सत्यामेव। प्रयोगे दाशब्द एवायं पित्कार्यं तु लभत इत्यर्थः॥ अथवेति। अनुबन्धानामेकान्तत्वपक्ष उपदेश एजन्तानामात्त्वमुच्यमानं दैपो न प्राप्नोतीति ज्ञापकोपन्यासः। माङ इति मेङो ग्रहणं न माङो मेङो व्यतीहारेण नित्ययोगान्माङस्तु विवक्षावशाद्व्यतिमिमीत इति कादाचित्कत्वाद्व्यतिहारयोगस्य। प्रणिदानं व्यतिहार इत्येकोऽर्थः। उदीचां मेङ इति

2. Ed. कथम्। अनुबन्धस्यानेकान्तत्वात्। अनेकान्ता°. 3. Ed. एकान्तेष्वपि. 4. Ed. विज्ञायते.

इति मेङः सानुबन्धकस्यात्त्वभूतस्य ग्रहणं करोति ॥ अथवा दाबेवायं न दैवास्ति । कथमवदायतीति । इयन्विकरणेन[1] भविष्यति ॥

तु न कृतम् । एवं हि नानुबन्धकृतमिति न ज्ञापितं स्यात् ॥ अथवेति । दिवादिषु दाप् शोधन इति पठिष्यत इत्यर्थः ॥

1. Ed. इयन्विकरणो.

PARIBHÂSHÂ VIII.

Now one might say: 'Even thus (there remains the following objection to Paribhâshâ V.: If the Anubandhas were part of that to which they are attached, the affixes अण् and क in which ण् and क् are Anubandhas, would differ in form, and consequently the affix) अण् (of P. III., 2, 1 would not be entirely superseded by the affix क of P. III., 2, 3, but it) would by the rule P. III., 1, 94 (according to which an affix taught in a special rule supersedes an affix taught in a general rule only optionally if both affixes are unlike each other in form) be added also wherever the affix क (of P. III., 2, 3 etc.) is added, (and the result hereof would be the formation of incorrect forms.' The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. VIII: (Affixes which, when destitute of Anubandhas, have the same form, must) not (be considered) to differ in form when (different) Anubandhas have been attached to them.

The circumstance that (the word विभाषा 'optionally' in) P. III., 1, 139 teaches that (the affix) श (of P. III., 1, 139) which supersedes the affix ण (of P. III., 1, 141) does so (only) optionally,

indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ).[1] Accordingly (the affix) अण् (of P. III., 2, 1) is not added (where the affix क of P. III., 2, 3 is added which latter is the case) *e. g.* in गोद; (consequently गोदाय cannot be formed by P. III., 2, 1). This is found in the Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 94.[2]

1. If ण and श did differ in form, the word विभाषा in P. III., 1, 139 would be superfluous, because in that case it would follow already from P. III., 1, 94 that श supersedes ण only optionally.—See also Si. Kau. II., p. 301.

2. Also in the Bhâshya on P. I., 3, 9.

Bhâshya on P. III. I, 94 :[1]—

वासरूपोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ **कथमिदं** विज्ञायते । स्त्रियामभिधेयायां वासरूपो न भवतीत्याहोस्वित्स्त्रीप्रत्ययेष्विति । किं चातः । यदि विज्ञायते स्त्रियामभिधेयायामिति **लव्या** लवितव्यान्न वासरूपो न प्राप्नोति । अथ विज्ञायते स्त्रीप्रत्ययेष्विति **व्यावक्रोशी** व्यवक्रुष्टिरिति न सिध्यति । एवं तर्हि नैवं विज्ञायते स्त्रियामभिधेयायां नापि स्त्रीप्रत्ययेष्विति । कथं तर्हि । स्त्रीग्रहणं स्वरयिष्यते । तत्र स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्भवतीति **स्त्रियामित्यधिकृत्य** ये प्रत्यया विहितास्तेषां प्रतिषेधो विज्ञास्यते ॥

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते । असरूपस्य वावचनमुत्सर्गस्य बाधकविषयेऽनिवृत्त्यर्थम् । असरूपस्य वावचनं क्रियत उत्सर्गस्य बाधकविषयेऽनिवृत्तिर्यथा स्यात् । तव्यत्तव्यानीयर उत्सर्गास्तेषामजन्ताद्यदपवादः [३.

1. Kaiyaṭa: कथमिति ।। स्त्रियामित्यभिधेयसप्तमी वा स्यात्स्त्रियामित्यस्यैव वा स्वरूपस्य निषेधः स्यात्स्त्रियामित्युच्चार्य ये प्रत्यया विधीयन्ते तेषु वासरूपो न भवतीति संदिहानः पृच्छति ॥ लव्येति ॥ अचो यत् [३. १. ९७.] इति यता तव्यदीनां नित्यं बाधनं प्राप्नोतीत्यर्थः ॥ व्यावक्रोशीति ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारे णच् स्त्रियाम् [३. ३. ४३] इति णचा क्तिनो बाधः प्राप्नोतीत्यर्थः ॥ स्त्रियामित्यधिकृत्येति ॥ स्त्रियां क्तिन् [३. ३. ९४] इत्य-

१. ९६; ९७]। चेयम्। चेतव्यमित्यपि यथा स्यात्। नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम्। अजन्ताद्यद्विधीयते। हलन्ताण्ण्यद्विधीयते [३. १. १२४]। एतावन्तश्च धातवो यदुताजन्ता हलन्ताश्च। उच्यन्ते च तव्यदादयस्ते वचनाद्भविष्यन्ति॥ एवं तर्हि ण्वुल्तृचावुत्सर्गौ तयोः पचादिभ्योऽजपवादः [३. १. १३३; १३४]। पचतीति पचः। पक्ता पाचक इत्यपि यथा स्यात्। एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम्। वक्ष्ये ह्येतदजपि सर्वधातुभ्यो वक्तव्य इति॥ एवं तर्हि ण्वुल्तृजच उत्सर्गास्तेषामिगुपधात्कोऽपवादः [३. १. १३३–५]। विक्षिपो विलिखः। विक्षेप्ता विक्षेपक इत्यपि यथा स्यात्॥ अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत्। किं तर्हीति।

तत्रोत्पत्तिर्वा प्रसङ्गो यथा तद्धिते। तत्रोत्पत्तिर्विभाषा प्राप्नोति यथा तद्धिते। **अस्तु**। यदा विक्षिपो विलिख इत्येतन्न तदा विक्षेप्ता विक्षेपक इत्येतद्भविष्यति। **यद्येत**ल्लभ्येत कृतं स्यात्। तत्तु न लभ्यम्। किं कारणम्। यथा तद्धित इत्युच्यते तद्धितेषु च सर्वमेवोत्सर्गापवादं विभाषोत्पद्यते वा न वा॥ **सिद्धं** त्वसरूपस्य बाधकस्य वाबाधकवचनात्। सिद्धमेतत्। कथम्। असरूपस्य बाधकस्य वाबाधकवचनात्। असरू-

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स्मिन्स्वयधिकारे य उत्सर्गापवादास्तेष्वपवाद उत्सर्गस्य बाधक एवेत्यर्थः॥ तत्रोत्पत्तिर्वा प्रसङ्ग इति॥ वासरूप इत्येतावच्छ्रूयते। तत्र वाग्रहणेन किं भावो विकल्प्यताम्। असरूपोऽपवादो वा भवति पक्षे न भवतीति। अथ बाधकत्वं विकल्प्यताम्। वा बाधको भवति पक्षे न बाधक इति। तत्रान्तरङ्गत्वात्सत्ताया एव विकल्पः स्याद्यथोक्तं यत्रान्यत्क्रियापदं न श्रूयते तत्रास्तिर्भवति पर इति न तु बहिरङ्गस्य बाधकत्वस्येत्युत्तरेण विकल्पः स्यात्पक्षे तु न कश्चित्प्रत्यय उत्पद्येतेत्यर्थः॥ अस्तिवति॥ बाधकाभाव उत्सर्गस्यानिवार्यत्वादिति भावः॥ यद्येतदिति॥ अपवादशास्त्रेणोत्सर्गशास्त्रस्य बाधितत्वादपवादाभावपक्षेऽप्युत्सर्गस्याप्रवर्तनादिति भावः। तत्र यथात इञ् [४. १. ९५] इति विकल्पितेनेञा मुक्ते पक्षेऽण् न भवत्यपि तु वाक्यमेव तथेहाप्यपवादाभावपक्षे प्रकृतिरेव कर्वादीनर्थानभिदध्याद्यथाग्निचिदित्यादौ क्विबादिलोपे कृते॥ सिद्धं त्विति॥ बाधकत्वे विकल्पिते यत्र पक्षे उपवादस्य बाधकत्वं

पो वाधको वा वाधको भवतीति वक्तव्यं सिध्यति । सूत्रं तर्हि भिद्यते । यथान्यासमेवास्तु । ननु चोक्तं तत्रोत्पत्तिर्वा प्रसङ्गो यथा तद्धित इति । नैष दोषः । अस्ति कारणं येन तद्धितेषु विभाषोत्पत्तिर्भवति । किं कारणम् । प्रकृतिस्तत्र प्रकृत्यर्थे वर्ततेऽन्येन च शब्देन प्रत्ययार्थोऽभिधीयते । इह पुनर्न केवला प्रकृतिः प्रकृत्यर्थे वर्तते न चान्यः शब्दोऽस्ति यस्तमर्थमभिदधीतेति कृत्वानुत्पत्तिर्न भविष्यति ॥ अथवा समयः कृतो न केवला प्रकृतिः प्रयोक्तव्या न च केवलः प्रत्यय इति । एतस्मात्समयादनुत्पत्तिर्न भविष्यति । य एव तस्य समयस्य कर्ता स एवेदमप्याह । यद्यसौ तत्र प्रमाणमिहापि प्रमाणं भवितुमर्हति । प्रमाणमसौ तत्र चेह च । सामर्थ्यं त्विह द्रष्टव्यं शब्दानां प्रयोगे न चानुत्पत्तौ सामर्थ्यमस्ति । तेनानुत्पत्तिर्न भविष्यति । कथं तर्हि तद्धितेष्वनुत्पत्तौ सामर्थ्यं भवति । अन्येन प्रत्ययेन सामर्थ्यम् । केन । षष्ठ्या ॥ अथवा रूपवत्तामयमाश्रित्य वाविधिरुच्यते न चानुत्पत्तौ रूपवती तेनानुत्पत्तिर्न भ-

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नास्ति तत्र वाधकाभावादुत्सर्गैः प्रवर्तते ॥ अन्येनेति ॥ दक्षस्यापत्यमित्यादावपत्यादिशब्देनेत्यर्थः ॥ इह पुनरिति ॥ केवला प्रकृतिः स्वार्थमपि नाभिधत्ते किं पुनः कर्त्रादिकमर्थमभिधास्यति । तथा हि । प्रकृतिप्रत्ययसमुदाये प्रयुज्यमाने अन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां प्रकृतिः प्रकृत्यर्थे वर्तते प्रत्ययस्तु प्रत्ययार्थं इत्युच्यते । अनुत्पन्नप्रत्यया तु प्रकृतिर्न कंचिदर्थं गमयति । अथापि हि क्षिपेः कर्तेति कर्त्रादिशब्दाः प्रयुज्यन्ते तथापि करोतिक्रियापेक्षमपि कर्तृत्वं प्रतीयेत न तु क्षिपिक्रियापेक्षमेव । तस्मात्सामर्थ्याद्वाधकत्वं बहिरङ्गमपि विकल्प्यते ॥ य एवेति ॥ समयस्यायं वाधको ऽस्त्विति भावः ॥ सामर्थ्यमिति ॥ अर्थप्रत्यायनाय शब्दाः प्रयुज्यन्ते न च प्रत्ययस्यानुत्पत्तावर्थः प्रत्याययितुं शक्य इत्यर्थः । पूर्वस्मिन्परिहारे प्रकृतेरेव केवलायाः स्वार्थमात्राभिधानेऽपि सामर्थ्यं नास्तीत्युक्तम् । उत्तरत्र तु समयात्प्रयोग एव केवलाया नास्तीत्युच्यते ॥ कथं तर्हीति ॥ समयात्केवलस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य तद्धितानुत्पत्तौ साधुत्वं न प्राप्नोतीत्यर्थः ॥ अन्येनेति ॥ दक्षस्यापत्यमिति षष्ठ्यन्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य प्रयोगो न केवलस्य प्रातिपदिकस्येह तु कृदनुत्पत्तौ सत्यां केवल एव धातुः स्यात्तस्य च समयात्प्रयोगाभावः ॥ अथवेति ॥ असरूपशब्देन भिन्नरूप उच्यते तस्य

विष्यति ॥ एवमपि कुत एतदपवादो विभाषा भविष्याति न पुनरुत्सर्ग इति । न चैवास्ति विशेषो यदपवादो वा विभाषा स्यादुत्सर्गो वा । अपि च सापेक्षोऽयं निर्देशः क्रियते वासरूप इति । न चोत्सर्गवेलायां किंचिदपेक्ष्यमस्त्यपवादवेलायां पुनरुत्सर्गोऽपेक्ष्यते । तेन यो रूपवान्न्यपूर्वो बाधकः प्राप्नोति स वा बाधको भविष्यति । कः पुनरसौ । अपवादः ॥

यदि यो रूपवानन्यपूर्वो बाधकः प्राप्नोति स वा बाधको भवतीत्युच्यते किंवादिषु समावेशो न प्राप्नोति । ग्रामणीः ग्रामणाय इति । न ह्येते रूपवन्तः । एतेऽपि रूपवन्तः । कस्यामवस्थायाम् । उपदेशावस्थायाम् ॥ यद्येवमनुबन्धभिन्नेषु विभाषाप्रसङ्गः । अनुबन्धभिन्नेषु विभाषा प्राप्नोति । कर्मण्यण् आतोऽनुपसर्गे क इति कविषयेऽण्णपि प्राप्नोति । सिद्धमनुबन्धस्यानेकान्तत्वात् । सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । अनुबन्धस्यानेकान्तत्वात् । अनेकान्ता अनुबन्धाः ॥ अथवा प्रयोगेऽसरूपाणां वाविधिर्न्याय्यः । **प्रयोगे लादेशेषु प्रतिषेधः** । प्रयोगे लादेशेषु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । ह्योऽपचदित्यत्र लुङपि प्राप्नोति । श्वः पक्तेत्यत्र लृडपि प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति **न लादेशेषु वासरूपो भवतीति** यदयं हश्श्वतोर्लङ्लृटोरित्याह । **अथवा** प्रयोगेऽसरूपाणां वाविधौ न सर्वमिष्टं संगृहीतमिति कृत्वा द्वितीयः प्रयोग उपास्यते । कोऽसौ । उप-

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च भिन्नरूपत्वं रूपवदुत्सर्गापेक्षया भवतीति स एव पक्षेऽभ्यनुज्ञायते न त्वरूपानुत्पत्तिरित्यर्थः ॥ न चैवास्तीति ॥ उत्सर्गविकल्पेऽप्राप्तविभाषापवादविकल्पे तु प्राप्तविभाषेति न कश्चिद्विशेषः ॥ अपवादवेलायामिति ॥ बाध्यत्वेन यावदुत्सर्गो नापेक्ष्यते तावदपवादस्य प्रवृत्तिरेव नास्तीत्यर्थः ॥ उपदेशावस्थायामिति ॥ प्रत्यासत्तिन्यायादुपदेशावस्थायामसारूप्यमाश्रीयत इत्यर्थः ॥ ह्योऽपचदिति ॥ लङन्यनच्कस्तकारप्रत्ययो लुङि त्वपाक्षीदितीच्छब्द इति भिन्नरूपत्वात्समावेशप्रसङ्गः ॥ यदयमिति ॥ परोक्षे लिडिति लिटा लङः समावेशोऽसारूप्यात्सिद्ध एवेति नार्थो लङ्बुधानेन विहितस्तु लकाराणामसमावेशं ज्ञापयतीत्यर्थः ॥ अ-

देशो नाम । उपदेशे चैतेऽसरूपाः ॥ ननु चोक्तमनुबन्धभिन्नेषु विभाषाप्रसङ्ग इति । परिहृतमेतत् । सिद्धमनुबन्धस्यानेकान्तत्वादिति । अथैकान्तेषु दोष एव । एकान्तेषु च न दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नानुबन्धकृतमसारूप्यं भवतीति यदयं ददातिदधात्योर्विभाषां शास्ति ॥ अथवासरूपो वा बाधको भवतीत्युच्यते । अपवादश्च नामानुबन्धभिन्नो वा भवति रूपान्यत्वेन वा । तेनानेनावश्यं किंचित्त्याज्यं किंचिच्च संग्रहीतव्यम् । तदयदनुबन्धकृतमसारूप्यं तन्नाश्रयितव्यं यत्तु रूपान्यत्वेनासारूप्यं तदाश्रयिष्यामः ॥ अथवासरूपो वा बाधको भवतीत्युच्यते । सर्वश्वासरूपः । तत्र प्रकर्षगतिर्विज्ञास्यते साधीयो योऽसरूप इति । कश्च साधीयः । यः प्रयोगे च प्राक्च प्रयोगात् ॥ अथवासरूपो वा बाधको भवतीत्युच्यते । न चैवं सति कश्चिदपि सरूपः । अत एवं विज्ञास्यामः । क्वचिद्योऽसरूपा इति । अनुबन्धभिन्नाश्च प्रयोगे सरूपाः ॥

अथ कथमिदं विज्ञायतेऽस्त्रियामिति । किं स्त्रियां न भवतीत्याहोस्वित्प्राक् स्त्रिया भवतीति । कश्चात्र विशेषः । स्त्रियां प्रतिषेधे क्त्यल्युट्तुमुन्खलर्थेषु विभाषाप्रसङ्गः । स्त्रियां प्रतिषेधे क्त्यल्युट्तुमुन्खलर्थेषु विभाषा प्राप्नोति । क्त । हसितं छात्रस्य शोभनम् । घञपि प्राप्नोति । ल्युट् । हसनं छात्रस्य शोभनम् । घञपि प्राप्नोति । तुमुन् । इच्छति भोक्तुम् । लिङ्लोटावपि प्राप्नुतः । खलर्थः । ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता । खलपि

र्थवेति ॥ क्विबादयो न संगृहीताः प्रयोगे तेषां रूपाभावादित्यर्थः ॥ क्वचिद्य इति ॥ प्रयोग इत्यर्थः । उपदेशो हि सर्वस्यैवासारूप्यमित्यसरूपग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात् ॥ कथमिति ॥ स्त्र्यधिकारविहितेष्वेव किं प्रतिषेधः परस्तात्स्त्र्यधिकारस्य भवत्येव वासरूपविधिरथ स्त्र्यधिकारात्प्राग्वासरूपविधिर्भवति स्त्र्यधिकारेण विच्छिद्यत इति प्रश्नः ॥ लिङ्लोटाविति ॥ लिङ् च [३. ३.१५९] इति लिङ् भवत्येव । इच्छार्थेषु लिङ्लोटौ [३. ३. १५७] इत्यत्र लिङ्लोटोः सहनिर्देशादत्रापि सहनिर्देशः कृतः । लिङ् चेति नियमाल्लोण् न भविष्यती-

1. Ms. सरूपः त एवं.

प्राप्नोति ॥ एवं तर्हि स्त्रियाः प्रागिति वक्ष्यामि । स्त्रियाः प्रागिति चेत्तत्कायां वावचनम् । स्त्रियाः प्रागिति चेत्तत्कायां वावचनं कर्तव्यम् । आसित्वा भुङ्क्ते । आस्यते भोक्तुमित्यपि यथा स्यात् । कालादिषु तुमुन्विधाने वावचनम् [३.३.१६७] । कालादिषु तुमुन्विधाने वावचनं कर्तव्यम् । कालो भोक्तुम् । कालो भोजनस्येत्यपि यथा स्यात् । अर्हे तृज्विधानम् । अर्हे तृज्विधेयः । इमेऽर्हे कृत्या विधीयन्ते । ते विशेषविहिताः सामान्यविहितं तृचं बाधेरन् । नैष दोषः । भावकर्मणोः कृत्या विधीयन्ते कर्तरि तृच् । कः प्रसङ्गो यद्भावकर्मणोः कृत्याः कर्तरि तृचं बाधेरन् । एवं तर्ह्यर्हे कृत्यतृज्विधानम् । अर्हे कृत्यतृचो विधेयाः । अयमर्हे लिङ् विधीयते स विशेषविहितः सानान्यविहितान्कृत्यतृचो बाधेत ॥

ति शक्यते वक्तुम् । ननु तुमुन् भावे कर्तृकर्मणोर्लिङ्लोटाविति भिन्नार्थत्वात्कृतौ बाध्यबाधकभावः । नैष दोषः । भावेऽपि लिङ्लोटोरस्ति विधानमिति तदपेक्षया बाध्यबाधकभावोऽभिमतः ॥ आस्यते भोक्तुमिति ॥ भोजनार्थत्वादासनस्य पौर्वकाल्यमत्र गम्यत इति समानविषयत्वाद्बाध्यबाधकभावप्रसङ्गः । क्त्वाभावे तत्रैव च लकारोत्पत्तिरत्रेति समानार्थत्वमपि विद्यते ॥ तत्रायं निर्णयः । स्त्र्यधिकारस्य परस्तादपि वासरूपस्य विधिर्भवति । अर्हे कृत्यतृचश्च [३.३.१६९] इत्यत्र तु कृत्यतृज्ग्रहणेन तस्यानित्यत्वं ज्ञाप्यते ॥.—

PARIBHÂSHÂ IX.

There is a maxim that, whenever it may appear doubtful whether an operation has reference to that which is expressed by the technical or to that which is expressed by the ordinary meaning of a particular term, the operation refers (only) to that which is expressed by the technical meaning of the term in question. It is founded on the consideration that the attending circumstances have the power of restricting a word to a particular

meaning.[1] According to this maxim, one might suppose, the word संख्या 'numeral' ought, whenever it is employed (in grammar), to denote only the words बहु etc. (which are termed संख्या by P. I., 1, 23) but not the words एक 'one,' द्वि 'two' etc. which are ordinarily known as numerals; in (Pâṇini's grammar) namely with which we are concerned here, बहु etc. have been technically termed संख्या 'numeral,' and the knowledge of this

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1. The word सैन्धव has the two meanings 'salt' and 'a horse'; but if a person, while eating, says सैन्धवमानय, this sentence can only mean 'bring salt', and not 'bring the horse'. The Naiyâyikas, as may be seen from Muktâvali (pag. 91 ed. Roer.) do not admit the restrictive power of the attending circumstances; '*Tâtparya*, intention, (they say) is the wish of the speaker. If the knowledge of the intention of the speaker were not a cause (of verbal knowledge), we should in instances like सैन्धवमानय not understand (by सैन्धव) sometimes 'horse,' and sometimes 'salt' (but both meanings would present themselves always together). And one cannot say that the attending circumstances etc. alone, as suggesting the meaning of the speaker, are the cause of verbal knowledge; for these (attending circumstances) have no restrictive power. (If a person, even while eating, says सैन्धवमानय, he need not necessarily mean 'bring salt,' but he may sometimes mean 'bring the horse'). But if one assumes that those (attending circumstances) have a restrictive power because they make one know the intention of the speaker, then it is less cumbrous to assume that the knowledge of the intention of the speaker itself is the cause (of verbal knowledge)'.—According to the opinion of the Vedântists (as given in the Vedântaparibhâshâ chapter IV.) *Tâtparya* means simply 'the ability to convey a particular meaning.' This however must be further limited. Words like सैन्धव are able to convey two meanings; how can we then know that सैन्धवमानय is intended to denote 'bring salt'? सैन्धव denotes in this case 'salt' because 'it is not uttered with the desire of denoting any thing else than that (salt).'

should (restrict the meaning of संख्या in grammar to बहु etc. alone) just as the attending circumstances (restrict the meanings of words elsewhere). To reject such a supposition (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says :

P. IX : Here (in grammar a word) possesses both (its technical and its ordinary meaning ; viz. sometimes both in one and the same place, sometimes only the one, and sometimes only the other).

The prohibition (conveyed in the word अतिशदन्ता a numeral 'not ending in either ति or शत्') in P. V., 1, 22 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ ; for that prohibition can refer only to words like सप्तति 'seventy', चत्वारिंशत् 'forty' which are ordinarily called numerals) because there are no words ending in ति[1] or in शत् that are (only) technically termed numerals. (Consequently the term संख्या 'numeral' must denote in Pâṇini's grammar also[2] the ordinary numerals एक, द्वि etc). According to this (Paribhâshâ) we understand (*e. g.* by कर्मन्, करण, अधिकरण etc.) in P. I., 3, 14; III., 1, 17 ; II., 4, 13 etc. (not what those words express as

1. In कति, which is technically termed संख्या by P. I., 1, 23, the affix is भति, not ति.

2. The prohibition conveyed in अतिशदन्ता might also indicate that the term संख्या 'numeral' and other terms should in grammar be taken in their ordinary meaning *alone*, and not both in their technical *and* in their ordinary sense. However, if this were really indicated by अतिशदन्ता, the formation of technical terms like आम्रेडित etc. would be altogether useless, for they are in grammar employed *only* in their technical meaning. Therefore अतिशदन्ता can only indicate, that the words in grammar have, besides their technical, *also* their ordinary meaning.

grammatical terms, कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कारकम् etc., but only[1]) what they ordinarily denote, viz. 'action,' 'thing' etc. To determine in each case, where a word has both meanings, where it possesses only its ordinary and where only its technical meaning, we can have recourse only to the interpretation (of Patanjali and others which itself is) guided by the particular forms (that have to be derived from or to be accounted for by the rules in which the words in question occur). Only from this (interpretation of the learned do we know that) the word आम्रेडित has (in grammar) only the technical meaning (assigned to it in P. VIII., 1, 2) but does not mean 'anything sounded twice or three times'. —(All) this is found in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 23[2].—

1. उभयगतिः means namely: उभयोः कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोर्विषयभेदेनैकत्र विषये च गतिर्ग्रहणम्; *a.* sometimes only the technical meaning must be understood; *b.* sometimes only the ordinary meaning; *c.* sometimes both are understood in the same place; संख्या is an instance for *c.*, कर्मन् in P. I., 3, 14 etc for *b.*, कर्मन् in P. III., 4, 69 for *a.*

2. For there the suggestion that the word संख्या should be added to बहु, गण् etc. in order that the term संख्या in grammar might denote also the ordinary numerals एक, द्वि, etc., has been rejected by means of this Paribhâshâ.

See the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 23; Ed. Ballantyne p. 419. Here only extracts: अक्रियमाणे हि संख्याग्रहण एकादिकायाः संख्यायाः संख्येयेष संप्रत्ययो न स्यात्। किं कारणम्। अकृत्रिमत्वात्। बह्वादीनां कृत्रिमा संज्ञा। कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्ययो भवति। .... यथैव तर्ह्यर्थात्प्रकरणाद्वा लोके कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्ययो भवत्येवमिहापि प्राप्नोति। जानाति खल्वसौ बह्वादीनामियं संज्ञा कृतेति। न यथा लोके तथा व्याकरणे। उभयगतिरिह भवति। अन्यत्रापि नावश्यकमिहैवं ॥.... अथवाचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्येकादिकायाः संख्यायाः संख्यप्रादेशेषु संप्रत्यय इति यदयं संख्याया अतिशदन्तायाः कन्निति तिशदन्तायाः प्रतिषेधं शास्ति। ..... अथवा मह-

1. Ed. उभयगतिः पुनरिह. 2. Ed. नावश्यमिहैव.

But[1] to suppose that (Pâṇini by defining the meaning of a technical term in a Saṃjnâ-rule) intended to restrict that term throughout his grammar to the meaning (which he assigns to it in the Saṃjnâ-rule in question, and then to maintain) that the maxim (which was mentioned above in the words) 'that whenever it may appear doubtful—term in question,' is based on this restrictive nature of the Saṃjnâ-rules, is not admissible. For as those (Saṃjnâ-rules), because they assign (to a particular word) a force which (that word) previously did not possess, may be considered to teach something (new), it is improper to regard them as intended to restrict (the force which a word previously was known to possess.[2] The objection that a Saṃjnâ-rule cannot assign to any word a force which that word previously did not possess because all words denote all meanings, is) likewise (futile, for) the tenet that all (words) denote all meanings accords with the views of those who have attained to an union with the supreme soul, but not with our views; for to know individually all words and meanings, is impossible, while a general[3] knowledge of this

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तीयं संज्ञा क्रियते। संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघीयः। कुत एतत्। लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम्। तत्र महत्याः संज्ञायाः करण एतत्प्रयोजनम्। अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायते। संख्यायतेऽनयेति संख्या। एकादिकया चापि संख्यायते ॥

Kaiyaṭa on the words कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोरिति ॥ न्यायोऽयम्। तथा हि। सर्वार्थाभिधानशक्तियुक्तः शब्दो यदा विशिष्टेऽर्थे संव्यवहाराय नियम्यते तदा तत्रैव प्रतीतिं जनयति नान्यत्र ॥

1. This is directed against Kaiyaṭa and others.
2. Cf. Paribhâshâ C.
3. P: सामान्येति। शब्दत्वादिनेत्यर्थः ॥.

description does not tend to assist our understanding.[1] This has been considered elsewhere.[2]

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1. And it connot be said that our views are opposed to those expressed in the words of Hari:

व्यवहाराय नियमः संज्ञायाः संज्ञिनि क्वचित्

'Certain terms are for the sake of verbal intercourse (by mutual agreement) restricted so as to (denote only) some of the objects (which they might denote according to their etymology etc.);' for if one has agreed about the meaning of a word then by the force of this agreement that meaning only is conveyed by the word, and no other meaning. Similar is the relation between words qualifying and qualified; the meaning of the one limits the meaning of the other.

2. Viz. in the Manjûshâ.

PARIBHÂSHÂ X.

The (roots) इङ् and शीङ् have the Anubandha ङ्; one might therefore suppose that (the substitution of) Guṇa (for the radical vowel which is taught in P. VII., 3, 84) ought (*e. g.* in the formation of the Periph. Fut.) अध्येता, शयिता[1] etc. to be forbidden (by P. I., 1, 5 ङिति च[2]). To reject this supposition (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

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1. शयित इति। निष्ठा शीङ् [१. २. १९] इति कित्त्वनिषेधः। आदिना शयितेत्यादिसंग्रहः। शयितेति तृजन्तपाठस्तु सुगम एव॥ P.

2. ङितीति सत्सप्तमीति भावः P. The doubt whether in the formation of अध्येता etc. Guna be forbidden by P. I., 1, 5, arises when ङिति in P. I., 1, 5 is explained by ङिति सति 'when there is anything which has the Anubandha ङ् or ङ्,' but not when it is taken in the sense of as ङिति परतः 'when something follows that has the Anubandha ङ or ङ्.' Bhairava says: ङितीति सूत्रार्थप्रविष्टं निमित्तपदं कारणमात्रपरमित्यभिप्रायेण शङ्क;

P. X: Surely, that which undergoes an operation can, so far as it undergoes that operation, not be made the cause (of the application of a grammatical rule).

The circumstance that (the word शयितृ in which Guṇa has actually been substituted for the radical vowel of शी) has been put down (by Pâṇini) in P. IV., 2, 15, indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ, the existence of which is) also[1] (proved

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if the word निमित्त which enters into the explanation of P. I., 1, 5 (क्ङिन्निमित्ते ये गुणवृद्धी etc.) be taken in the general sense of 'cause,' this term may be applied also to the radical vowel इ in the formation of अध्येता; इ, for which Guṇa is substituted, is one of the causes of this Guṇa; but इ is at the same time ङित्, and one might therefore suppose that the substitution of Guṇa, the cause इ of which has the Anubandha ङ्, would be forbidden by P. I., 1, 5.

1. According to Śiradeva and others the existence of this Paribhâshâ is indicated by the prohibition of the substitution of Guṇa in दीङ् and वेङ् in P. I., 1, 6, or by the fact that the root कुङ् is read in the Gaṇa कुटादि of P. I., 2, 1. But this is incorrect; for the rule I., 1, 6 is either altogether rejected, or if it be retained, its purpose is said to be the prevention of the *aniglakshaṇâ Vriddhi* in the formation of आदैश्यक etc. which would result from P. VII., 2, 115; in neither case can I., 1, 6 be a Jñâpaka of this Paribhâshâ. Nor is the circumstance of कुङ being read amongst the कुटादि of P. I., 2, 1 a Jñâpaka, for, as कुङ must be read somewhere, it may as well be read there as anywhere else.—The word च after निर्देशः includes the circumstance that after शीङ् the affixes denoted by निष्ठा (when preceded by इट्) are by P. I., 2, 19 forbidden to be कित्, (in other words are not to prevent the substitution of Guṇa for the ई of शीङ्); this prohibition would be useless if the ङ् of शीङ did by P. I., 1, 5 prevent the substitution of Guṇa for the radi-

otherwise). The words 'so far as it undergoes that operation' are intended to make (the formation of) ऊर्णुनविषति and other (forms) possible. For in (the formation of) this (ऊर्णुनविषति) the syllable न has been reduplicated in accordance with P. I., 1, 59, whereas without (the restriction 'so far as it undergoes that operation') that (rule of Pâṇini's) could have had no concern (with the formation of ऊर्णुनविषति). The term सन्यङोः in P. VI., 1, 9 being a Genitive, that which ends with सन् (*i. e.* ऊर्णु+इस्) undergoes the operation (of reduplication taught in P. VI., 1, 9. Were, then, the present Paribhâshâ to enjoin merely that 'that which undergoes an operation cannot be made the cause of the application of a grammatical rule') इस् (which forms part of the *kâryin* ऊर्णु+इस्) could not be the cause of the (peculiar) reduplication (which is taught in P. I., 1, 59. But as the Paribhâshâ teaches that that which undergoes an operation can only so far as it undergoes that operation not become the cause of the application of a grammatical rule, there is no reason why इस् in ऊर्णु + इस् should not cause the application of P. I., 1. 59; for although ऊणु + इस्, which includes इस्, is *kâryî*, yet the syllable नु only can be called the *kâryam anubhavan kâryî*). In reality[1]

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cal ई. And च includes further also the circumstance that the Bhâshya does not reject दीधीं and वेवीं in P. I., 1, 6 by simply stating that these roots are ङित् and that they therefore fall under P. I., 1, 5 and need not be specially mentioned in I., 1, 6. If the present Paribhâshâ did not exist, this would have been the simplest course for the author of the Bhâshya to adopt.—Besides अध्येता and शयिता Pâyagunda gives the example अरिरिषति; see Si. Kau. II., p. 203 and Nâgojîbhaṭṭa on P. I., 1, 59. (Ed. Ballantyne pag. 684.)

1. वस्तुतः must be taken together with तत्त्वम; what is included by these two words contains the Siddhânta.

the truth is as follows: the difference between material and instrumental cause being established in the whole world and in all branches of science,[1] the material cause is never made the instrumental cause,[2] and therefore this (Paribhâshâ) need not be established by means of a Jnâpaka. On this account the word हि 'surely' is employed (in the Paribhâshâ); for this (हि) shows that the reason[3] why (that which undergoes an operation) is not made the cause (of the application of a grammatical rule) is well known. (The existence of) this (Paribhâshâ) is suggested by the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 59.[4]

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1. As *e. g.* in the Nyâya-philosophy etc.

2. तस्य तत्त्वेन, *i. e.* समवायिकारणस्य निमित्तकारणत्त्वेन. P.

3. हेतोः, *i. e.* सकललोकतन्त्वप्रसिद्धभेदवत्त्वस्य. P.

4. Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 59 (Edit. pag. 684.): अङ्ग्रहणं तु ज्ञापकं रूपस्थानिवद्भावस्य । यदयमङ्ग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो रूपं स्थानिवद्भवतीति । कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् । अङ्ग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम् । इह मा भूत् । जेग्रीयते देभ्मीयते । यदि च रूपं स्थानिवद्भवतीति ततोऽङ्ग्रहणमर्थवद्भवति । अथ हि कार्यं नार्थोऽङ्ग्रहणेन भवत्येवाल द्विर्वचनम् ॥ The term अचि in P. I., 1, 59 indicates that by this rule the substitute has to be considered *formally* the same as the original, (not, that it is to undergo the same operation which the original would have had to undergo). For the term अचि has been employed to show that P. I., 1, 59 has no concern with the formation of जेग्रीयते, देभ्मीयते. *This* अचि can show only when by P. I., 1, 59 the substitute has to be considered formally the same as the original, not when by that rule the substitute has to undergo the same operation which the original would have had to undergo. For in देभ्मीयते etc. the substitute भ्मी has actually undergone the same operation of reduplication which the original भ्मा would have had to undergo; (but भ्मी has not been considered formally the same as the original भ्मा, else the Frequentative would have been दाभ्मीयते).

This passage of the Bhâshya suggests according to Bhairavamis'ra the present Paribhâshâ including the restriction कार्यमनुभवन्, viz. thus: Ac-

PARIBHÂSHÂ XI.

The technical term घु is (in P. I., 1, 20) assigned to (the root दा in) this particular form दा. One might therefore say that it cannot apply to दाप्[1] (which by P. VII., 3, 36 is formed from दा by the addition of the augment प्, and that consequently the rule P. VIII., 4, 17 according to which the न् of the preposition नि is under certain circumstances changed to ण् when नि is prefixed to the roots termed घु, cannot take effect when नि is prefixed to the Causal दापि of दा, *e. g.*) in (the formation of) प्रणिदापयति etc. To meet this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says :

P. XI: That to which an augment is added denotes, because the augment forms part of it, (not merely itself, but it denotes also) whatever results from its combination with that augment.

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cording to the Bhâshya the term अचि in P. I., 1, 59 is to prevent the application of that rule to जेग्रीयते etc. But if the Paribh. X. does not contain the restriction कार्यमनुभवन्, Pânini's rule can, also without its containing the term अचि, have no concern with जेग्रीयते etc., in the same manner in which the same rule would have no concern with the formation of ऊर्णुनविषति, if the Paribhâshâ did not contain the words कार्यमनुभवन्. The circumstance therefore that Patanjali assigns to अचि in P. I., 1, 59 the function that it is to prevent the application of P. I., 1, 59 to जेग्रीयते etc., shows that the Paribhâshâ does contain the restriction कार्यमनुभवन्. (कार्यमनुभवन्नित्यंशोऽपि तस्माद्बाध्यादेव लभ्यते । अन्यथा यङन्तस्य कार्यित्वेन द्विर्वचनेऽचीत्यस्य प्रवृत्तिर्न स्यात् ॥ Bhairava).

1. *Viz.* because दाप formally differs from दा, and because the part दा of दाप् has no meaning and can therefore according to Paribh. XIV. not be denoted by the दा in P. I., 1, 20.

I. e. the augment which is assigned to anything[1] must according to the rules of grammar[2] be regarded as part of the latter, and is therefore (together with that to which it is added[3]) denoted by the word which denotes that (to which the augment is assigned.) The portion (of the Paribhâshâ) 'because the augment forms part of it' contains the reason why this is the case[4]. We observe also in the common practice of life that whenever a person Devadatta possesses any limb in excess (of those *limbs* which men ordinarily are possessed of), the word '*Devadatta*' denotes (the man Devadatta as) possessed of that (additional limb and does not denote Devadatta without it). In consequence of our having said above 'the augment which is assigned to anything' दार् (in दारयति etc.) is not termed घु (and P. VIII., 4, 17 does therefore not take effect) in (the formation of) प्रतिदारयति etc.[5] Owing to the fact that P. VII., 2, 82

1. यमुद्दिश्य; यम् is explained by एतत्परिभाषाप्रवृत्तिविषयसूत्रे कार्यित्वेन निर्दिष्टम् 'that which in a rule where this Paribhâshâ applies, is put down as undergoing the operation (of having an augment added to it),' as *e.g.* an Anga ending in आ, like दा, in P. VII., 3, 36. That to which the augment is added may in the rule which enjoins the addition of the augment be given anyhow, (*e. g.* दा is described in VII., 3, 36 as 'an Anga ending in आ'); and it need not be given in its own specific form, (otherwise दा ought in VII., 3, 36 to have been put down as दा, or the Paribhâshâ would not have been applicable to it).

2. *Viz.* according to such rules as P. I., 1, 46 आद्यन्तौ टकितौ.

3. बोध्यते, *scil.* समुदायः. P.

4. तत्र *i. e.* तेन तद्बोधने. P. Others explain तत्र by 'in the Paribhâshâ'. If one reads तत्र तद्गुणीभूतः, तत्र refers to the explanation of the Paribhâshâ यमुद्दिश्य etc.

5. The letter र् in दारयति is not an augment assigned to दा, but it is by P. I., 1, 51 assigned to आ. If the explanation of the Paribhâshâ

enjoins the addition of the augment म् (to the final अ of an Anga, *e. g.* in पच+आन=पचमान), this (Paribhâshâ) is not valid always. If it were universally valid, P. VII., 2, 82 would clearly be useless, for subsequently to the addition of म to the (final) अ (of पच etc.) in पच+आन etc. the (homogeneous long) vowel आ would (by P. VI., 1, 101) be substituted for the अम्[1] (of पचम् which by the present Paribhâshâ would be equal to अ, and the आ of आन; we should thus obtain the form पचान which could have been formed also without P. VII., 2, 82). Because (the Paribhâshâ is not always valid), य् etc. are not substituted (for ई etc.) in दिदीये, and (for the same reason) does the rule P. VII., 1, 34 not take effect in (the formation of) जहार etc.[2] It is inadmissible to maintain (in regard to the addition

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did not contain the words यमुद्दिश्य, र might, as forming part of आ, also be considered to form part of दा, and thus दार् also would be denoted by the दा of P. I., 1, 20.

1. विशिष्टस्य, *i. e.* अमः | अकृत्वेन ग्रहणादाकारेण सहेति शेषः || P.

2. If the Paribhâshâ did apply everywhere, one ought to form: दी+ए; by P. VI., 4, 63 दी+ये; दिदी+ये; by P. VI., 4, 82 दिद्ये. The augment युट् would in that case have been taught in order that one might by P. VIII., 4, 47, Vârtt. obtain optionally three य्'s.—In जहार र् is an augment of आ; if the Paribh. were valid here, P. VII., 1, 34 would have been applicable to जहार्+अ as it is applicable to roots ending in आ, and one ought to have formed जहौ. In the case of ग्रनिदारयति, दार् could not be said to be according to this Paribhâshâ denoted by दा because the augment र् was not added to दा, but to आ. In the case of जहार, the आ of P. VII., 1, 34 would, if the Paribhâshâ were valid, denote also आर्, because the augment र् is added to आ and because the आ of P. VII., 1, 34 means simply आ and does not mean 'a root ending in आ.' The word धातोः is no longer valid in VII., 1, 34, and

of the augment म् to the अ of पच etc.) that one letter cannot form part of another letter अ etc.; for the Paribhâshâ teaches that it *does* form part of it; moreover it ought to be understood that 'being part of anything' means (here) 'being like the part of anything'.[1]

Nor would it be correct to assume that the said (rule P. VII., 2, 82) indicates that the present (Paribhâshâ) does not apply in (any case where an augment is added to) a letter; for such an assumption would be contrary to the following (three) statements which occur in the Bhâshya:

(*a*). In the Bhâshya[2] on P. VII., 2, 82, the (true) meaning of which rule is this, that the augment म् is added to the letter अ which forms part of an Anga etc., the doubt is raised, whether

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even if it were suggested by णल्, the only two possible constructions would be either धातोः परस्याकारात्परस्य च णलः etc., or धातोरवयवीभूतादाकारात्परस्य णलः etc., for that which is suggested by something else, as धातु would be suggested by णल्, can only modify, but cannot be modified by, something that is actually read in a rule; if धातोः were modified by आतः of P. VII., 1, 34, we should have to construe आकारान्ताद्धातोः परस्य णलः. Nor is the last construction preferable to the preceding one on account of the maxim संभवति सामानाधिकरण्ये वैयधिकरण्यमन्याय्यम्, for we do not accept this maxim. All is perfectly correct without this maxim and without धातोः being supplied. The Genitive अङ्गस्य being still valid in P. VII., 1, 34 we explain this rule, 'after आ, औ takes the place of णल् when णल् is the cause of the term Anga (being applied to that which precedes णल्).'

1. According to the maxim विनापि प्रत्ययं पूर्वोत्तरपदयोर्वा लोपो वाच्यः; cf. Si. Kau. I., pag. 708.

2. Bhâshya on P. VII., 2, 82: आने मुक्। मुकि सति स्वरे दोषो भवति। यजमानो यजमानः। मुका व्यवहितत्वादनुदात्तत्वं न प्राप्नोति। ननु चायं मुगनुपदेशभक्तोऽनुपदेशग्रहणेन ग्रहिष्यते॥

the accent enjoined in P. VI. 1, 186 ought to be given to पचमान (considering that the affix आन is separated from पच by the augment म्); and this doubt is met by the statement that that which in grammar is given as ending with अ (as *e. g.* पच) combined with the augment म् (in other words, that the whole पचम्) will be denoted by that which in grammar is given as ending with अ (*i. e.* by अदुपदेश of P. VI., 1, 186) because the augment (म्) forms part of this (अ).

(*b*). One[1] explanation of P. VIII., 3, 32 is this, that the augments ङ्, ण्, न् are prefixed to the letters ङ्, ण्, न्, when they form part of a word ending in ङ्, ण्, न् and are preceded by a short vowel.[2] Now it has been suggested in the Bhâshya[3] on P. VIII., 3, 32 that, when according to this explanation the augment न् has been prefixed to the न् (of

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1. In the last instance the letter to which the augment is added is a *Vis'eshana i. e.* it modifies something else, for the meaning of अदुपदेश in P. VI., 1, 186 is अकारान्तोपदिश्यमान. N. proceeds now to give an instance in which the letter to which the augment is added is a *Viseshya i. e.* is modified by something else; cf. the explanation of P. VIII., 4, 1 र् ष् इत्येताभ्यां परस्य न् इत्येतस्य, and that of P. VIII., 4, 37 पदान्ते वर्तमानस्य न् इत्येतस्य र् ष् इत्येताभ्यां परस्य.

2. This explanation of P. VIII., 3, 32 is, however, incorrect; the real meaning of Pâṇini's rule is this, that a word which begins with a vowel and follows upon the letters ङ्, ण्, न्, which stand at the end of a word and are preceded by a short vowel, has the augment ङ्, ण्, न prefixed to it.

3. Bhâshya on P. VIII., 3, 32: यदि ङम एव ङमुट् क्रियते कुर्वन्नास्ये रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे [८. ४. १] इति णत्वं प्राप्नोति । पदान्तस्य [८. ४. ३७] इति प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति । पदान्तस्येत्युच्यते नैष पदान्तः । पदान्तभक्तः पदान्तग्रहणेन ग्रहिष्यते ॥.

कुर्वन् etc.) in कुर्वन्नास्ते etc., this augment न् ought (by P. VIII., 4, 1) to be changed to ण्; but this suggestion is met by the statement that by the present maxim (viz. by our Paribhâshâ) the first न also, (being the augment of a final letter), is called the final (of the word कुर्वन्), and that its change to ण् is therefore forbidden by P. VIII., 4, 37 पदान्तस्य. The meaning[1] of this passage of the Bhâshya is this, that according to the present Paribhâshâ augments also must be regarded as characterised by the same properties as characterise that to which they are added.

(*c*). Moreover (the author of the Bhâshya) demands that, when र् has been added to a Guṇa-vowel (अ) etc., the Guṇa-vowel (अ) etc. together with र् shall be regarded as Guṇa etc.; otherwise the restriction that only अर् and आर् are Guṇa and Vṛiddhi of the letter ऋ, would not exist. That (demand) however is irreconcilable with the opinion according to which the present (Paribhâshâ) does not apply in any case where an augment is added to a letter. Because then (the terms Guṇa and Vṛiddhi are applicable to अर् and आर्) the (author of the) Bhâshya[2]

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1. Now one might say that, although according to Paribhâshâ XI. the final to which the augment is added and the augment, when both have been combined, might be called पदान्त, nevertheless the augment alone ought not be called thus. N. explains therefore the meaning of the Bhâshya in the words अनया परिभाषया etc.; (if one reads अनया च, च has the sense of तु or it stands वाक्यालंकारे). We ought then, in this case, to explain the Paribhâshâ thus: 'whatever properties characterise that to which an augment is assigned, they characterise (not merely the combined whole of the augment and that to which it is added, but) also the augment alone, because the augment forms part of that to which it is added.'

2. भाष्यम, *scil.* संगच्छते. P.

on P. VIII., 2, 42 (states correctly) that, when speaking of Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, we mean that the (letters अ and आ) if they have ॰ (*i.e.* r) on the top of them are (likewise) termed Guṇa and Vṛiddhi (*e. g.* अर् and आर् in कर्तृ and कार्ति).

It is only because[1] (the existence of this Paribhâshâ has been established), that rules like P. VII., 2, 4 and VI., 4, 51 etc.[2] have a meaning. (The combination of सिच् with the augment इट् and that of an Ârdhadhâtuka-affix with इट् are by this Paribhâshâ likewise called सिच् and Ârdhadhâtuka. If this were not the case, P. VII., 2, 4 would be superfluous; for the rule VII., 2, 3 which teaches the substitution of Vṛiddhi would not apply in the formation of forms like अदेवीत् because सिच् is separated from the Anga by the augment इट्; and अनिटि in P. VI., 4, 51 would be superfluous, for the elision of णि which is taught in that rule would not affect forms like कारयिता, because the Ârdhadhâtuka-affix is separated from णि by इट्).

The statement,[3] however, that that to which an augment is added combined with that augment is a substitute for the

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1. Some have maintained that the existence of Paribhâshâ XI. is merely indicated by P. VII., 2, 4 and similar rules; but this is incorrect, for this Paribhâshâ is, as has been stated above in the words 'we observe also in the common practice of life etc.', established by a maxim which is generally accepted. To indicate this our author says 'it is only because....'

2. The इत्यादि includes such Nirdes'as as अधराणि etc. in P. I., 1, 34 etc.; although the augment नुम् is here added to अधर, the word remains nevertheless अधर.

3. Now one might say 'that P. VII., 2, 4 नेटि, and अनिटि in P. VI., 4, 51 would not be superfluous, even if Paribhâshâ XI. did not exist, and that they therefore cannot indicate the existence of this Paribhâshâ;

former without the augment (*e. g.* इट्+an Ârdhadhâtuka affix a substitute for that Ârdhadhâtuka affix) has the following meaning. When we understand the purport of (the rule) that the augment इट् shall be added to an Ârdhadhâtuka affix, we feel at once the impropriety of assigning augments to words eternal (and unchangeable), and we turn the given rule therefore, in order to give a sense to it, so as to make it convey the meaning 'that in place of the notion of (the Ârdhadhâtuka) void of इट् we have to conceive the notion of (the Ârdhadhâtuka) accompanied by इट्.'[1] And thus here also (*i. e.* in the case of augments), as in the case of substitutes, (only) our notions are changed (and not the forms of the words) and the eternity (and unchangeableness of words) remains therefore unimpaired. Further,[2] the substitutes spoken of in the Sthânivatsûtra (P. I.,

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that they, on the contrary, are meant to prohibit the rule which teaches the substitution of Vṛiddhi etc. from applying by Sthânivadbhâva in the formation of अदेशीत् etc. in consequence of the maxim अनागमकानां सागमका आदेशाः.' And one might further maintain, 'that Paribhâshâ XI. in so far as it teaches that that to which an augment is attached combined with the augment is equal to the former without the augment, is useless because this follows from Sthânivadbhâva in consequence of the same maxim अनागमकानां सागमका आदेशाः'. To refute these opinions our author says: 'The statement ....'

1. P.: अयमर्थ इत्यस्य कर्तव्येतीत्यत्रान्वयः | यथाश्रुतार्थतात्पर्ये बीजप्रतिपादनपूर्वकमत्र हेतुमाहार्धधातुकेत्यादिकल्पनेनेत्यन्तेन तथा च सा हेतौ तृतीया | °नुपपत्त्येत्यभेदे तृतीया तदभिन्ना यार्थापत्तिस्तन्मूलकेत्यर्थः | उपपत्त्यर्थापत्तीति पाठस्तु सुगमः | यद्वा कल्पनायां तस्या हेतुत्वेनान्वय इति यथाश्रुतं तदपि साधु | अर्थापत्तीति कल्पकप्रमाणोपन्यासः | वक्ष्यान्तरेति | तद्रहितार्धधातुकबुद्धौ सेडार्धधातुकबुद्धिरित्यादिरूपेत्यादिः ||

2. To refute the opinion that, notwithstanding all that has been said before, Paribhâshâ XI. is unnecessary, because its functions are performed by the Sthânivatsûtra, he says: 'Further,...'

1, 56) are not such, (as it were, constructive) substitutes (as result from the statement that that to which an augment is added, combined with that augment, is a substitute for the former without the augment), because the Sthânivatsûtra has reference (only) to such substitutions as are actually taught in Pâṇini's grammar (*e. g.* in P. II., 4, 42 हनो वध). Moreover if the Sthânivatsûtra had reference to such constructive substitutes as are here spoken of, that which is mentioned in the Bhâshya as an established fact, viz. 'that अट् and आट् (are prefixed to roots) while लृ remains (*i. e.* before the personal terminations are substituted for लृ),' would not be the case. (In forming अपिवत् and similar forms, we prefix the augment अ according to the Bhâshya, to पा in पा+लृ, and obtain thus अपा+ल; if by the Sthânivatsûtra अपा were here equal to पा) पिब etc. (taught in P. VII., 3, 78) would have to be substituted (not for पा) but for the whole combination अपा (the result of which would not be अपिवत्, but पिबत्).[1] Paribhâshâ XII. (according to which पिब ought to be substituted only for the पा actually put down in P. VII., 3, 78) would in this case not be applicable, because the operation (of substituting पिब) would be proceeded with solely on the ground that (अपा) is regarded as (equal to पा) for which it has been substituted.—If[2] Paribhâshâ XII. were applicable in cases where a substitute

1. If the Sthânivatsûtra had reference to such constructive substitutes as are here spoken of, the author of the Bhâshya ought to have said that the augments अट् and आट् are prefixed to roots after the personal terminations have been substituted for लृ, and after the subtitution of पिब etc. for पा etc.

2. One might further maintain that, although अपा is considered equal to पा, nevertheless not this combination अपा is *nirdis'yamâna* in P. VII., 3, 78, but only पा, and that therefore the application of Pari-

(by the Sthânivatsûtra) is like that for which it has been substituted, the following proceeding (of the author) of the Bhâshya would be incorrect. (P. VII., 1, 53 teaches that ख्य is substituted for खि; P. VII., 2, 99, that तिसृ is substituted for खि;) in (the formation of) the Gen. Fem., तिसृ (and not ख्य) is substituted (for खि) because (the rule which teaches तिसृ) follows (upon the rule which teaches the substitution of ख्य; here then the author of the Bhâshya) raises the doubt whether ख्य (by P. VII., 1, 53) ought to be substituted also for तिसृ (on the ground that the latter) by the Sthânivatsûtra (is like खि), and he rejects this doubt by means of Paribhâshâ XL. (according to which a rule that has been superseded once cannot apply again. If Paribhâshâ XII. were applicable in this case, the doubt whether ख्य ought to be substituted for तिसृ could not have arisen at all, because by this Paribhâshâ ख्य could have been substituted only for खि which is actually put down in P. VII, 1, 53; or if the doubt had arisen, it ought to have been rejected by Paribh. XII. and not by Paribh. XL.)

As[1] (Pâṇini) in rules like III., 4, 86 has put down a Genitive case which conveys the sense that for that which is denot-

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bhâshâ XII. in the case of अपिवत् is allowable. One might say that the Sthânivatsûtra applies without Par. XII. only in particular cases in which the augments इट् etc. are added, but that elsewhere Par. XII. is applicable together with the Sthânivatsûtra. To refute this our author says: 'If Paribh. XII. ...'

1. According to the preceding the Sthânivatsûtra refers only to *s'rauta âdes'a i. e.* to substitutes actually taught in Pâṇini's grammar, but not to *ânumânika âdes'a i. e.* substitutes which are not actually taught but are substituted only by inference (in the manner in which *e. g.* the combination of an augment and that to which it is added is considered a

ed by the word in the Genitive case, something else is substituted, we are not wrong in applying the Sthânivatsûtra to (such substitutes as result from) rules like III. 4, 86, even though the meaning of the said rule III., 4. 86 is (not that उ shall be substituted for ई, but) that something ending with उ shall be substituted for something ending with ई, and although the substitute taught in this rule is therefore (not the letter उ actually given in it, but) a combination of letters ending with उ. (We are not, we say, wrong in applying here the Sthânivatsûtra) because the word आदेश 'substitute' (in the Sthânivatsûtra) is employed for the very purpose (that the Sthânivatsûtra may be applied also in cases like this where a rule actually teaches a substitute which for some reason or other has to be transformed; but the Sthânivatsûtra has no reference to such substitutes as result from the statement that that to which an augment is added, combined with that augment, is a substitute for the former without the augment).[1] The relation which obtains between a substitute and that for which it is substituted, such as both are actually enunciated in a

substitute for the latter without the augment). This being the case, it may appear doubtful whether the Sthânivatsûtra is applicable to the substitute which we obtain from P. III., 4, 86. Therefore he says: 'As (Pânini)...'

1. P.: तदन्तपरतयेति | नित्यत्वानुपपत्तिमूलिकयेत्यादिः | अर्थवत्येव स्थान्यादेशभावविश्रान्तेः शब्दरूपं विशेष्यमादाय वर्णग्रहणे तदन्तग्रहणादिति भावः | °वाक्यस्यैव | एरारित्यादेरेव | इदं च मध्यमणिन्यायेनान्वेति (viz. with the preceding and following) | एवेनापठितागमस्थलीयानुमानिकवाक्यसदृशवाक्यव्यावृत्तिः | आदेशग्रहणेति | स्थानिवदित्युक्त्यैव संबन्धिशब्दमहिम्नादेशाक्षेपे सिद्धे पुनरादेशग्रहणसामर्थ्यादित्यर्थः | तस्य तादृशसमुदायादेशस्य || तथा च श्रौतस्थान्यादेशभावे तदनुपपत्तिमूलकतया कल्प्यमानतादृशस्थान्यादेशभावे च तत्प्रवृत्तिर्न त्वागमस्थलीये तवेति फलितम् ||

rule, remains unimpaired even though one (without paying any regard to the several constituent elements of a form) assumes, that the whole new form which results from the substitution, is a substitute for the whole old form, as it was before the substitution, and rules like P. I., 1, 57 अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ are therefore not improper.[1]

The opinion that the objects for which Paribhâshâ XI. is given are attained by the Sthânivatsûtra (and that Paribhâshâ XI. is therefore superfluous) is by the above refuted.

All this is found in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 20.

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1. P. supplies यथा before आनुमानिकस्थान्यादेश°, and the words तथापि श्रौतावयवावयविभावस्य न त्याग इति, यदागमा इत्येतत्प्रवृत्तिरन्याहतैवेति प्रणिदापयतीत्यादौ न दोषः after नासंगतिः; just as.....P. I., 1, 57 does not become improper, so are also in the case of augments that to which the augment is added and the augment itself considered as separate, consequently Paribhâshâ XI. is applicable and प्रणिदापयति is correctly formed.

Extract from the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 20:[1]

समानशब्दप्रतिषेधः । **समानशब्दानां** प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । प्रनिदारयति **प्रनिधारयति** । दाधा घुसंज्ञा भवन्तीति घुसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति ॥ समानशब्दाप्रतिषेधोऽर्थवद्ग्रहणात् । समानशब्दानामप्रतिषेधः । अनर्थकः प्रतिषेधो ऽप्रतिषेधः । घुसंज्ञा कस्मान्न भवति । अर्थवद्ग्रहणात् ।

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1. Kaiyaṭa: समानशब्दानामिति । समानश्रुतीनामित्यर्थः ॥ प्रनिदारयति प्रनिधारयतीति । दृङ्धृङ्डीर्णिचि वृद्धावाकारे दाधाशब्दौ संपद्येते तौ चार्थवन्तौ पश्चान् रपरत्वं क्रियमाणमागमभूतत्वादन्यत्वं न करोतीति प्राप्तिः ॥ अर्थवद्ग्रहणादिति । अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्येत्यस्यार्थस्य स्वं रूपमित्यनेन ज्ञापितत्वात् । उरण् रपर इति चाण्विधीयमान एव रपरो भवतीति बुद्धिः क्रियमाणा रपरा भवतीति दार्भीरीरेवार्थवत्त्वं न तु तदवयवयोरिति

अर्थवतोर्दाधोर्ग्रहणं नैतावर्थवन्तौ ॥ **अनुपसर्गाद्वा** । अथवा यत्क्रियायुक्ताः प्रादयस्तं प्रत्येव गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञा भवन्ति न चैतौ दाधौ प्रति क्रियायोगः । यद्येवमिहापि तर्हि न प्राप्नोति प्रणिदापयति प्रणिधापयतीति । अत्रापि नैतौ दाधावर्थवन्तौ नाप्येतौ दाधौ प्रति क्रियायोगः ॥ **न वा** । **अर्थवतो ह्यागमस्तद्गुणीभूतस्तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते** यथान्यत्र । न वैष दोषः । किं कारणम् । अर्थवत आगमस्तद्गुणीभूतो ऽर्थवद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते यथान्यत्र । तद्यथान्यत्राप्यर्थवत आगमो ऽर्थवद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते । क्वान्यत्र । लविता चिकीर्षितेति । **युक्तं** पुनर्यन्नित्येषु नाम शब्देष्वागमशासनं स्यान्न नित्येषु नाम शब्देषु कूटस्थैरविचालिभिर्वर्णैर्भवितव्यमनपायोपजनविकारिभिः । आगमश्च नामापूर्वः शब्दोपजनः । **अथ** युक्तं यन्नित्येषु शब्देष्वादेशाः स्युः । **वाढं** युक्तम् । शब्दान्तरैरिह म-

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नास्ति घुसंज्ञा ॥ अनुपसर्गाद्वा । अभ्युपगम्य घुसंज्ञां दोषं परिहरति । घुसंज्ञापेक्षया यस्यौपसर्गत्वं तस्मात्परस्य नेर्घौ परतो णत्वं विधीयते । अत्र दाधापेक्षया नास्ति प्रशब्दस्योपसर्गत्वं किंतु दार्भ्वार्शब्दापेक्षयेत्यदोषः ॥ इहापि तर्हीति । अत्रापि पुकि कृते पकारान्तोऽर्थवान्न केवलो दाशब्दः पुगन्तमेव च प्रत्युपसर्गत्वं न दाशब्दं प्रतीति प्रश्नः ॥ न वार्थवत इति । लब्धात्मकस्य भावस्य निमित्तवशादुपचयापचयौ व्यपदेशहानिं न कुरुतो यथा देवदत्तस्याङ्गाधिक्याङ्गच्छेदौ । इहाप्यन्तरङ्गत्वात्कृतायां दाधोर्घुसंज्ञायां पश्चादुत्पन्नः पुगागमो व्यपदेशं न निवर्तयति नाप्यर्थवत्त्वमित्यदोषः । अनर्थकस्याप्यागमो व्यपदेशहानिं न करोति यथा सत्यपि रेफ आकाराकारयोर्वृद्धिगुणव्यपदेशहानिः । इह त्वर्थवतोर्ग्रहणादर्थवत इत्युक्तम् । यदा च प्रकृत्यर्थः प्रेण विशेष्यते तदायं परिहारः । प्यर्थविशेषणत्वे तु प्रस्य दाधौ प्रत्यनुपसर्गत्वाण्णत्वं न भवत्येव ॥ तद्गुणीभूत इति । प्रयोगसंपादन उपकारक इत्यर्थः ॥ युक्तं पुनरिति । ततश्च नित्येष्वागमविरोधात्तद्वारेणादेशविधानाद्दाशब्द एवार्थवान्न दाशब्द इति तदवस्थो दोष इति भावः ॥ अथ युक्तमिति । तत्रापि स्थानिनमपनीयादेशः क्रियत इत्यनित्यत्वप्रसङ्गः । यश्चोभयोर्दोषो न तमेकश्चोद्यः ॥ वाढमिति । प्रसङ्गवाची स्थानशब्दो न निवृत्तिवाची । ततश्च सन्त एव प्रयोगे नित्याः शब्दा बुद्धयुन्मज्जननिमज्जनद्वारे-

वितव्यम् । तत्र शब्दान्तराच्छब्दान्तरस्य प्रतिपत्तिर्युक्ता । आदेशास्त-
र्हीमे भविष्यन्ति । अनागमकानां सागमकाः । तत्कथम् ।

सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः ।
एकदेशविकारे हि नित्यत्वं नोपपद्यते ॥

ण प्रतिपाद्यन्ते । आगमस्त्ववस्थितस्यापूर्वैः क्रियमाणो नित्यत्वं विरुणद्धि ॥ आदेशास्तर्हीति । इड् भवतीत्यनेन द्वारेण तव्यस्येतव्यादेशाः क्रियन्ते ॥ सर्वे इति । आगमा अपीत्यर्थः ॥ सर्वपदादेशा इति । पदशब्देन न सुप्तिङन्तं गृह्यतेऽपि तु कार्यं प्रति यत्पद्यमानं प्रतीयमानं प्रकृतिप्रत्ययादि तत्सर्वम् ॥ एकदेशविकारे हीति । यद्यपि सर्वविकारेऽप्यनित्यत्वं यथा पिठरस्थपयसः पाकादिषु तथापि विकाराभावप्रतिपादनार्थमेतत् । बुद्धिविपरिणाममात्रं स्थान्यादेशागमागमिभावद्वारेण क्रियत इत्यर्थः । यद्येवं दाशब्दस्य दाप्शब्द आदेशः क्रियत इति दाशब्दस्यानर्थक्यप्रसङ्गः । नैष दोषः । नित्यतासमर्थनायादेशपक्ष आश्रितः प्रक्रियायां तु कल्पितायामागमागमिभाव एव । अन्यथागमादेशयोर्भेदेन व्यवहारो न स्यात् ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XII.

(By the preceding Paribhâshâ स्था denotes not merely स्था, but it denotes also अस्था, *i. e.* स्था combined with the augment अ). Accordingly one might say that *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Aor. Par. of उद्–स्था (*i. e.* उद्+अस्थात्) a letter homogeneous to the preceding (द् of उद्) ought by P. VIII., 4, 61 to be substituted (for the initial अ of अस्थात्) To prevent this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says :

P. XII: Substitutes take the place of that (or of part of that) which (in a rule) is actually enunciated.[1]

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1. Accordingly a letter homogeneous to the द् of उद् is substituted only for the स् of स्था which actually is enunciated in P. VIII., 4, 61, but not for the अ of अस्था although by Par. XI. the latter is likewise denoted by स्था.

(This Paribhâshâ is proved thus :) The rule P. I., 1, 49 is read twice ;[1] when this is done, the second (षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा) conveys the following meaning : 'only that which is enunciated (in a rule), *i. e.* that which is read (in a rule, or rather) that which (in the real language) is like that which is read (in a rule) in a Genitive case,[2] or that which forms part of that which is enunciated (in a Genitive case,[3]) assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word स्थान 'place' (*i. e.* is that in the place of which something else is substituted), but something suggested[4] by the former (does) not (assume that relation).' Hereby (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ XII.) is established.

And one cannot object that in the case of such rules as P. VII.,

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1. P.: Although P. I., 1, 49 in the sense (अनिर्धारितसंबन्धविशेषा षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा वेदितव्या) usually assigned to it is unnecessary, because in every instance where this rule is supposed to apply the *Sthânasambandha i. e.* the import of the Genitive case that something else shall take the place of that which is expressed by the word in the Genitive case, is obtained from *Antarangatva* etc., and though the rule P. I., 1, 49, in order not to be superfluous, must therefore convey the same meaning as the present Paribhâshâ, nevertheless one might consider P. I., 1, 49 even in its usual meaning useful, viz. as instructing those who are ignorant (of *Antarangatva* etc.) and our author assumes therefore that P. I., 1, 49 is read twice.

2. षष्ठी by Paribhâshâ XXIII. means षष्ठ्यन्तम् 'that which ends with the affix of the Genitive case'.

3. निर्दिश्यमानावयवरूपमेव वा; *i. e.* उच्चार्यमाणसजातीयावयवरूपमेव वा; this refers to अतिस्यः etc.; see below.

4. *I. e.* that which either by Paribhâshâ XI. or by the *Tadantavidhi* (P. I., 1, 72) is likewise denoted by that which is enunciated in a rule; *e. g.* स्था would by Par. XI. denote also अस्था, and त्यद् by P. I., 1, 72 also अतित्यद् etc.

4, 32 etc.[1] the substitutes (which are taught in them) would (if this Paribhâshâ really did exist) not take the place of the long vowels (आ etc.) because the latter are not enunciated (in P. VII., 4, 32 etc.); for as (the अ etc. in P. VII., 4, 32 etc. is intended to denote not merely short अ etc., but) generally any अ etc. (and therefore also long आ etc., the substitutes taught in P. VII., 4, 32 etc. take the place also of the long vowels आ etc. and) there arises consequently no fault (from the application of this Paribhâshâ). Moreover[2] there arises no fault because we learn from the prohibition P. VI., 4, 85 that an operation which concerns a letter that is enunciated (in a rule), concerns all letters which that particular letter denotes according to P. I., 1, 69.[3] (It might appear as if this Paribhâshâ made the Anubandha ङ् of इयङ् and उवङ् in P. VI., 4, 77 superfluous; for, as इ and उ are enunciated in the term यौ: of that rule, one might say that इय् and उव् in accordance with the present Paribhâshâ could have been substituted only for the single letters इ and उ, even if the Anubandha ङ् had not been attached to इय् and उव्); but (this is untenable). As (P. VI.,

1. इत्यादौ; *i. e.* इत्यादिविषये माळीभवतीत्यादौ. P.

2. Now one might say, that although the opinion expressed in the words अस्य च्वौ—निर्दिश्यमानत्वाभावात् has been shown to be untenable, when the vowels अ etc. denote any अ (*jâtipakshe*), it has not been refuted *vyaktipakshe, i. e.* on the alternative that अ etc. denote only short अ etc.; therefore our author says: किंच 'moreover,' *scil.* यत:. P.

3. If the substitution of यण् which is taught in P. VI., 4, 82 and 83 did not concern also ई and ऊ etc., भू and सुधी would not fall under those rules, and the prohibition न भूसुधियो: would be meaningless.—The rules P. VI., 4, 82 and 83 would have a meaning even if they referred only to short इ and short उ; for rule 82 would apply *e. g.* in चिच्यतु: and 83 in पट्टौ, the Dâl of पटु, in the sense of पटुमन्तमाचष्टे, formed with णिच्, मनुब्लोप, and क्विप.

4, 77) conveys the meaning 'for roots ending in the letter इ or उ,[1] for श्रु, and for भ्रू etc.' roots etc. are likewise enunciated (in it) and the Anubandha ङ् has therefore been attached to इय् and उव् in order that the latter may be substituted (only) for the final letters (of those roots etc.). But in रीङ् and रिङ् (of P. VII., 4, 27 and 28) ङ् has been attached (to री and रि) solely for the sake of clearness (and has no other functions whatever).[2] The opinion according to which this addition of the Anubandha ङ् (in रीङ् and रिङ्) indicates that the present Paribhâshâ does not apply where a letter is enunciated in a rule (as that for which something else shall be substituted) is refuted by the following,[3] viz. by the circumstance that it is contrary to the Bhâshya on the fifth S'ivasûtra. (There namely it has first been suggested that) the Visarjanîya, Jihvâmûlîya, Upadhmânîya, Anusvâra, Anunâsika,

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1. On the one hand 'roots,' श्रु, and भ्रू have been enunciated in P. VI., 4, 77; on the other hand, इ and उ; but as the former are of greater importance and as इ and उ only qualify the 'roots', the substitutes इय् and उव् would, if the Anubandha ङ् had not been attached to them, take the place of the whole roots, and of the whole श्रु and भ्रू.

2. The Anubandha ङ् in रीङ् and रिङ् of P. VII., 4, 27 and 28 is superfluous because only the letter ऋ is in these rules enunciated as that for which something else shall be substituted; the word अङ्गस्य which is Adhikâra is not independently but only by the Tadantavidhi (P. I., 1, 72) Sthânin, (the sense being ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य), and according to the present Paribhâshâ a substitute does not take the place of that which is suggested by the Tadantavidhi. On the other hand, we shall see below in the case of अतिस्यः etc., that a word which is valid by Anuvritti has to be considered as enunciated in a rule if the Tadantavidhi is not concerned with it.

3. एतेन, *i. e.* वक्ष्यमाणदोषेण. P.

and Yama should be given (in the S'ivasûtras, and) one of the reasons why (this should be done, has been stated to be this, that, if Visarjanîya etc. were given in the S'ivasûtras, they would be included in the Pratyâhâra अल् and that, such being the case,) the rule P. I., 1, 52 (would apply in P. VIII., 3, 34 the result of which would be the formation of *e. g.*) वृक्षस्तत्र. (If Visarjanîya were not read in the S'ivasûtras it would not be termed अल्, and the substitute स् which is taught in P. VIII., 3, 34 would not by P. I., 1, 52 be substituted for the final of वृक्षः). But this reasoning has (subsequently) been invalidated in the Bhâshya where it is stated that (the substitution of स् for the Visarjanîya) results already from the present Paribhâshâ (viz. because the Visarjanîya is enunciated in P. VIII., 3, 34. This present Paribhâshâ has therefore in the Bhâshya distinctly been applied in a case where a letter is in a rule enunciated as that for which something else shall be substituted).

This Paribhâshâ teaches that (a substitute) does not take the place of that (or of part of that) which ends with what (in a rule) is enunciated, although (that which is enunciated in a rule) denotes in accordance with the teaching of P. I., 1, 72 also that which ends with it; nor of that combination of what is enunciated (in a rule) with an augment, which according to Paribhâshâ XI. would likewise be denoted by that which is enunciated (in a rule).[1] Therefore सुपदः,[2] उदस्थात् etc. are formed (agreeably to this Paribhâshâ).

1. P.: लब्धस्य *i. e.* विशिष्टस्य तत्त्वाभावबोधनम् (*i. e.* आगमविशिष्टस्य स्थानित्वाभावबोधनम्). This implies that in some cases that Sthânin also which is obtained from the Alo'ntyaparibhâshâ (P. I., 1, 52) likewise loses its Sthânitva by the present Paribhâshâ *i. e.* that sometimes the present Paribhâshâ supersedes P. I., 1, 52. See below.

2. पद् is substituted only for पाद् which is enunciated in P. VI., 4,

Whenever the several conditions under which the rules P. I., 1, 52 etc. apply to a rule that teaches a substitution are fulfilled, then those rules P. I., 1, 52 etc. apply *together with* this Paribhâshâ ;[1] they neither supersede it nor are they superseded by it because they do not come into conflict (with this Paribhâshâ). Nor do those rules and this Paribhâshâ stand towards each other in the relation of subserviency, this being improper[2] because both are given for the sake of other (rules). And[3] the word सर्व 'all' in P. I., 1, 55 can only be understood to mean 'all that for which according to this Paribhâshâ something else ought to be

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130, but not for that which ends with पाद् *i. e.* not for the whole सुपाद्. The आदि after उदस्थादिति suggests विंशक: as an example in the formation of which the Alo'ntyavidhi is superseded by the present Paribhâshâ. See below.

1. *E. g.* in P. VII., 2, 102, त्यदादीनाम:; VI., 4, 82 एरनेकाचोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य etc. The आदि in इत्यादीनाम् includes P. I., 1, 54 आदे: परस्य; the Plural I., 1, 55 अनेकाल् शित्सर्वस्य. P. The present Paribhâshâ restricts the substitution to that which is either actually read in a rule or is valid from another rule; the other Paribhâshâs determine which part of that to which the substitution is thus restricted, is to undergo it.—If there were any conflict between the present Paribhâshâ and P. I., 1, 52 etc. the latter would supersede the former, because they follow it in Pânini's grammar, for the present Paribhâshâ stands at P. I., 1, 49.

2. According to the maxim गुणानां च परार्थत्वादसंबन्ध: समत्वात्.

3. Now one might think that the word सर्व in P. I., 1, 55 denotes the Sthânin obtained from the Tadantavidhi and the Yadâgamaparibhâshâ, that therefore the present Paribhâshâ comes into conflict with, and is superseded by P. I., 1, 55, and that consequently in the formation of सुपद:, and निर्जरसौ etc. पद् and जरस् etc. ought to have been substituted for the whole सुपाद् and निर्जरा etc. To refute this view N. says 'and the word.....'

substituted.'[1] It is wrong to say that the two rules P. I., 1, 54 and 52 supersede this Paribhâshâ;[2] for in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 130 the present Paribhâshâ has been made use of within the sphere of the rule (P. I., 1, 54) for (the formation of) उदस्थात्.[3] Nor does this (Paribhâshâ)[4] supersede those two (rules P. I., 1, 54 and 52); for, if this were the case, those two (rules) would, as Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 142 observes, not be applicable anywhere.[5]

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1. But not 'all that which is obtained from the Tadantavidhi and Yadâgamaparibhâshâ.'

2. Because they in Pâṇini's grammar follow upon this Paribhâshâ which stands at P. I., 1, 49.

3. This implies that this Paribhâshâ has in the same place and in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 142 been made use of also within the sphere of P. I., 1, 52.—Moreover as the simultaneous application of this Paribhâshâ and the rules P. I., 1, 54 and 52 has above been shown to be possible, it is according to the maxim अवाधेनैवोपपत्तौ वाधेनोपपत्तिरन्याय्या wrong, to make the latter supersede the former or *vice versâ*. P.

4. Viz. because it is *antaranga*, Sthânasambandha being *antaranga*.

5. Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 142: नि विंशतेर्डिति ॥ तिग्रहणं किमर्थं न विंशतेर्डिति लोप इत्येवोच्येत । नैवं शक्यम् । विंशतेर्डिति लोप इतीयत्युच्यमाने ऽन्त्यस्य प्रसज्येत । सिद्धो ऽन्त्यस्य यस्येति लोपेनैव । तलारम्भसामर्थ्यात्तिशब्दस्य भविष्यति ॥ कुतो नु खल्वेतत् । अनन्त्यार्थं आरम्भे तिशब्दस्य भविष्यति न पुनरङ्गस्येति । तस्मात्तिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । अथ क्रियमाणे ऽपि तिग्रहणे ऽन्त्यस्य कस्मान्न भवति । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीति न भविष्यति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: कुतो नु खल्विति ॥ वचनसामर्थ्यादलो ऽन्त्यपरिभाषाया अनुपस्थानात्समुदायस्यैव षष्ठीनिर्देशाल्लोपः प्रसज्येत न त्वसंशब्दितस्य तिशब्दस्य । तिग्रहणे तु सति तेर्लोपो भवति ॥ निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीति । नानेन परिभाषाव्यापारः कथ्यते न हि निर्दिश्यमानपरिभाषालो ऽन्त्यस्यादेः परस्येत्येतयोर्विधिकैतयोर्निर्विषयत्वप्रसङ्गात् । तस्मात्तिग्रहणसामर्थ्यादलो ऽन्त्यस्येत्यस्यानुपस्थाने सति तेर्लोपो भवतीत्ययमस्य भाष्यस्यार्थः ॥

The maxim propounded in this Paribhâshâ does not refer to cases in which अकच् (by P. V., 3, 71 and 72) is inserted (in a word), because, just as (in a case where there is Sthânivadbhâva a substitution takes place after that for which it is to take place has been suggested solely) by the Sthânivadbhâva,[1] so in the present case also the operation (of substituting something) takes place after that, the place of which the substitute is to take, has been suggested solely by Paribhâshâ LXXXIX.; (*i. e.* the substitute takes the place not merely of that or of part of that which is enunciated in a rule, but also of whatever results from the combination of the latter with अकच्, because according to Paribhâshâ LXXXIX. any word denotes also the same word after अकच् has been inserted in it, together with अकच्.)[2]

Pâyagunda says that Nâgojîbhaṭṭa by the word कैयटः wishes to show that he himself disagrees with that scholar. P. discusses the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 142 at some length; he maintains that Kaiyaṭa's explanation is not in accordance with the words of the Bhâshya. According to some this Bhâshya does not belong to the Siddhântin, but to an Ekades'in *i. e.* a scholar who is only partly possessed of the truth. Others say that Kaiyaṭa gives the view of the Siddhântin, and that Nâgojîbhaṭṭa in order to show this has quoted P. VI., 4, 142, whereas otherwise he might have quoted P. I., 1, 49.—In reality however it is according to P. the opinion of the Bhâshyakâra that in *some* instances Paribhâshâ XII. does supersede the Alo'ntyaparibhâshâ.

1. See Par. XI.

2. Râghavendrâchârya makes the following remarks: Paribh. XII. does not apply in a rule that teaches a substitution by which अकच् does not disappear, even when Paribh. LXXXIX. is applied. This is proved by the prohibition अकः in P. VII., 2, 112 अजाद्यदन्तम्, where अकः would be superfluous if Paribhâshâ XII. did apply. We consequently form by

It ought to be understood that this (Paribhâshâ)[1] applies also where (a substitute takes the place of part of something that is enunciated in a rule and where the latter therefore stands) in the partitive Genitive. On this account the substitute स् which is taught in P. VII., 2, 106 takes in (the formation of) अतिस्यः (from अतित्यद् the place of the त् of त्यद् only which is enunciated in P. VII. 2, 102 but it) does not take the place of the letter त्[2] of the preposition (अति, although त्यद् by P. I., 1, 72 denotes also अतित्यद्. For the same reason) the substitutes यूय etc. (taught in P. VII., 2, 93 etc.) take the place only of the part ending with म् of युष्मद् etc. enunciated (in P. VII., 2, 86) but they do not in (the formation of) अतियूयम् etc. (from अतियुष्मद् etc.) take the place of the part ending with म् (of अतियुष्मद् etc. *i. e.*) of युष्मद् etc. combined with the preposition (अति).

P. VII., 2, 86 युवकाभ्याम् from युष्मकद् just as we form युवाभ्याम् from युष्मद्. But the Nirdis'yamânaparibhâshâ does apply in a rule that teaches a substitution by which अकच् would disappear if Paribh. LXXXIX. were applied; *e. g.* in P. VI., 4, 101, where त्रि is substituted only for हि but not for हकि. अकच् remains therefore in both cases. In P. VII., 2, 103 क is substituted also for किम् with अकच्, because the letter क् is repeated in the substitute; if क were substituted for only किम् Pâṇini would have said that अ is substituted for the इम् of किम्. (अकञ्विषय इति | साकच्कानपहारकादेशविधावित्यर्थः। अत्र मानमन्नाप्यक इत्यत्राक इति प्रतिषेधः | फलं तु युवकाभ्यामित्यादावात्वसिद्धिः | तदपहारके तूपतिष्ठत एवायं न्यायः | यथा हुझल्भ्य इति सूत्रे भाष्ये भिन्द्धकीत्यादावकचि हित्वाभावान्न भित्वमित्याशङ्क्यानम्। कादेशस्त्वावृत्त्या पुनर्विधानसामर्थ्यात्साकच्कस्यापि प्रवर्तते ||)

1. इयं च; चो वाक्यालंकारे. P.

2. Otherwise स् would be substituted also for this त् for the meaning of P. VII., 2, 106 is 'for त् and द् of Angas ending with त्यद् etc.'

This (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya[1] on P. VI., 4, 130 and in that on P. I., 1, 49.[2]

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1. Extract from the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 130:

पादः पत् ॥ पाद उपधाह्रस्वत्वम् । पाद उपधाह्रस्वत्वं वक्तव्यम् । द्विपदः पश्य । आदेशो हि सर्वादेशप्रसङ्गः । आदेशो हि सति सर्वादेशः प्रसज्येत । सर्वस्य द्विपाच्छब्दस्य त्रिपाच्छब्दस्य पच्छब्द आदेशः प्रसज्येत येन विधिस्तदन्तस्येति ॥ तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वा निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशत्वात् । न वा वक्तव्यम् । किं कारणम् । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । कः पुनरत्र विशेषः । एषा वा परिभाषा क्रियत उपधाह्रस्वत्वं बोध्यते । अवश्यमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या बहून्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि ॥ .... उदः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वत्वे प्रयोजनम् । उदस्थात उदस्थाताम् । अटि कृते साङ्गस्य पूर्वसवर्णः प्राप्नोति । उदः स्थास्तम्भोरिति । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीति न दोषो भवति । यस्तर्हि निर्दिश्यते तस्य कस्मान्न भवति । अटा व्यवहितत्वात् । सा तर्ह्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । न कर्तव्या । उक्तं षष्ठी स्थानेयोगेत्यस्य योगस्य वचने प्रयोजनं षष्ठ्यन्तं स्थानेन यथा युज्येत यतः षष्ठ्युच्चारितेति ॥

2. Extract from the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 49:

न तर्हीदानीमयं योगो वक्तव्यः । वक्तव्यश्च । किं प्रयोजनम् । षष्ठ्यन्तं स्थानेन यथा युज्येत यतः षष्ठ्युच्चारिता । किं कृतं भवति । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्येषा परिभाषा न कर्तव्या भवतीति ॥

Kaiyata: यतः षष्ठीति ॥ तेन पादः पदित्यस्यायमर्थः । पादन्तस्याङ्गस्यावयवः पाच्छब्दः सूत्रे षष्ठ्या निर्दिष्टस्तस्य पच्छब्द आदेशो भवति न तु प्रतीयमानस्य पादन्तस्य । अस्यैव निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्ययमर्थः ॥ षष्ठीति षष्ठ्यन्तं गृह्यते । तेन षष्ठ्यन्तमेव निर्दिश्यमानं स्थानेन युज्यते न तु प्रतीयमानमित्यर्थः । अलोऽन्त्यस्यादेः परस्यैत्येतत्तु वचनसामर्थ्यान्न वाध्यते ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XIII.[1]

(Of the three Guṇa-vowels अ, ए, and ओ, ए comes nearest to the vowel इ so far as the organs of speech are concerned with which both are uttered; and अ is prosodially nearest to इ, because both vowels are short). One might (therefore) say that *e. g.* in the (formation of the) Periph. Future of चि (*i. e.* चेता, where Guṇa has to be substituted for इ), the letter अ on account of its prosodial proximity to the letter short इ likewise ought to be substituted (for this letter, just as ए is substituted for it on account of its proximity of organ). To prevent this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. XIII: Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity[2] (between that for which something else shall be substituted, and its possible substitutes), there the proximity as to the organ of speech is weightier (than the rest, *i. e.* there that only is substituted which is nearest as regards the organs of speech with which both are uttered).

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1. This Paribhâshâ is given in this place because, like the preceding Paribhâshâ, it treats of substitution, and because it is founded on P. I., 1, 50, which follows immediately on the rule षष्ठी स्थानियोगा on which the last Paribhâshâ is founded. Some however supply after ननु the words एवमपि which they explain thus, 'although the preceding Paribhâshâ settles the question of what ought to be the *Sthânin* in a substitution, there remain nevertheless some doubts regarding the *Âdes'a*'.

2. *Viz.* which suggest several different substitutes, and which, while they keep off all substitutes that do not bear some proximity to the original, restrict the substitution to only these.

'Several kinds' means, 'as regards the organs of speech, the meaning, the qualities, and prosodial value.' The fact that (Pâṇini) repeats the word स्थाने in the rule I., 1, 50, while by a partial validity (of P. I., 1, 49) the same word स्थाने[1] is valid from P. I., 1, 49, proves this (Paribhâshâ).[2] For this (repetition of स्थाने) conveys, when (the Locative स्थाने) has been transformed[3] into an Instrumental case and when the sentence (स्थाने स्थानेनान्तरतमः) has (in accordance with this transformation) been broken up into two,[4] the following meaning: 'Substituted for something else is that which bears the closest proximity to it; and when (the existence of several kinds of proximity) makes (any choice) possible, only that (is substituted) which bears (the closest) proximity as regards the organ of speech (with which both are uttered).' The[5] very employment of (the

1. स्थान in स्थानेग्रहणे is synonymous with प्रसङ्ग; in स्थानेग्रहणम् it denotes 'the place or organ of utterance'.

2. The word एव after स्थानेग्रहणम् shows that this Paribhâshâ is proved by the employment of the word स्थाने in P. I., 1, 50, but is not established by any Jnâpaka.

3. विपरिणमय्य, *scil.*. सूचितेन; without this the employment of the Gerund would be improper, for the action which is denoted by the verb that stands in the Gerund must precede another action; literally 'by means of the breaking up of the sentence into two, which is suggested by the transformation of the Locative into the Instrumental case'. If one reads वाक्यभेदेन योऽयम्, it is unnecessary to supply सूचितेन; 'for that (word स्थाने), after one has transformed it into the Instrumental case, has to be joined by Vâkyabheda.'

4. How this is done is shown more clearly by Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 50: स्थानेऽन्तरतमो भवति। यत्र चानेकविधमान्तर्यमस्ति तत्र स्थानकृतमेवान्तर्यमाश्रीयते।.

5. Now one might say that the Vâkyabheda (which was just now assumed in the explanation of स्थाने स्थानेनान्तरतमः) is useless, because

superlative affix) तमप् (in अन्तरतम 'that which bears the *closest* proximity') proves that there exist (several grades, and proves thus indirectly, that there exist) several kinds of proximity. स्थानतः (in this Paribhâshâ) has the (same) meaning (as) स्थानेन (in स्थानि स्थानेनान्तरतमः).

Of[1] the four kinds of proximity mentioned above the proxi-

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there is no proof for it that there exist several kinds of proximity; that the word स्थानि (in I., 1, 50) does not prove it, because P. I., 1, 50 may be explained 'that which bears the closest proximity as to the organ of utterance takes in a substitution the place of the original element;' and that according to this explanation of P. I., 1, 50 that rule has no concern with the substitution of the *soshman* and *nâdavat* ष् for the *soshman* and *nâdavat* ह् in तद्धसति for तद् हसति. To meet this objection Nâgojîbhaṭṭa says तमब्ग्रहणमेव 'the very employment of (the superlative affix) तमप्' etc. If there existed only one kind of proximity, viz. proximity of organ, it would have been sufficient for Pâṇini to say in I., 1, 50 अन्तरः, because there exist no various degrees of proximity of organ. When Pâṇini says अन्तरतम: 'that which bears the *closest* proximity' this is intelligible only if his rule I., 1, 50 refers also *e. g.* to proximity of quality, and it proves thus the existence of several kinds of proximity. On this account, and in order to derive from P. I., 1, 50 the command that in तद् हसति not merely a *soshman* (as *e. g.* ष्) is to be substituted for the *soshman* ह्; and not merely a *nâdavat* (as *e. g.* द्) for the *nâdavat* ह्, but that a letter which shows the closest proximity, *i. e.* which is both *soshman* and *nâdavat* (*i. e.* ध्) is to take the place of ह्, is the explanation of P. I., 1, 50 by Vâkyabheda absolutely necessary.

1. In each of these examples there exists only one kind of proximity and therefore only the first part of P. I., 1, 50 ('substituted for something else is that which bears the closest proximity to it') applies to them.

mity as regards the organ of utterance is well known (to obtain in such substitutions as are taught) *e. g.* in P. VI., 1, 77.[1] (Proximity) as regards meaning (we see) *e. g.* in P. VI., 1, 63. The (substitutes[2] पद् etc. which are taught in this rule VI., 1, 63) take the place of the words पाद etc. which convey the same meaning and contain (almost) the same letters (as पद् etc.), for by the maxim that that only can become a substitute which has the power to express the meaning of the original, a substitute takes the place of that the meaning of which it is able to express. (Proximity as regards meaning we have) also[3] in P. VII., 1, 95 (and elsewhere; proximity) as regards quality[4] in instances like वाग्यतिः etc.; prosodial[5] (proximity) in P. VIII., 2, 80 etc.

1. Palatal य् is substituted for palatal इ; labial (or dento-labial) व् for labial उ; lingual र् for lingual ऋ; dental ल् for dental ऌ.

2. The original words for which पद् etc. are substituted are not given in P. VI., 1, 63; how then are they known? To answer this question N. says: स्थान्यर्थाभिधान°. ते *i. e.* पदादयः.

3. A second example is given because one might say that P. VI., 1, 63 teaches no real substitution, but draws merely the distinction between पाद etc. and पद् etc. that the former may be used throughout and the latter only in certain cases.—इति च *i. e.* इत्यादौ च. P.

4. गुण 'quality' means here any quality or property (धर्म) not included under the other three heads (of *sthâna*, *artha* and *pramâna*). Although the Vâhyaprayatnas, as *vivâra* 'opening' etc., are not really contained in the letters as their properties, nevertheless the letters are metaphorically said to possess those properties.—वाग्यतिः cf. Si. Kau. I., p. 62.

5. Although shortness etc. are really properties (गुण) of letters, they are nevertheless mentioned separately, in the same manner in which one sometimes speaks first of Brâhmans and mentions afterwards Vasishtha separately although the latter is likewise a Brâhman. Cf. Si. Kau. I., p. 180.

This (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya[1] on P. I., 1, 50.

1. Extract from the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 50:

अथ स्थान इति वर्तमाने पुनः स्थानग्रहणं किमर्थम् । यत्रानेकविधमान्तर्यं तत्र स्थानत आन्तर्यं बलीयो यथा स्यात् । किं पुनस्तत् । चेता स्तोता । प्रमाणतोऽकारो गुणः प्राप्नोति स्थानत एकारौकारौ । पुनः स्थानग्रहणादेकारौकारौ भवतः ॥ अथ तमब्ग्रहणं किमर्थम् । ज्ञयो हौऽन्यतरस्याम् [८. ४. ६२] इति सोष्मणः सोष्माण इति द्वितीयाः प्रसक्ताः । नादवतो नादवन्त इति तृतीयाः प्रसक्ताः । तमब्ग्रहणाद्ये सोष्माणो नादवन्तश्च ते भवन्ति चतुर्थाः । वाग्घसति लिट्टुब्भसतीति ॥

Kaiyata: यत्रानेकवीति ॥ स्थानग्रहणेऽनुवर्तमाने वाक्यभेदः क्रियते । स्थाने ऽन्तरतमो भवति । यत्र चानेकविधमान्तर्यमस्ति तत्र स्थानकृतमेवान्तर्यमाश्रीयत इति । वाक्यभेदस्य च तमब्ग्रहणमेव लिङ्गम् । स्थानकृत एव हि सादृश्ये गृह्यमाणे सादृश्यान्तरपरित्यागात्तमब्ग्रहणमनर्थकमेव स्यात् ॥ सोष्मण इति । ऊष्मत्वगुणयुक्तस्येत्यर्थः ॥ तमब्ग्रहणादिति । ईषत्सदृशेऽपि लोके सदृशव्यवहारदर्शनादिह तमब्ग्रहणं कृतम् ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XIV.

(Vârttika 3 on P. VI., 1, 89 teaches that, when प्र is combined with following ऊह, ऊढ etc., the Vṛiddhi-vowel औ etc. is substituted for the अ of प्र and the ऊ of ऊह, ऊढ etc.; *e. g.* प्र + ऊढ=प्रौढ). Now one might say that by this Vârttika the Vṛiddhi-vowel (औ) ought (also) in the case of प्र + ऊढवान् (where प्र is likewise followed by ऊढ) to be substituted (for the अ of प्र and the ऊ of ऊढवान्). To prevent this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. XIV: (A combination of letters capable of) expressing a meaning (denotes), whenever it is employed (in grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning,

but it) does not denote (the same combination of letters) void of a meaning.[1]

This (Paribhâshâ) is based on (the consideration) that whenever it is possible for the meaning which is conveyed when a particular[2] form is employed, to be united (with that form) so as to qualify it, there is no reason why it should be detached (from it). By 'meaning'[3] we have to understand here, as appears from the Bhâshya on P. V., 1, 22,[4] also the grammatical meaning which is assigned (to an affix, a base etc.) because (the meaning of an affix etc.) is assumed to present itself (when the

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1. Accordingly the term ऊढ in P. VI., 1, 89, 3 does not denote the portion ऊढ of ऊढवान् for here ऊढ is meaningless, ऊढवत् being formed of वह् + क्तवत्; the Vârttika can therefore not apply to प्र + ऊढवान्.

2. विशिष्ट° *i. e.* वर्णसमूह°. P.

3. Now one might say that अर्थ denotes here what is ordinarily understood by 'meaning' *i. e.*, the *laukikârtha*, and that, as this *laukika* meaning is found only either in a sentence or in complete words, it cannot be ascribed to the base ऊढ, nor *e. g.* to the affix तीय (in a Vârttika on P. I., 1, 33; Si. Kau. I., p. 102); and that consequently this Paribhâshâ can draw no distinction between the base ऊढ of the Past Pass. Ptc. and the portion ऊढ of ऊढवत्, nor between the तीय of द्वितीय and that of पटुजातीय. To meet this objection N. says, 'by meaning' etc.

4. Bhâshya on P. V., 1, 22: संख्याया अतिश° ॥ उतेश्च । उतेश्चेति वक्तव्यम् । इहापि यथा स्यात् । कतिभिः क्रीतं कतिकम् । किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति । त्यन्तायां नेति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति । तिप्रतिषेधाद्धुतिग्रहणमिति चेदर्थवद्ग्रहणात्सिद्धम् । अर्थवतस्तिशब्दस्य ग्रहणं न च उतेस्तिशब्दोऽर्थवान् । नैषा परिभाषेह शक्या विज्ञातुं न हि केवलेन प्रत्ययेनार्थो गम्यते । कथं तर्हि । सप्रकृतिकेन । क्व तर्ह्येषा परिभाषा भवति । यान्येतानि शब्दसंघातग्रहणानि । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । अर्थवद्ग्रहणात्सिद्धम् । ननु चोक्तं नैषा परिभाषेह शक्या विज्ञातुं न हि केवलेन प्रत्ययेनार्थो गम्यते कथं तर्हि सप्रकृतिकेनेति । केवलेनापि प्रत्ययेनार्थो गम्यते । कथम् । उक्तमन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्याम् ॥

affix etc. are present) and to be absent (when the latter are absent, and *vice versâ*). As stated in the Bhâshya[1] on P. III., 4, 77, this (Paribhâshâ) does not concern single letters[2] that may be employed (in grammar; and) therefore the ancient (grammarians have said) that it applies wherever particular forms (such as combinations of letters) are enunciated (in a rule). Hereon only is based (the Vârttika) which we read in the Bhâshya on

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Kaiyata on केवलेनापि ॥ शास्त्रव्यवस्थाहेतुरन्वयव्यतिरेकगम्यार्थवत्ताश्रीयत इत्यर्थः । अत एव शौ अर्थवद्ग्रहणात्काशे कुश इत्यादौ शौशब्दस्य ग्रहणाभावः (cf. P. I., 1,13) । उपसर्गाणामपि केवलानां प्रयोगाभावाल्लौकिक्या अर्थवत्तायाः अभावादन्वयव्यतिरेकव्यवस्थाप्येवासावाश्रीयते ॥

1. Bhâshya on P. III., 4, 77:

लस्य ॥ लादेशौ सर्वप्रसङ्गोऽविशेषात् । लादेशौ सर्वस्य प्रसङ्गः । सर्वस्य लकारस्यादेशः प्राप्नोति । अस्यापि प्राप्नोति । लुनाति लभते । किं कारणम् । अविशेषात् । न हि कश्चिद्विशेष उपादीयत एवंजातीयस्य लकारस्यादेशौ भवतीति । अनुपादीयमाने विशेषे सर्वप्रसङ्गः । अर्थवद्ग्रहणात्सिद्धम् । अर्थवतो लकारस्य ग्रहणम् । न चैषोऽर्थवान् । अर्थवद्ग्रहणात्सिद्धमिति चेन्न वर्णग्रहणेषु । अर्थवद्ग्रहणात्सिद्धमिति चेन्न । किं कारणम् । वर्णग्रहणमिदं न चैतद्वर्णग्रहणेषु भवत्यर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्येति । तस्माद्विशिष्टग्रहणम् । तस्माद्विशिष्टस्य लकारस्य ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । न कर्तव्यम् । धातोरिति वर्तते इत्यादि ॥

Kaiyata: अर्थवद्ग्रहणादिति । लडादय एव भावाद्यर्थाभिधायिनः स्थानित्वेन गृह्यन्त इत्यर्थः ॥ न वर्णग्रहणेष्विति । लस्येत्यत्र लकारेऽकार उच्चारणार्थस्तताश्च वर्णमात्रस्यायं निर्देशः । वर्णनिर्देशेषु विद्यमानाप्यर्थवत्ता शब्देन नाश्रिता वर्णरूपमात्रस्याश्रयणात् । ततश्च यस्येति लोपोऽनर्थकस्यापि भवति (cf. P. VI., 4, 148) । दैवदत्तिरिति ॥ तस्मादिति । भावाद्यर्थाभिधायिनो लस्येति वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः ॥ धातोरिति वर्तत इति । विहितविशेषणं च धातुग्रहणमाश्रीयत इत्यग्निचिन्नभत इत्यत्रापि न भवतीत्यादि ॥.

2. If this Paribhâshâ were applicable to single letters, P. VI., 1, 77 इको यणचि would indeed apply to ई (*i. e.* Lakshmi) + अ (*i. e.* Vishnu), but not *e. g.* to the final उ of भवतु before the initial इ of इति, because in the latter case उ and इ are meaningless.

P. I., 1, 72,[1] 'that wherever P. I., 1, 72 refers to a meaningless (term), this (term) can only be a single letter,' (or, in other words, that wherever P. I., 1, 72 applies to a combination of letters, this combination of letters can only be such as possesses a meaning[2]).— Moreover (the existence of this Paribhâshâ is also proved thus:) in the rule P. I., 1, 68 the word स्व which means 'one's own' denotes 'the meaning,' (and) the word रूप (denotes) 'the individual form' (of a word), and thus P. I., 1, 68 conveys the sense, that a word denotes both (things expressed by) those (two words स्व and रूप, *viz.* its meaning and its form[3].) The mean-

1. Siradeva and others maintain that there is a second Paribhâshâ न वर्णग्रहणेषु the existence of which they believe to be indicated by P. I., 1, 17 उञः. This rule, they say, is given to prevent (optionally) the substitution of व् for उ in उ+इति, which results from P. VI., 1, 77 इको यण्अचि; but if the Arthavatparibhâshâ were applicable here, व् could not by P. VI., 1, 77 be substituted for उ before the इ of इति, because this इ has no meaning; consequently P. I., 1, 17 shows that the Arthavatparibhâshâ does not apply here. Or Siradeva etc. believe the second Paribhâshâ न वर्णग्रहणेषु to be indicated by सप्तम्यर्थे in P. I., 1, 19, *i. e.* by the circumstance that P. VI., 1, 77 has been applied here to the final ई of सप्तमी befor the meaningless अ of अर्थे.

2. Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72: अलैवानर्थकेन नान्येनानर्थकेनेति वक्तव्यम् | किं प्रयोजनम् | ह्रस्वग्रहणे ह्रीह्रस्वग्रहणं मा भूदित्यादि ||

Kaiyata: अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्येति वर्णनिर्देशेषु नाश्रीयत इति स्थितम् | वर्णरूपतया यस्य शब्दस्याश्रयणं नार्थवत्तारूपमाश्रीयते | तत्र वर्णग्रहणं च सर्वेलित्यत्र वर्णग्रहणे जातिग्रहणाद्वर्णसमुदायग्रहणेऽप्यनर्थकस्य ग्रहणं प्राप्तमनेनैव निवार्यते || अलैवेति चैकत्वसंख्या गुणत्वाद्विवक्ष्यते नियमविधानसामर्थ्याद्वा || ह्रस्वग्रहण इति | तेन ह्रीह्रानाविति दीर्घो भवति ||

3. P. explains तदुभयम् by 'the two things denoted by the two words

1. Ed. om. ग्रहणेऽप्यनर्थकस्य. 2. Ed. °नेन नियमेन.

ing can here not be qualified (by the form) because no grammatical operation can possibly take place in the meaning; on the contrary, the meaning qualifies the word-(form); and, this being the case, the sense which results (from P. I., 1., 68) is this that (a word) denotes a certain word-form qualified by (or, possessed of) a meaning. Hereby,[1] as appears from the Bhâshya, (the existence of) this Paribhâshâ is established.

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used in *that* Sûtra (I., 1, 68)'; or by 'the two things denoted by *those* two words स्व and रूप'; he also says that the reading एतदुभयम् is easy.

1. तेन *i. e.* 'by that rule (P. I., 1, 68) the meaning of which has been given'.—Now one might say that the existence of this Paribhâshâ cannot be established by P. I., 1, 68, because this rule has been rejected. On this account Nâgojîbhaṭṭa adds इति भाष्ये *i. e.* इत्यादि भाष्ये स्पष्टम्. This shows that, in case P. I., 1, 68 be rejected, this Paribhâshâ is established only by the first proof adduced for it, 'विशिष्टरूपोपादानिमानाभावः'.—Cf. Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 68: स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा । रूपग्रहणं किमर्थं । शब्दस्य स्वमित्येव रूपं शब्दस्य संज्ञा भविष्यति । न ह्यन्यत्स्वं शब्दस्यास्ति । अन्यदतो रूपात् । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यद्रूपग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः । अस्त्यन्यद्रूपात्स्वं शब्दस्येति । किं पुनस्तत् । अर्थः । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्येति परिभाषा न कर्तव्या भवतीत्यादि ॥

1. Ed. न स्वं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा भवतीत्येव.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XV.

(P. VI., 3, 46 teaches that आ is substituted for the final of महत् when the latter is compounded with a word which, in case the compound were dissolved, would stand in the same case as महत्; *e. g.* महादेवः, महाबाहुः). Now one might say that by this rule आ ought to have been substituted (for the final of महत् also in

the formation of महद्भूतः which occurs) in (such phrases as) महद्भूतश्चन्द्रमाः 'the moon which has as it were become great';[1] (for although according to Paribh. XIV. महत् in P. VI., 3, 46 cannot denote any meaningless महत्, it does denote महत् wherever this word possesses a meaning which is the case in महद्भूतश्चन्द्रमाः). To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. XV: When a word besides its primary meaning possesses a secondary meaning, an operation (which may be taught in grammar concerning this word) takes effect (only) when the latter conveys its primary (but not, when it conveys its secondary) meaning.

गौण 'secondary' (derived from गुण by P. IV., 3, 74,) means 'derived from a quality'; *e. g.* the word गो 'ox' conveys the (secondary) meaning 'one who is only fit for bearing burdens, an unintelligent person', because (such a person has) certain qualities such as stupidity etc. (in common with an ox. Occasionally) we also make (a word) denote something which in reality is not (what that word denotes originally, but) to which the word is applied as a name,[2] solely because the qualities of that (which the word originally denotes) are ascribed to it;[3]

1. महद्भूतः does not mean that the moon has actually become great, but it means that the quality of greatness, which the moon in reality does not possess, has been ascribed to it. Cf. Si. Kau. I, p. 729, note 45.

2. संज्ञादिः is explained by संज्ञा आदिः प्रथमो बोधकोऽस्येत्यर्थः । तथा च संज्ञाबोध्य इति फलितम् ॥

3. *E. g.* the word रघुनाथ may as a name denote any man, not because he is 'a chief of the Raghus' but because he is supposed to have certain qualities in common with Râma, the real lord of the Raghus.

(the meaning which a word conveys in the latter case, is likewise called a 'secondary' meaning). मुख्य (derived from मुख by P. V., 3, 103) means 'as it were the head,' because it is the main (sense), 'first,' 'primary';[1] for a word which is employed in a secondary sense, is so employed (only) because (the character of that which it denotes in) its primary sense is ascribed (to that which it denotes in its secondary sense).[2] And thus, so far as this (Paribhâshâ) is concerned, a word is गौण 'secondary' when that which is denoted by it is in reality not (what is denoted by the word in its primary sense, *i. e.* when the word is used merely as a name), and also when the word metaphorically denotes a person or thing on account of certain qualities (which the latter has in common with that which is expressed by the word in its primary sense). Accordingly the substitution of त्रय (for त्रि which is taught in P. VII., 1, 53) does take place in (the Gen. Plur. of प्रियत्रि and we obtain thus) प्रियत्रयाणाम् 'of persons to whom three are dear' etc. because, although the meaning of the word त्रि qualifies here something else (*viz.* the persons to whom three are dear, and is therefore in a certain sense secondary,) it is not secondary in the sense in which this term is used in this Paribhâshâ.[3] Besides, the maxim (which is ex-

1. The words are likewise मुख्य 'primary' or गौण 'secondary' according as they convey a primary or a secondary meaning.

2. And in order that this may be possible, the primary meaning must necessarily exist 'first.'

3. The author of the Vârttikas has for this reason in connection with P. I., 1, 27 given the prohibitory rule, that सर्व etc. when they are in compounds *Upasarjana*, are not to be called सर्वनामानि. If an *Upasarjana* were secondary in the sense in which this term is used here, the application of the term *Sarvanâman* to सर्व etc. in cases where these words

pressed by) this (Paribhâshâ) has nothing to do with an operation which concerns the crude form (of a word), but it refers only to an operation which concerns a (complete) word, provided that (in the rule which teaches this operation) a particular word-form, that conveys some individual meaning, is (either valid from a preceding rule or) enunciated (as that which is liable to undergo the operation which is taught in the rule).[1] The reason why (this Paribhâshâ) has nothing to do with an operation that concerns a crude form, is namely this that (a word) conveys a secondary meaning (only) when, after its formation has been completed,[2] it is combined with another word, as *e. g.* (गो 'ox') in गौर्वाहीकः 'an ox only fit to bear burdens, an unintelligent person,' but not at the time when its crude form is liable to undergo grammatical operations, and that therefore the changes which, because they (are *antaranga*, *i. e.*) apply first, have taken place already (when this Paribhâshâ is applicable), cannot be prevented (by the latter).

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are *Upasarjana* would be prohibited by this Paribhâshâ, and need not have been forbidden by a special rule.

1. If, in order to guard against too wide an application of this Paribhâshâ, it had been said to apply only to an operation or rule in which a *Pada* is the उद्देश्य *i. e.*, that which is liable to undergo the operation, the Paribhâshâ would not have been applicable *e. g.* to P. IV., 1, 137 राजश्वशुराद्यत् and would not have prevented the addition of the affix यत्, which is taught in that rule, to श्वशुर when this word denotes metaphorically 'one who resembles a father-in-law.' Nor would it have been applicable to P. I., 1, 15, ; (see below).—As विशिष्टरूपम् has the same sense which this word had in the preceding Paribhâshâ, and as उद्देश्यम् has to be supplied after it, the meaning of विशिष्टरूपम् is वर्णसमूहात्मकरूपमुद्देश्यम्.

2. According to the maxim स्वार्थे परिपूर्णमर्थान्तरमाकाङ्क्षते.

The words[1] 'provided that—enunciated' (are employed above) in order (that the Paribhâshâ may not be applicable *e. g.* to P. IV., 1, 95 अत इञ्, or, in other words, in order to show) that in such derivatives as श्वाशुरि meaning 'the descendant of one who resembles a father-in-law' the affix इञ् which is taught in P. IV., 1, 95, has been correctly added (to श्वशुर 'one who resembles a father-in-law'). Nor can one say that the word प्रातिपदिक (which is valid in P. IV., 1, 95, the meaning of this rule being 'अदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्' etc.) fulfils the condition expressed in the words 'provided—enunciated' (and that therefore the Paribhâshâ ought to have been applied to P. IV., 1, 95, and ought to have prevented the formation of श्वाशुरि in the sense of 'the descendant of one who resembles a father-in-law'); for that (word 'Prâtipadika') does not convey any individual meaning, because it tells us only that something termed 'Prâtipadika' (undergoes the operation taught in P. IV., 1, 95). The word[2] निपात, on the other hand, denotes (because

1. श्वशुर in its primary sense means 'a father-in-law,' in a secondary sense 'one who resembles a father-in-law.' Pânini teaches in IV., 1, 137 राजश्वशुराद्यत्, that the affix यत् is added to श्वशुर in the sense of 'a descendant.' The addition of this affix concerns a complete word, viz. the word श्वशुरस्य in श्वशुरस्यापत्यम्, and besides the particular word-form श्वशुर which conveys an individual meaning, is given in the rule which teaches its addition. Consequently the present Paribhâshâ applies in this case and prevents the addition of यत् to श्वशुर in the secondary sense 'one who resembles a father-in-law.' But the Paribhâshâ does not apply to P. IV., 1, 95 अत इञ्.

2. To obviate the objection that if this Paribhâshâ is not applicable to P. IV., 1, 95, it can likewise not be applicable to P. I., 1, 15 ओत्, Nâgojîbhaṭṭa says निपातपदं तु 'the word Nipâta, on the other hand.' In गोभवत्, गो has a secondary meaning because गोभवत् conveys the sense that somebody who is not an ox became similar to an ox; when a

this term has been assigned to the individual words च etc. which have all been enumerated in the Gaṇa चादि) the words च etc. just as they are (each of them individually) enumerated in the Gaṇa चादि; accordingly the present (Paribhâshâ) does apply in rules like P. I., 1, 15 that teach an operation to which Nipâtas are subject, and there is consequently nothing strange in (the fact that by this Paribhâshâ the ओ of गो) in गोभवत् 'he became like an ox' (from गो + अभवत्, has notwithstanding the rule P. I., 1, 15, not been regarded as *pragrihya.*)

When the word अग्नीषोम which denotes the two gods who really are (Agni and Soma) is in अग्नीषोमौ माणवकौ 'two men Agni and Soma' applied to (two men) who resemble Agni and Soma, ई and ष् (that have been substituted for the इ of अग्नि, and the स् of सोम by P. VI., 3, 27 and P. VIII., 3, 82,) remain because they (are *antaranga, i. e.*) have been substituted before (अग्नीषोम received a secondary meaning. But) in the formation of a Dvandva-compound of the two words अग्नि and सोम employed metaphorically to denote (two men) who resemble (Agni and Soma), and (in the formation of a Dvandva-compound) in the sense of 'a man named Agni and a man named Soma,' ष् is not substituted (for the स् of सोम),[1] because in the former case

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person by a curse etc. is really changed into an ox P. V., 4, 50 is not applicable.—Râghavendra makes the following remarks: निपातपदमिति । ननु चादीनां तथोपस्थित्योपतिष्ठतां नाम तदंश एषा च्व्यन्तस्य तु न तथेति कथं तत्र विशिष्टरूपोपादानम् । किंच प्रकृतावारोपेण वर्तमानादेव च्विविधानेन तस्य न मुख्यगौणार्थसंगतिर्भवति । किंचैवं निपातेदिदृयककार्यमात्रे च्व्यन्तस्याग्रहणापत्तिरिति चेत् । अत्र केचित् । चार्थांशे विशिष्टरूपोपादानमात्रेण प्रवृत्ता परिभाषांशान्तरमप्यनुगृह्णाति । कार्यान्तरे त्वनित्यत्वादस्याप्रवृत्तिरिति ॥

1. The substitution of ई for the इ of अग्नि is not prevented by this Paribhâshâ; it cannot possibly take place because the compound of अग्नि

(the words अग्नि and सोम) are metaphorically applied to two men on account of their having certain qualities in common (with the gods Agni and Soma), and because in the latter case the two men are not really Agni and Soma (but are only named thus). Consequently the (author of the) Bhâshya on P. VIII., 3, 82 is[1] right in preventing the substitution of ष् for स् in अग्निसोमौ माणवकौ by the maxim conveyed in this Paribhâshâ.

Although[2] persons who employ such phrases as गां पाठय 'make

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and सोम is in this case no *Devatâdvandva;* (cf. P. VI., 3, 27). The reading नेत्त्वषत्वे has to be explained: 'इ is not substituted for the इ of अग्नि because the compound is no *Devatâdvandva*, and the substitution of ष् for the स् of सोम is prevented by this Paribhâshâ.'

1. Cf. Bhâshya on P. VIII., 3, 82: अग्नेर्दीर्घात्सोमस्य | अग्नेर्दीर्घात्सोमस्येति वक्तव्यम् | अग्नीषोमौ | इतरथा ह्यनिष्टप्रसङ्गः | इतरथा ह्यनिष्टं प्रसज्येत | अग्निसोमौ माणवकाविति | तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् | न वक्तव्यम् | गौणमुख्ययोर्मुख्ये संप्रतिपत्तिः | तद्यथा गौरनुबन्ध्योऽजोऽग्नीषोमीय इति न वाहीकोऽनुबध्यते | कथं तर्हि वाहीके वृद्धग्राम्ये भवतः | गौस्तिष्ठति गामानयेति || अर्थाश्रय एतदेवं भवति | यद्धि शब्दाश्रयं शब्दमात्रं तद्भवति | शब्दाश्रये च वृद्धग्राम्ये ||

Kaiyaṭa: गौणमुख्ययोरिति | लौकिक एवायं न्यायः शास्त्रं आश्रीयते | स्वं रूपं शब्दस्येति रूपग्रहणादर्थवद्रूपमाश्रीयते स चार्थो मुख्य एव गृह्यते न तु गौणः | तत्र प्रसिद्धग्राम्यप्रसिद्धिभ्यां मुख्यगौणव्यवस्थेति माणवके संज्ञात्वेन विनियुक्तावग्निसोमशब्दौ गौणार्थाविति षत्वाभावः || शब्दाश्रये चेति | प्रातिपदिकस्य वृद्धग्राम्ये | प्रातिपदिकं तु न लौकिकेनार्थवत्त्वेनान्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां कल्पितेन | तस्यां चावस्थायां लौकिकार्थत्वाभावाद्गौणमुख्याभावाद्रूपमात्राश्रयं कार्यं प्रवर्तते तस्मिन्प्रवृत्ते मुख्येऽर्थे गौणे वार्थे प्रयोगः | अथवा शब्दो न कदाचित्स्वार्थपरित्यागेनार्थान्तरे प्रवर्तते | अर्थस्त्वर्थान्तरे समारोपितो यदा शब्दप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं भवति तदा गौणव्यवहारः | तत्र प्रातिपदिकं स्वार्थे एव वर्तमानं वृद्धग्राम्ये प्रतिपद्यते पश्चात्तु पदार्थान्तरारोपितस्वार्थस्य गौणत्वमिति पदाश्रयेष्वेव कार्येषु गौणमुख्यव्यवस्थाश्रयणम् ||

2. In order to account for the Acc. गाम् in such phrases as गां वाहीकमानय 'fetch the stupid ox', one might say that, as the Accusative termination

the ox read' etc., at the time when they add the (Accusative) termination (to गो etc.) are aware that (this crude form) conveys here a secondary meaning because that which is denoted by the primary meaning (of गो, viz. a real ox,) cannot become the object of 'causing to read', nevertheless to the hearers everywhere only a complete word conveys a secondary meaning because only complete words are employed in the language. On this account and because in such passages of the Bhâshya as अत्वं त्वं संपद्यते 'one who is not you becomes (like) you', अमहान्महान्भूतः 'one who is not great, has become (as it were) great,' त्वद्वति 'he is (like) you' etc., the substitutes त्व etc. (which are taught in P. VII., 2, 94; 97) and the long vowel (आ which according to P. VI., 4, 10 is substituted for the अ of महत्) etc. have actually been substituted (although त्वम् etc. convey a secondary meaning), it is proper to say that this Paribhâshâ applies only to operations which concern complete words. Other-

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is added to गो in order to denote the particular relation which obtains between 'ox, and 'fetching', and as there is so far no indication of गो conveying a secondary meaning, there is no reason why the form गाम् should not be formed, and that afterwards when गाम् is combined with वाहीकम्, it must remain unchanged although गो in this combination does convey a secondary meaning. One might further maintain that the case is different in phrases like गां वाहीकं पाठय 'make the stupid ox read', because here गो must convey a secondary meaning already at the time when the Accusative termination is added to it. For this Acc. termination denotes a relation between 'ox' and 'causing to read'; such a relation, however, is impossible unless गो conveys a secondary meaning from the very beginning. Consequently the Paribhâshâ ought here to apply at the time when the Acc. termination is added to गो and ought to prevent the formation of गाम्. To meet this objection Nâgojibhatta says 'although persons' etc.

wise (*i. e.* if the Paribhâshâ did apply also to such operations as concern crude forms, it would in phrases like 'make the ox read,' etc. prevent the substitution of आ etc. in the Accusative of गो etc. and in that case) those (आ etc.) would not appear in the (phrases गां पाठय etc.) at the time when (the Accusative of गो etc.) are combined to form a sentence.

Moreover (we can prove that not merely the hearer but) also the speaker apprehends a secondary meaning only in a complete word (as *e. g.* in गाम्, viz.) at the time when he combines (this word गाम) with (the verb which expresses) the action of 'causing to read' (and that he does not apprehend it in the crude form गो at the time when he adds the Accusative termination). The (author of the) Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 45 remarks namely that when we say शुक्लाम् 'a white (cow)' we specify (by doing so) an object, but specify neither an agent nor an action etc.,[1] and he goes on to say, that when saying 'Devadatta brought a black cow', we specify everything, viz. we show that only 'a cow' is the object, only 'Devadatta' the agent, only 'he brought' the action. The purport (of this passage of the Bhâshya) is this that, while, when a noun with a certain case-termination etc. is employed by itself, all verbs which govern that case may be supplied, the (actual) employment of a (particular) verb etc. serves

1. इत्यादि etc. implies that, when we say देवदत्त, we specify by doing so an agent, but specify neither an object nor an action, and when we say अभ्याज, we specify an action, but specify neither an agent nor an object.—The Bhâshya, Kaiyaṭa, and Pâyagunda read the Vocative case देवदत्त, and Kaiyaṭa remarks on the words कर्ता निर्दिष्टः of the Bhâshya, संबोधनविषयमनियतक्रियं कर्तृमात्रमित्यर्थः. One would have expected rather the Nominative case देवदत्तः.—After सर्वं निर्दिष्टम् supply इत्युक्तेन (viz. भाष्येण).

the purpose of restricting (the dependence of the case to this one verb.) Herefrom we learn that, when we wish to denote (*e. g.*) merely the seat of that which accrues from an action in general (without reference to any particular action) we rightly employ the Accusative case etc. (by P. II., 3, 2 etc. The Accusative case गाम् is consequently formed before गो is brought into connection with the particular action of 'causing to read' or, in other words, before even the speaker apprehends the secondary meaning of गो.—As this Paribhâshâ)[1] so the verse 'when they are so employed that their meaning is manifest etc.' which is based on this (Paribhâshâ), refers likewise to operations that concern complete words.

And this (circumstance that the present Paribhâshâ refers to operations which concern complete words) has (also) been indicated[2] by the author of the Vârttikas when he on P. I., 1, 27

1. This Nâgojibhaṭṭa adds in order to refute the erroneous opinion that the maxim which is expressed in the verse अभिव्यक्तपदार्था ये etc. is a separate Paribhâshâ. The whole verse runs thus:

अभिव्यक्तपदार्था ये प्रसिद्धा लोकविश्रुताः ।
शास्त्रार्थेष्वेषु कर्तव्यः शब्देषु न तदुक्तिषु ॥

'An operation which (concerning certain words) is taught in a rule takes effect in these words, when they are so employed that their meaning is manifest (in that which they denote *e. g.* when गो denotes a real ox), when that which they denote is actually what they express (*e. g.* when रघुनाथ denotes Râma who is really a chief of the Raghus), and is generally known to be so, but not when they, (destitute of their original meaning), are employed as mere names.'

2. *Viz.* because the remarks of the author of the Vârttikas etc. would be superfluous if the Paribh. did refer to operations which concern crude forms.

makes the prohibitory statement that सर्व etc. when they are employed as names are not to be termed (*Sarvanâmâni*), and by the author of the Sûtras when he in I., 1, 34 says असंज्ञायाम् 'not when they are names', and also by the author of the Bhâshya when he rejects both (the Vârttika on P. I., 1, 27 and the word असंज्ञायाम् in P. I., 1, 34) by saying that (the term सर्वनामानि) is a term the application of which accords with its meaning (*i. e.* by explaining it to mean सर्वेषां नामानि.)[1]

The (passage of the) Bhâshya[2] on P. I., 1, 15 'so it is with that which is based on the meaning, whereas Vṛiddhi and आ (in गौः and गाम्; see P. VII., 1, 90; VI., 1, 93) are based on the word-form,' has this sense: 'the maxim (expressed by this

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1. Cf. Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 27; Edit. pag. 449.

संज्ञोपसर्जनप्रतिषेधः । संज्ञोपसर्जनीभूतानां सर्वादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । सर्वो नाम कश्चित्तस्मै सर्वाय देहि ।....। स कथं कर्तव्यः । पाठात्पर्युदासः पठितानां संज्ञाकरणम् । पाठादेव पर्युदासः कर्तव्यः । शुद्धानां पठितानां संज्ञा कर्तव्या । सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति । संज्ञोपसर्जनीभूतानि न सर्वादीनि ।....संज्ञाप्रतिषेधस्तावन्न वक्तव्यः । उपरिष्टाद्योगविभागः करिष्यते । पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायाम् । ततोऽसंज्ञायामिति । सर्वादीनीत्येवं यान्यनुक्रान्तान्यसंज्ञायां तानि द्रष्टव्यानि ।।.....अथवा महती संज्ञा क्रियते संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघीयः । कुत एतत् । लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम् । तत्र महत्याः संज्ञायाः करण एतत्प्रयोजनम् । अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत । सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति । सर्वेषां नामानीति चातः सर्वनामानि । संज्ञोपसर्जने च विशेषेऽतिष्ठेते ।।.....

Kaiyaṭa: यतो न लघीय इति । शब्दव्यवहारो लघुः । ततोऽपि लघीयो नाम तत्र गुरुसंज्ञाकरणात्सर्वादीनां विशिष्टो धर्मोऽनुमीयते नूनमेतानि संज्ञाप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तेन सर्वनामत्वेन युक्तानि यतस्तदनुरूपा तेषां संज्ञा कृतेति सर्वनामकार्यमन्तर्गणकार्यं च सर्वनामत्वयुक्तानामेव भवति न संज्ञोपसर्जनानाम ।।

2. Cf. the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 3, 82 quoted above pag. 91. It is almost identical with the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 15.

Paribhâshâ) concerns words which are fit to bear the meaning which words convey in common life, whereas those (Vṛiddhi and आ) concern the word-form which (as a crude form) is (still) void of that [1] (fitness to bear the meaning which words convey in common life);' this is the only possible explanation of the above (passage of the) Bhâshya[2] because in P. VII., 1, 90, according to the actual reading of that rule, a particular word-form (viz. गो) has actually been given. Sapienti sat.

1. तद्रहित° *i. e.* लौकिकार्थवत्त्वयोग्यत्वसमानाधिकरणपदत्वरहित°. P.

2. And शब्दाश्रये cannot be explained by 'concerning merely letters which have no meaning'.—The actual reading गोतः, and not औतः, is the proper reading in P. VII., 1, 90.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XVI.

(The author of the Paribhâshâs) mentions the following exception[1] to Paribhâshâ XIV:

P. XVI: Wherever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed (in grammar), denote (by P. I., 1, 72) something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there (अन्, इन्, अस्, and मन्) represent (these combinations of letters) both in so

1. Paribhâshâ XVI. is separated from Paribhâshâ XIV., although it forms an exception to it, because the intervening Paribhâshâ XV. is really only a part of Paribhâshâ XIV. As Paribhâshâ XIV. concerns the meaning, and as the meaning may be two-fold, primary and secondary, it was necessary to ascertain which meaning should be understood, before an exception to Paribhâshâ. XIV. could be given.

far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning.[1]

This (Paribhâshâ) is in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72 given verbatim in the form of a Vârttika.[2] Accordingly (the substitution of) Lopa for the अ (of अन् of nouns ending in अन्, which is taught in P. VI., 4, 134) takes place (not merely) in the Instr. Sing. (etc.) of राजन् (but also in that) of सामन् etc. (although in सामन् अन्, being only part of the affix मन्, is void of meaning); similarly the restriction (regarding the substitution of ई for the इ of इन् of nouns ending in इन्) which is taught in P. VI., 4, 12; 13, concerns (not merely) दण्डिन्, (but also) वाग्मिन् etc. (although इन् possesses a meaning only in दण्डिन्, which is formed with the affix इन्, and is meaningless in वाग्मिन् where it forms only part of the affix); similarly (the substitution of) long (आ for the अ of अस् of nouns ending in अस्, which is taught in P. VI., 4, 14) takes place (not merely) in the Nom. Sing. of सुपयस् (but also in that) of सुस्रोतस्[3] etc. (although the अस् in सुस्रोतस् is void of

1. 'Meaning' can here only be 'the grammatical meaning', *viz.* the meaning which grammarians assign to the affixes अन् etc.

2. It is neither established by a Jnâpaka nor based on a Nyâya.—Cf. Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72: अनिनस्मन्ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति । अन् । राज्ञेत्यर्थवता साम्नेत्यनर्थकेन । इन् । दण्डीत्यर्थवता वाग्मीत्यनर्थकेन । अस् । सुपया इत्यर्थवता सुस्रोता इत्यनर्थकेन । मन् । सुशर्मेत्यर्थवता सुप्रथिमेत्यनर्थकेन ॥ Kaiyata: सुस्रोता इति । अनागमकानां सागमका आदेशा इत्याश्रयणादसावनर्थकयमर्थवतो ह्यागम इति न्यायाश्रयणे त्वर्थवानेवासौ शब्दः ॥

3. When the affix अस् has received the augment त्, only the combination तस् possesses a meaning, according to the maxim अनागमकानां सागमका आदेशाः; the same results also from the maxim that, when an augment has been added to any term, only both combined convey a

a meaning) ; and the prohibition of the addition of (the feminine affix) ङीष् (to nouns ending in मन्) which is taught in P. IV., 1, 11, applies (not merely) to सुशर्मन् (but also to) सुग्रथिमन् etc. (although in the second instance मन्, being only part of the affix इमन्, is meaningless).

Others[1] however maintain that, because Pâṇini, in order to prevent the substitution of ढ् (for the ष् of षीध्वम्) in परिवेविषीध्वम्[2], employs in VIII., 3, 78 the word अङ्गात्, Paribhâshâ XIV. is not universally valid, and that that (for which we have accounted by this Paribhâshâ XVI.) has its cause in that (partial invalidity of Paribh. XIV. which has thus been indicated by Pâṇini).

Others, (and with these we agree), say that अङ्गात् (in P. VIII.,

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meaning. Kaiyaṭa (cf. last note) who maintains that by the maxim अर्थवतो ग्रागमः अस् in स्रोतस् possesses a meaning, and who implies thereby that according to this view सुस्रोताः is no proper example, is hereby refuted.

1. अन्ये तु; प्राञ्च इत्यर्थः P.

2. परिवेविषीध्वम् is the 2. pers. plur. Potent. Âtm. of rt. विष् with परि; षीध्वम् has no meaning in this form because it is made up of ष्, *i. e.* the final letter of the root, and of the termination ईध्वम्. In instances like च्योषीढ्वम्, *i. e.* च्यौ + षीध्वम्, on the other hand, षीध्वम् does possess a meaning because it is all termination. P. VIII., 3, 78 teaches that the ष् of षीध्वम् when it follows an Anga that ends with any one of the letters contained in the Pratyâhâra इण्, is changed to ढ्; he says 'when it follows an Anga' in order to prevent the application of his rule to वेविषीध्वम्; here we likewise have षीध्वम्, but this षीध्वम् does not follow an Anga and consequently its ष् cannot be changed to ढ्. If Paribhâshâ XIV. were here valid the word अङ्गात् in P. VIII., 3, 78 would be superfluous, because the combination of letters षीध्वम् in that rule would denote only षीध्वम् when possessed of a meaning *i. e.* the termination षीध्वम् in च्यौ+षीध्वम् etc., but it would not denote the meaningless षीध्वम् of परिवेविषीध्वम्.

8, 78) serves the purpose of guarding against the erroneous supposition that षित्वम्, as it in P. VIII., 3, 79 can only be void of meaning (on account of its being part of इषित्वम्[1] which only as a whole possesses a meaning), might also in P. VIII., 3, 78 denote only that (meaningless combination of letters षित्वम्.)[2]

1. इषित्वम् and षित्वम् bear the same relation towards each other as तस् and अस् in the above सुस्तोतस्.

2. Paribhâshâ XIV. is consequently in no way invalidated by the word अङ्गात् in P. VIII., 3, 78 and in order to account for the forms सास्मा etc. we must adopt Paribh. XVI.—Nor can one maintain that by Paribhâshâ XIV. षित्वम् ought not to be supplied in P. VIII., 3, 79, because it would be meaningless in the latter rule, and that therefore the word अङ्गात् in P. VIII., 3, 78, as it can in this case not possibly convey the meaning which the पदे ascribe to it, can only indicate the invalidity of Paribh. XIV. This view is wrong because according to Paribh. XVII. षित्वम् *must* together with लुङ् and लिट् be supplied in P. VIII., 3, 79. P.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XVII.

One might say that, because (of the several words in P. I., 2, 11 only the one word) आत्मनेपदेषु stands immediately near (P. I., 2, 12), only this word ought from P. I., 2, 11 (to be valid, or in other words) to be connected (with the words) in P. I., 2, 12, (and that the other words लिट्सिचौ of P. I., 2, 11 ought not to be valid in P. I., 2, 12). To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says :

P. XVII : When several words of a rule are (mutually) connected, they either are *all* valid (in a subsequent rule) or *none* of them is valid.

The word वा has the sense of एव 'only.'[1] The meaning (of the Paribhâshâ is this) that words, the meanings of which are mutually connected,[2] must (as the case may be) either *all* be valid, or *all* cease to be valid (in a subsequent rule; *i. e.* when one is valid the others also are valid, and when one ceases to be valid the others likewise cease to be valid).[3] Such is the case because the very same (practice) is observed in common life when several people are appointed to the same office; (*viz.* they all have to act in one and the same manner.[4] Some) maintain that the repetition in P. VII., 2, 35 of (the term) इट्, which occurs in the previous rule P. VII., 2, 8 and might have been (regarded as) valid in P. VII., 2, 35, indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ); for (they say that) इट् is repeated for the purpose of showing that the word न (of P. VII., 2, 8, which by this Paribhâshâ would be valid in VII., 2, 35 together

1. P. विकल्पान्वयासंभवादाह वाशब्द इति । जातावेकवचनं वाशब्दावित्यर्थः। वा स्याद्विकल्पोपमयोरेवार्थ इति कोषादिति भावः ॥ वा एवार्थ इति पाठान्तरम् ॥. I have translated वा—वा by 'either—or'.

2. This shows that the word योग in एकयोगनिर्दिष्टानाम is synonymous with संबन्ध, and not with सूत्र; if योग did denote here 'a grammatical rule' *all* the words of a rule would either be valid or cease to be valid, even though their meanings might not be mutually connected, which is not the case.

3. If therefore the word आत्मनेपदेषु of P. I., 2, 11 is valid in P. I., 2, 12, लिङ्सिचौ must likewise be valid in the latter rule.

4. This Paribhâshâ is consequently based on a generally recognized maxim. The opinion of Sîradeva and others who maintain that its existence is indicated by the employment of सिच् in P. I., 2, 14, which, they say, would be superfluous if this Paribhâshâ did not exist because in that case सिच alone might be valid in P. I., 2, 14 from P. I., 2, 11, is herewith rejected.

with इट्) must not be connected (with the words of P. VII., 2, 35.)[1] But this is wrong; for it is contrary to (a passage in) the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 6 where, in order to show that we can dispense with the इट् in P. I., 1, 6, it has been stated that the repetition of इट्[2] (in P. VII., 2, 35), notwithstanding that इट् is valid (from P. VII., 2, 8) is intended to show that the augment इ is not liable to undergo a Guṇa-change.[2] (The इट् of P. VII., 2, 8 *is* therefore valid in P. VII., 2, 35);[3] on the other hand, the fact that न (of P. VII., 2, 8 which according to this Paribhâshâ ought to be valid together with इट्) is no longer valid (in P. VII., 2, 35), is accounted for by the maxim expressed in Paribhâshâ XVIII.—Really, however, the (above-mentioned passage from the) Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 6 contains the view of one who is only partly acquainted with the true state

1. If this Paribhâshâ did not exist, इट् alone might be supplied from P. VII., 2, 8 in P. VII., 2, 35, and the actual repetition of इट in the latter rule would be superfluous. But as this Paribh. does exist, इट् cannot be supplied without the न in connection with which it occurs in P. VII., 2, 8; its repetiton in P. VII., 2, 35 is therefore necessary, and indicates at the same time the existence of the Paribhâshâ.

2. The repetition of इट् would therefore not be superfluous even if this Paribhâshâ did not exist, and consequently it cannot indicate the existence of this Paribhâshâ.

Cf. Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 6: इटश्चापि ग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुम् । कथमकर्णिषमरणिषं कर्णिता श्वो रणिता श्व इति । आर्धधातुकस्येड्वलादेरित्यत्रेडिति वर्तमाने पुनरिड्ग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनमिडेव यथा स्यान्नदन्यत्प्राप्नोति तन्मा भूदिति । किं चान्यत्प्राप्नोति । गुणः ॥

3. इट् is really valid in P. VII., 2, 35 from P. VII., 2, 8, and it is repeated merely in order to show that Guna cannot be substituted for the augment इ. Why then is the न of P. VII., 2, 8 not likewise valid in P. VII., 2, 35? This question is answered by 'on the other hand' etc.

of the case; for in the Bhâshya[1] on P. VII., 2, 8 it has been shown, that the term इट् is superfluous in P. VII., 2, 35 (and not in P. I., 1, 6; and this must be regarded as the correct view of the matter) because it is improper to reject the इट् of P. I., 1, 6 by means of retaining इट् in P. VII., 2, 35 when in doing so we are obliged to have recourse to rather too artificial an explanation[2] (of the latter.)

1. Cf. Bhâshya on P. VII., 2, 8: इदमस्ति । नैवृशि कृति । ततो वक्ष्यामि । आर्धधातुकस्य वलादेरिति । इडित्यनुवर्तते । नेति निवृत्तम् ॥

2. Viz. by assuming it to indicate that the augment इ never undergoes a Guna-change.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XVIII.

Now (one might object that, if the preceding Paribhâshâ were really adopted), it would be improper to say that (the term) भलुक् (of P. VI., 3, 1) is valid as far as P. VI., 3, 24 and (the term) उत्तरपदे (of the same rule) as far as P. VI., 3, 139, because (भलुक् and उत्तरपदे) in the rule (P. VI., 3, 1) are (mutually) connected; and that it would for the same reason be improper that in P. IV., 1, 27 etc. (only the part) संख्यादेः should be valid from P. IV., 1, 26 and that अव्ययादेः should cease to be valid. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. XVIII: Sometimes (it) also (happens that only) a part (of the words of a rule which are mutually connected) is valid (in a subsequent rule, while the rest ceases to be valid).

Kaiyaṭa on P. V., 2, 25[1] explains (the word एकयोगनिर्दिष्टयोः) to mean, 'of two (words) which in a rule stand in such a connection as to convey one meaning' *i. e.* 'of two (words) of a rule that form a Dvandva-compound and denote (on that account several things so) combined as to be regarded as one.'—All that (we learn from Paribh. XVII. and XVIII.) results from the circumstance that exactly so much (as is meant to be valid in a subsequent rule) is (by the authorities on grammar) agreed upon to be *svarita*.[2]

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1. Bhâshya on P. V., 2, 25: पक्षात्तिः। मूल इति वक्तव्यम्। पक्षस्य मूलं पक्षतिः। तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम्। न वक्तव्यम्। मूल इति वर्तते। क्व प्रकृतम्। तस्य पाकमूले पीलवादिकर्णादिभ्यः कुणब्जाहचौ [५. २. २४] इति। यदि तदनुवर्तते पाकेऽपि प्राप्नोति। मूल इत्यनुवर्तते पाक इति निवृत्तम्। कथं पुनरेकयोगनिर्दिष्टानामेकदेशो वर्तते। एकयोगनिर्दिष्टानामप्येकदेशानुवृत्तिर्भवति। तद्यथा संख्याव्ययादेर्ङीप् [४. १. २६] दामहायनान्ताच्च [२७] संख्यादेरित्यनुवर्तते ऽव्ययादेरिति निवृत्तम्॥

Kaiyaṭa: एकस्मिन्नर्थे योगः संबन्धस्तेन निर्दिष्टयोः समुदायाभिधायिद्वन्द्वनिर्दिष्टयोरित्यर्थः॥ द्वन्द्वस्य तदर्थस्य चैकत्वादिकदेशानुवृत्तिर्न संभवतीति भावः। एकसूत्रनिर्दिष्टानां त्वेकदेशानुवृत्तिर्दृश्यते॥ एकयोगनिर्दिष्टानामपीति। अर्थाधिकारपक्षे ऽर्थस्यैकत्वाद्विच्छेदाभावान्न स्यादेकदेशानुवृत्तिः। शब्दाधिकारपक्षे तु यस्यैव शब्दस्य स्वरितत्वं प्रतिज्ञातं तत्सदृशशब्दान्तरसंनिधानं योगोत्तरे प्रतीयत इति दोषाभावः॥

P. Nâgojibhaṭṭa thinks, that according to Kaiyaṭa एकयोगनिर्दिष्ट means 'forming a Dvandva-compound', and he quotes Kaiyaṭa in order to indicate that he himself prefers another explanation. In reality, however, Nâgojibhaṭṭa misunderstands Kaiyaṭa; the latter wishes to say that sometimes even in the case of words that form a compound only one of the words compounded is valid in a subsequent rule, and that this must therefore be much more the case when words are not compounded.

2. Where the latter Paribhâshâ is applied in the Bhâshya, the Pûrvapakshin tries to prevent its application by stating that of several words of a rule which are mutually connected one only cannot be valid in

This (Paribhâshâ) and also the preceding one are found in the Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 27, on P. VI., 1, 93[1] (and in the Bhâshya on P. V., 2. 25.)

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a subsequent rule. The Pûrvapakshin in these cases attaches the main importance to the sense of the words which are mutually connected, and he thinks that as their sense is one and inseparable, one word only cannot be valid in the sequel. But the Siddhântin attaches the main importance to the words, and he considers that the word or words, which is or are *svarita*, is or are valid in a subsequent rule; one word may be made *svarita* while another is not *svarita*; sometimes one word may be *svarita* up to a certain rule, and another word may be *svarita* up to another rule. By a different assumption of *svaritatva* the limits of the *Anuvritti* become different; by assuming *svaritatva* of one part only, only this one part becomes valid; by assuming *svaritatva* of several words together, all these words become valid up to the same limit.—Siradeva says that Paribhâshâ XVIII. is indicated by the word इति in P. I., 1, 67, because the repetition of this word shows that of the two words इति निर्दिष्टे in P. I., 1, 66 only the one word निर्दिष्टे is valid in I., 1, 66; another scholar maintains that it is indicated by गुणवृद्धी in P. I., 1, 3 which would be superfluous if P. I., 1, 1 and 2 were both valid. Both these views are refuted by the above. P.

1. The Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 27 contains almost nothing but what is said in the Bhâshya on P. V., 2, 25; see above.—Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 93:

ननु चोक्तम् । ओतस्निङि प्रतिषेध इति । सुबधिकारात्सिद्धम् । सुरीति प्रकृतं वर्तते । क्व प्रकृतम् । वा सुप्यापिशलेः [६. १. ९२] इति । यद्यनुवर्तत इहापि विभाषा प्राप्नोति । सुग्रहणमनुवर्तते वाग्रहणं निवृत्तम् । कथं पुनरेकयोगनिर्दिष्टयोरेकदेशोऽनुवर्तत एकदेशो न । एकयोगे चैकदेशानुवृत्तिरन्यत्रापि नावश्यमिहैव । एकयोगनिर्दिष्टानामप्येकदेशानुवृत्तिर्भवति । अन्यत्रापि नावश्यमिहैव । क्वान्यत्र । अत्रुगधिकारः प्राक्षानङ उत्तरपदाधिकारः प्रागङ्गाधिकारात् ॥.—Paribhâshâ XVII. is not actually read in any of the three passages of the Bhâshya quoted above.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XIX.

(P. VII., 2, 102 teaches that before case-terminations अ is substituted for the final of त्यद् etc. Considering that अ denotes by P. I., 1, 69 अणुदित्सवर्णस्य च etc. also all letters homogeneous with अ, and therefore also the nasalized अ, and that according to P. I., 1, 50 out of a number of possible substitutes that only ought to be substituted which bears the closest proximity to the original), one might say that, when P. VII., 2, 102 is applied (to इदम्) *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Acc. Sing. Masc. (इमम्),[1] the nasalized (अ ought to be substituted for the final म् of इदम्, and that the penultimate अ of इमम् ought therefore to be a nasalized अ). To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says :

P. XIX: (A letter) which is taught (in a rule) does not denote (the letters) homogeneous with it.[2]

The[3] word अप्रत्ययः in P. I., 1, 69 debars (a letter from denoting also those letters), which it (otherwise) would denote,[4] (firstly)

1. इमम् is formed thus: इदम् + अम्, by P. VII., 2, 102 इद अ + अम्; by P. VI., 1, 97 इद् अ + अम्; by P. VI., 1, 107 इद् अ + म्; by P. VII., 2, 109 इम् अ + म् *i. e.* इमम्; the अ of इमम् stands therefore in the place of the original म् of इदम्.

2. The unnasalized अ, the substitution of which is taught in P. VII., 2, 102, cannot therefore denote nasal अ, although the latter is homogeneous with the former; and nasalized अ can consequently not by P. VII., 2, 102 be substituted for the final of इदम्.

3. Hereby Nâgojîbhaṭṭa shows that this Paribhâshâ does not teach anything new but is established by the meaning of P. I., 1, 69.

4. P.: ननु कैन् प्राप्तं तन्निषिध्यत इति चेत्। तत्रादौ व्यक्तिपक्ष आह सूत्रेति। जातिपक्ष आह जातेति। व्यक्तिपक्ष एवानण्साधारण्येनाह गुणेति।; *e. g.* ई which is not contained in the Pratyâhâra अण्, and which therefore cannot by P. I.,

in accordance with (the words अणुदित्सवर्णस्य च of) the same rule, (secondly), as representative of all the letters of its own class, and (thirdly) on the ground that (mere difference of) quality does not constitute any difference (of letters; and) by the force[1]

1, 69 denote both the *anunâsika* and the *niranunâsika* ई, nor the *udâtta* and *anudâtta* ई, would denote all these letters by Paribhâshâ CIX.

1. सामर्थ्यात्; P.: ननु प्रत्यये निषेधेऽपि तेनादेशादौ कथं निषेधः । अत आह सामर्थ्यादिति ।....तथा चादेशादौ लिखा प्राप्तं तत् (*viz.* सवर्णग्रहणं) तत्सूत्रस्थाप्रत्यय इति निषेधेन न सामर्थ्यादित्यर्थः । अप्रत्यय इत्येतत्सामर्थ्यादिति पाठस्तु सुगम एव ॥ Cf. Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 69 (Ed. Ballantyne pag. 758): अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः । अप्रत्यय इति किमर्थम् । सनाशंसाभिक्ष उः [३. २. १६८] अ सांप्रतिके [४. ३. ९] । अत्यल्पमिदमुच्यते ऽप्रत्यय इति । अप्रत्ययादेशटिकिन्मित इति वक्तव्यम् । प्रत्यय उदाहृतः । आदेश इदम इश् [५. ३. ३] इतः इह । टिति लविता लवितुम् । किति बभूव । णिति हे अनड्वन् ॥ टितः परिहारः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न टिता सवर्णानां ग्रहणं भवतीति यदयं ग्रहोऽलिटि दीर्घत्वं शास्ति [७. २. ३७] । नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकं नियमार्थमेतत्स्यात् । ग्रहोऽलिटि दीर्घ एवेति । यत्तर्हि वृतो वा [७. २. ३८] इति विभाषा शास्ति ॥ सत्यमेष परिहारो भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं नेत्येवं न भविष्यति । प्रत्यये भूयान्परिहारः । अनभिधानात्प्रत्ययः सवर्णान्न ग्रहीष्यति । यान्हि प्रत्ययः सवर्णान्गृह्णीयात्तैरर्थस्याभिधानं स्यात् । अनभिधानान्न भविष्यति ॥ इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् । इह केचित्प्रतीयन्ते केचित्प्रत्याय्यन्ते । ह्रस्वाः प्रतीयन्ते दीर्घाः प्रत्याय्यन्ते । यावद्ह्रस्वात्प्रत्याय्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं नेति तावदप्रत्यय इति । किं पुनर्दीर्घैः सवर्णग्रहणेन गृह्णीयात् । ह्रस्वम् । यन्नाधिक्यान्न भविष्यति । प्लुतं तर्हि गृह्णीयात् । अनण्त्वान्न ग्रहीष्यति ॥ एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदप्रत्यय इति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषा भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं नेति ॥

Extract from Kaiyaṭa:

अप्रत्यय इति किमर्थमिति । किं यस्य प्रत्ययसंज्ञा विहिता तस्य प्रतिषेध उत यः प्रतीयते विधीयत इति यौगिकप्रत्ययस्तस्यापीति प्रश्नः ॥.....प्रत्यये भूयानिति । साधारणासाधारणशेषेत्यर्थः । प्रत्यय इत्यन्वर्थसंज्ञा कृता येनार्थे प्रतियन्ति स प्रत्ययो न च दीर्घप्लुतयोरर्थस्याभिधानमस्ति ॥ ह्रस्वा इति । प्रतीयन्ते श्रूयन्त उच्चार्यन्ते ऽणादिचोदनास्वित्यर्थः ॥

1. Ed. यावच्च ब्रूते.

which it possesses (in P. I., 1, 69, अप्रत्ययः has this debarring power not merely in regard to letters that are affixes, but also in regard to letters which are substitutes or augments). The same is the purport (of this Paribhâshâ. The author of the Bhâshya) on P. I., 1, 69, after having previously proved in a different manner[1] that (a letter which is) an affix, or a substitute, or an augment, cannot denote the letters homogeneous with it, (says) therefore: 'Because then (everything that was supposed to be accomplished by अप्रत्ययः) is thus attained (without अप्रत्ययः, Pâṇini's) object in

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दीर्घा इति | ह्रस्वैर्गृहीतैरणत्वाद्दीर्घाणां ग्रहणात् | भटन भा विभक्तौ [७.२.८४] इत्यत्राकारो ग्राह्को मा भूदित्यर्थः | यथैव ह्यण्त्वादाकारो रपरत्वादिकार्यं प्रतिपद्यते तथा ग्राहकत्वमपि प्रतिपद्येतेति भावः | कथं पुनरप्रत्यय इत्यस्याप्रत्याय्यमान इत्यर्थः | अन्तर्भावितण्यर्थादेतेः कर्मण्यञ्विधानात् ||.....भाव्यमानमेति | प्रतीयते विधीयत इति यौगिकस्यात्र प्रत्ययस्य ग्रहणमिति भावः ||

अप्रत्ययः is unnecessary both when प्रत्यय has the technical meaning of 'affix,' and when it conveys the sense of प्रत्याय्यमान; it must therefore convey the same meaning which is conveyed by the present Paribhâshâ, and that it may be able to do so, the meaning of प्रतीयमान, *i. e.* विधीयमान, भाव्यमान is ascribed to the word प्रत्यय by Kaiyaṭa.

1. *Viz.* by the present Paribhâshâ which is necessary both when P. I., 1, 69 is rejected and when it is retained; in the former case, in order to prevent letters from denoting also the letters homogeneous with them, which they would denote जातिपक्षे, and गुणभेदकत्वेन; in the latter case, in order to prevent at least substitutes, and augments that have the Anubandha क् or म् from denoting letters homogeneous with them. As to augments that have the Anubandha ट्, there exists a Jnâpaka which indicates that they cannot denote homogeneous letters; and a letter which is an affix cannot denote the letters homogeneous with it because the latter would not convey the meaning of the affix.

making the prohibition अप्रत्ययः can be no other than to indicate[1] the existence of the Paribhâshâ "a letter—homogeneous with it." Moreover[2] the fact that (Pâṇini in the term आत् of) VI., 4, 160 employs the long (vowel आ) indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ; for without this Paribhâshâ the actual enunciation of long आ would have been superfluous) because the (substitution of) *long* (आ for the ई of ईयस्) would (by P. I., 1, 50) have resulted from the (prosodial) proximity (of these two vowels, even) if (Pâṇini) had merely said ङ्याद ईयसः. This (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 69 and on P. VI., 4, 160.[3]— In P. VIII., 2, 30 etc. (the letters क् etc.) which are taught

1. ज्ञापयतीति; P.: एकदेशानुमतिद्वारोक्तपरिभाषां बोधयतीत्यर्थः। एवं चैतदर्थबोधकत्वेनैव तस्य सार्थक्यमिति नान्यत्रेवाल ज्ञापकत्वमिति भावः। (Cf. Nâgoji. on P. I., 1, 69. Ed. pag. 760). अप्रत्ययः indicates the existence of this Paribhâshâ by admitting one part of it *viz.* by admitting the Paribhâshâ in cases where the letter taught is an affix. (Cf. the different opinion of Kaiyaṭa pag. 107.) अप्रत्ययः differs from other Jnâpakas in this that it conveys the sense which is expressed by this Paribhâshâ, but does not become *charitârtha* after having established its existence. Cf. Paribh. I., pag. 2, note 3.

2. This is added because the rule P. I., 1, 69 and therewith the above-mentioned Jnâpaka अप्रत्ययः of the present Paribhâshâ might possibly be altogether rejected. If this Paribhâshâ did not exist, it would have been sufficient to say ङ्याद ईयसः, because in that case अ would have denoted also all homogeneous letters, and of all these possible letters only आ could on account of its prosodial proximity to ई have been substituted for this vowel.

3. Cf. Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 160: अथ किमर्थं ङ्याद्ग्रहरस्येयसो दीर्घ उच्यते नाकार एवोच्येत। का रूपसिद्धिः। ङ्यायान्। आन्तर्यतो दीर्घस्य दीर्घो भविष्यति। एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदीर्घग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषा भाव्यमानेनेति॥

(in those rules) do nevertheless denote the letters homogeneous with them, because the Anubandha उ has been attached to them; (for उ would have been superfluous if क् etc. had not been meant to denote also the letters homogeneous with them). With a view to this,[1] modern (grammarians) adopt the following reading (of the above Paribhâshâ): 'a letter that is contained in the Pratyâhâra अण् does, when it is taught (in a rule), not denote the letters homogeneous with it.'[2]

1. एतदेव *i. e.* अनण्युदिति तत्सामर्थ्यमेव. P.

2. Notwithstanding that Paribhâshâ XIX. can only refer to such letters as are contained in the Pratyâhâra अण्, the above reading of modern grammarians should not be adopted because it does not occur in the Bhâshya. P.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XX.

Now one might say that in accordance (with the preceding Paribhâshâ the vowel उ *e. g.* in P. VIII., 2, 80 ought to denote only short उ, but that, if such were really the case,) a rule like P. VIII., 2, 80 could not enjoin (the substitution of) long (ऊ for a long vowel like औ etc.) *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Nom. Du. Masc. of अदस् (*i. e.* अमू)[1]. To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. XX: The letter उ denotes, even when it is taught (in a rule, also) the letters homogeneous with it.[2]

1. According to P. it has been shown elsewhere that it is wrong to regard the उ of P. VIII., 2, 80 with Bhaṭṭoji. Si. Kau. I., p. 180, as a Samâhâra-dvandva of उ+ऊ.

2. Accordingly उ in P. VIII., 2, 80 denotes also ऊ, and only the latter can by P. I., 1, 50 be substituted for the original औ.

The addition of (the letter) ऌ् (to ऽ) in P. VI., 1, 131[1] and 111 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ; for ऌ् has been added in order to show that the ऽ of both rules is meant to denote only short ऽ. If this Paribhâshâ did not exist, the addition of ऌ् would have been superfluous, because in that case ऽ could by the preceding Paribhâshâ have denoted only short ऽ). This (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 185.[2]

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1. If the term क्ङिति of P. VI., 4, 15 is no longer valid in P. VI., 4, 19, ऊ must by the latter rule be substituted for the व् of दिव् *e. g.* in the Instr. Plur. For this ऊ short ऽ is subsequently substituted by P. VI., 1, 131. But if the term क्ङिति of P. VI., 4, 15 *is* valid in P. VI., 4, 19, ऊ cannot by the latter rule be substituted for the व् of दिव्, but ऽ has to be substituted by P. VI., 1, 131. Considering that on the latter alternative the addition of ऌ् to ऽ in VI., 1, 131 cannot suggest the existence of this Paribhâshâ, Nâgojibhaṭṭa adds another Jnâpaka *viz.* the addition of ऌ् to ऽ in P. VI., 1, 111. The ऌ् which is added to ऽ in the latter rule, prevents, after it has indicated the existence of this Paribhâshâ, the substitution of long ऊ for the two vowels ऋ + अ.

2. Cf. Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 185:

तिस्त्वरितम् । तिति प्रत्ययग्रहणम् । तिति प्रत्ययग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत् । ऋत इद्धातोः [७. १. १००] किरति गिरति । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । नेष तकारः । कस्तर्हि । दकारः । यदि दकार आन्तर्यतो दीर्घः प्राप्नोति । भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं नेत्येवं न भविष्यति । यदि भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं नेष्यते ऽदसोऽसेर्दादु दो मः [८. २. ८०] अमूभ्यामित्यत्र न प्राप्नोति । एवं तर्ह्याचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्युकारेण भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणमिति यदयं दिव उदित्युकारं तपरं करोति ॥ एवमर्थमेव तर्हि प्रत्ययग्रहणं कर्तव्यमत्र मा भूदिति । नैष तकारः । कस्तर्हि । दकारः । यदि दकारो न ज्ञापकं भवति । एवं तर्हि तपरस्तत्कालस्य [१. १. ७०] इति दकारोऽपि चत्वभूतो निर्दिश्यते । यद्येवं चत्वेस्यासिद्धत्वाद्धशि च [६. १. ११४] इत्युत्वं प्राप्नोति । सौत्रो निर्देशः । अथवासंहितया निर्देशः करिष्यते । अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः तपरस्तत्कालस्येति ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XXI.

(In forms like गवे, अव् has been substituted by P. VI., 1, 78 for the ओ of गो before the affix ए). Now one might say that, in (forming a compound like) गोहितम् etc.[1] of गवे हितम् etc. (where लुक् is substituted for the affix ए by P. II., 4, 71), the substitutes अव् etc. ought to have taken the place (of ओ etc.) in accordance with P. I., 1, 62, (by which an operation dependent on an affix should take place even after the disappearance of the affix). To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says :

P. XXI: (An operation) which is caused by an affix, does (in case the latter should disappear) not take place, if it depends on the letter or letters (of the affix and not on the affix as such).[2]

This (Paribhâshâ) concerns (operations) where the main importance attaches to letters (*i. e.* operations which are caused by letters as such and not by affixes as such).[3] And that it applies really only in such cases[4] is established by the circumstance that, whereas (the purport of P. I., 1, 62) would have been accomplished, (without the employment of the word प्रत्ययलक्षणम्), by making the word स्थानिवत् of P. I., 1 56 valid in P. I., 1, 62, प्रत्ययलक्षणम् has been employed (in I., 1, 62), in order (to show) that P. I., 1, 62 applies only to those (operations) in which the

1. The आदि 'etc.' includes *e. g.* रायः कुलम् रैकुलम्, where आय् ought to have been substituted for ऐ.

2. वर्णाश्रये is a Bahuvrihi compound; *scil.* विधौ कार्ये.

3. वर्णप्राधान्याश्रयकविधिप्रवृत्तिविषयमिदं वचनमित्यर्थः. P.

4. तत्त्वं च; वर्णप्राधान्याश्रयकविधौ कार्येऽप्रत्ययलक्षणत्वं चेत्यर्थः. P.

main importance attaches to the affixes (*i. e.* to those operations which depend on affixes as such). By 'main importance of the affix' we mean 'its not qualifying anything else.'

The main importance of letters, on the other hand, appears in two forms, *viz.* either they do not qualify anything else, or they are qualified by an affix.[1] Accordingly अव् etc. have not been (substituted for ओ etc.) in गोहितम् etc. (*viz.* because the ए, included in the Pratyâhâra अच् of P. VI., 1, 78, which causes the substitution of अव् etc., does not qualify anything else); and in (the formation of) चित्रा 'born under the Nakshatra Chitrâ' the affix ङीप् has not by P. IV., 1, 15 been added to चित्र (the affix अण् of which has disappeared by the substitution of लुक्), because P. IV., 1, 15 teaches that ङीप् is added to a crude form ending in अ, when this letter अ is the affix अण्, (and because therefore अ which would have caused the addition of ङीप् is qualified here by the affix).[2]

Although[3] (by P. I., 1, 56) a substitute does not cause the operations which the original would have caused, provided they

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1. प्रत्ययनिरूपित°, *i. e.* प्रत्ययनिष्ठप्रकारतानिरूपित°. P.

2. अण् ought by P. IV., 3, 16 to be added to चित्रा; for this अण् लुक् is substituted by the Vârttika चित्रारेवती° on P. IV., 3, 34; moreover by P. I., 2, 49 लुक् is further substituted for the Femin. affix टाप् of चित्रा, and we obtain thus चित्र. Here ङीप् ought, although अण् has disappeared, in the Feminine to be added by P. IV., 1, 15; but this is prevented by the present Paribhâshâ.

3. Now one might say that, P. I., 1, 62 being in the opinion of the Bhâshyakâra a restrictive rule (*viz.* a rule which teaches that on the disappearance of an affix only those operations shall take place which are caused by something which can be nothing else but an affix), operations dependent on the letters of the affix cannot by P. I., 1, 62

would have been caused by letters of the original (and although the present Paribhâshâ would therefore appear to be superfluous, it has nevertheless been given) in order to debar the operations dependent on an affix, which would have taken effect in accordance with P. I., 1, 62, when namely this rule is considered as a rule that teaches something (new, and is not regarded as a restriction of something that was known previously).[1] This is found in the Bhâshya (on P. I., 1, 62).

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take effect when the affix has disappeared, and that consequently this Paribhâshâ is useless. Nâgojibhaṭṭa says therefore 'although.....' अल्विधौ *i. e.* यथाकथंचिदल्विधौ. P. See below.

1. This Paribhâshâ is therefore necessary when the opinion of the Vârttikakâra is adopted, that P. I., 1, 62 is (not a *Niyama* but) a *Vidhi* concerning operations which are caused by letters, (तथा चाल्विधौ विध्यर्थं तत्सूत्रमिति वार्त्तिकमतेनेयं न भाष्यमतेनेति भावः P.) and which, had P. I., 1, 62 not been given, would have been forbidden by the *restriction* अनल्विधौ of P. I., 1, 56, *e. g.* such operations as the addition of इम् in अतृणेट् taught in P. VII., 3, 92.

Extract from the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 62. Ed. Ballantyne pag. 703 :

अथ द्वितीयं प्रत्ययग्रहणं किमर्थम् । प्रत्ययलक्षणं यथा स्याद्वर्णलक्षणं मा भूदिति । गवे हितं गोहितम् । रायः कुलं रैकुलमिति ॥

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते । प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणवचनं सदन्वाख्यानाच्छास्त्रस्य । प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणमित्युच्यते सदन्वाख्यानाच्छास्त्रस्य । सच्छास्त्रेणान्वाख्यायते । सतो वा शास्त्रमन्वाख्यायकं भवति । सदन्वाख्यानाच्छास्त्रस्य । उगिदचां सर्वनामस्थानेऽधातोः [७. १. ७०] इतीहैव स्यात् । गोमन्तौ यवमन्तौ । गोमान्यवमानित्यत्र न स्यात् । इष्यते च स्यादिति । तच्चान्तरेण यत्नं न सिध्यति । अतः प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणवचनमित्येवमर्थमिदमुच्यते ॥ . . . . . .

न तर्हीदानीमयं योगो वक्तव्यः । वक्तव्यश्च । किं प्रयोजनम् । प्रत्ययं गृहीत्वा यदुच्यते तत्प्रत्ययलक्षणेन यथा स्याच्छब्दं गृहीत्वा यदुच्यते तत्प्रत्ययलक्षणेन मा भूदिति । किं प्रयोजनम् । शोभना दृषदो ऽस्य सुदृषद्ब्राह्मणः सोर्मनसी अलोमोषसी [६. २. ११७] इत्येष स्वरो मा भूदिति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: वर्णलक्षणमिति । प्रत्ययलोपे तल्लक्षणमित्युच्यमाने प्रत्ययस्य यत्र कार्यं निमित्तभावः प्रत्ययत्वरूपाश्रयेण वर्णरूपाश्रयेण वा तत्सर्वं स्यात्सर्वनाम्नो वस्तुमात्रपरामर्शित्वात्। प्रत्ययग्रहणे तु सति प्रत्ययनिमित्तमेव कार्यं प्रत्ययलोपेऽपि भवति न वर्णरूपतानिमित्तम् ॥ रैकुळमिति । अवयवद्वारेणाऽऽ प्रत्ययस्याप्यायादेशं प्रति निमित्तत्वमस्त्येव प्रत्ययाश्रयस्त्वायादेशो न भवतीति न प्रवर्तते ॥.....

किमर्थमिति । स्थानिवद्भावेन सिद्धमिति भावः ॥ ..... न च स्थानिवद्भावेन सिध्यत्यतृणेडित्यादावल्विधित्वात् ॥.....

प्रत्ययं गृहीत्वेति । स्थानिवद्भावेन सिद्धे सत्ययं योगो नियमार्थः । प्रत्यय एव यस्य लक्षणं तत्प्रत्ययलोपे यथा स्यात् । सोर्मनसी इत्यत्र त्वनिस्मन्ग्रहणानि चेति वचनादस् प्रत्ययश्चाप्रत्ययश्च गृह्यत इति सुदृषदित्यत्र स्थानिवद्भावाभावादुत्तरपदाद्युदात्तत्वाभावे नञ्सुभ्याम् [६. २. १७२] इत्यन्तोदात्तत्वं भवति । तत्र चोत्तरपदादिरित्यधिकारादसन्तमुत्तरपदं गृह्यत इति सुदृषदित्यत्रापि स्थानिवद्भावादसन्तत्वमुत्तरपदस्य स्यात् ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XXII.

(P. VIII., 3, 46 teaches that स् shall be substituted for the final Visarjanîya of words ending in अः, that are not indeclinables, when they are compounded with following कृ, कम्, कंस, कुम्भ etc.; *e. g.* अयः + कारः = अयस्कारः). Now one might say that the word कंस in this rule is superfluous, because (the substitution of स् before कंस, *e. g.* in अयः + कंसः) results (already) from the employment in P. VIII., 3, 46 of (the root) कम् (from which कंस is derived; for when a root is exhibited in a rule in the Locative

case, it denotes every word that begins with it). To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. XXII: Those (words) which end (or are supposed to end) with (the affixes) उण् etc. are crude forms that do not undergo (or cause) such operations as would depend on their etymological formation (or, they do not admit of a division into base and affix).[1]

This very (employment of कंस in P. VIII., 3, 46) indicates according to Kaiyaṭa and others (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ. Nor can one object that this is impossible because कंस is not derived from the root कम् but from कंस्; for) कंस is not derived from कंस् because (a derivative of the latter root) would not express (the meaning of कंस. This Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 61[2] etc. From the

1. उणादयः । तदन्तानि तदन्तत्वेनाभिमतानि वा । अव्युत्पन्नानीत्यस्यार्थे व्युत्पत्तिकार्याभाववन्तीत्यर्थः । अन्ये तु यथाश्रुत एव । P.—If कंस had not been given in P. VIII., 3, 46, स् could not by this rule have been substituted for the Visarga of भयः in भयः + कंसः, because the substitution of स् would have depended solely on the etymological formation of कंस, *viz.* on the fact of its being derived from कम्.

2. There it has been stated that, if the word प्रत्ययस्य had not been employed in P. I., 1, 61, one ought in P. IV., 3, 168 कंसीयपरश्व्ययोः... to have read छयतोः, in order to prevent the substitution of लुक् for the bases of the two words. Further it has been remarked that in that case लुक् ought to be substituted also for the affixes स and ङ of कंस and परशु, but this objection has been refuted by means of the present Paribhâshâ.—The आदि 'etc.' includes P. VII., 1, 2 etc.

Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 133[1] (we see) that (crude forms which end with the affixes उण् etc.) also do undergo (or cause) such operations as depend on their etymological formation; this is in accordance with the view of S'âkaṭâyana and others. Pâṇini, on the other hand, adopts, as has been shown in the S'abdendus'ekhara[2] only the alternative that (the Uṇâdi words) have no

1. Cf. Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 133: विशेषणार्थस्तर्हि [चकारः of तृच्] । क्व विशेषणार्थेनार्थः । अप्तृन्तृच् इति । तृ इत्युच्यमाने मातरौ मातर इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: मातराविति । उणादिषु तृप्रत्ययान्ता मात्रादयो निपातिता इति भावः ॥

The च् of तृच् is said to serve the purpose of distinguishing this affix from the तृ of मातृ 'mother' etc.; if Pâṇini instead of saying तृच् had in III., 1, 133, and consequently also in VI., 4, 11, said तृ, one ought by the latter rule to have formed मातारौ etc., just as one forms कर्तारौ etc. from कर्तृ. This shows that the word मातृ which ends with an Uṇâdi-affix, has here been regarded as *vyutpanna*, for otherwise P. VI., 4, 11 could not have been applied to it.—But, adds Pâyagunda, this is no Siddhânta, and therefore Nâgojîbhaṭṭa says इदं (*i. e.* व्युत्पन्नानीत्युक्तं) शाकटायनादिरीत्या; the word आदि 'etc'. includes the Nairuktas.

2. शब्देन्दुशेखरे; P. उणादय इत्यत्र । उणादय इति व्याकरणान्तरस्थसूत्रव्यवस्थापकम् । उणाद्यन्ता येन व्याकरणान्तरेण व्युत्पादिताः शब्दास्तत्र बहुलमिति वक्तव्यं वर्तमानाधिकारे च ते वाच्या भूतेऽपीति च वाच्यमिति सूत्रार्थः । स्वशास्त्रे तेषां साधुत्वबोधनं चैतावतैव कृतम् । सर्पिषा यजुषेत्यादौ षत्वं तु बहुलग्रहणादेवेत्यादि तत्रैव स्पष्टम् ॥ On P. III., 3, 1. There the following remarks are made: The Sûtra उणादयो बहुलम् establishes something concerning certain rules that are found in other grammars; its meaning is this: 'whatever other grammars assign etymologies to the words ending (or supposed to end) with (the affixes) उण् etc., they have (concerning these words) to say "बहुलम्" and they have to treat of them under the heading वर्तमाने, and they have also to say "भूतेऽपि." In his own grammar Pâṇini mentions the existence of those words herewith only. The substitution of ष् for स in सर्पिषा, यजुषा etc. (for which there would seem to be no authority

etymology. This[1] very point has been clearly stated in the Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 2.[2]

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if the final स् of सर्पिस् and यजुस् etc. do not form part of the affixes) results only from the word बहुलम् etc. See P. VIII., 3, 59.

1. एतत् *i. e.* अस्याव्युत्पत्तिपक्ष एवेत्येतत्. P.

2. There, in order to prevent the substitution of ईन् etc. for ख् etc. in शाङ्ख etc., it has been said: प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च पाणिनेः सिद्धम्। प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च भगवतः पाणिनेराचार्यस्य सिद्धम्। उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि ॥.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XXIII.

One might say that in phrases like देवदत्तश्चिकीर्षति 'Devadatta wishes to do' (the combination of letters) which begins with देव (and ends with the Desid. affix सन्, *i. e.* देवदत्तश्चिकीर्ष,) ought on account of its ending with the Desid. affix सन् (by P. III., 1, 32) to be termed 'a root' etc.[1] To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. XXIII: An affix denotes, whenever it is employed (in grammar, a word-form) which begins with that to which that (affix) has been added and ends with (the affix) itself.[2]

(This Paribhâshâ is proved thus): The portion यस्मात्प्रत्ययवि-

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1. If देवदत्तश्चिकीर्ष were termed 'a root,' लुक् ought by P. II., 4, 71 to be substituted for the termination स् of देवदत्तस्.

2. The affix सन् in P. III., 1, 32 denotes therefore only चिकीर्ष which begins with कृ to which सन् has been added and ends with सन्, but it does not denote देवदत्तश्चिकीर्ष, and the latter can consequently not be called a root by P. III., 1, 32.

प्रित्तदादि प्रत्यये of P. I., 4, 13 is taken as a separate sentence, (and to complete it) the words गृह्यमाण उपतिष्ठते are supplied. (The meaning of this sentence is this that 'whenever an affix is employed, it denotes something which begins with that to which the affix has been added'). Hereby that part (of the Paribhâshâ) which ends with तदादेः is established. The part तदन्तस्य, on the other hand, is established by P. I., 1, 72. And this (rule P. I., 1, 72 applies here) in such a manner as to make ('ending with the affix') qualify a word-form (as such and as one undivided whole), because there is nothing else that could be qualified by it; (सनन्त 'ending with सन्' qualifies therefore चिकीर्षि as a whole, and does not qualify it as a combination of कृ + स). It is incorrect to say that, because an affix postulates a combination consisting of (the affix) itself and of a base, P. I., 1, 72 applies here so as to make 'ending with the affix' qualify that (combination of the affix itself and of a base); for in (forms like) इयान् etc.[1] (where the base has totally disappeared) there can exist no postulation between the affix and such a combination (of the affix and a base), because (such a combination) does not exist.[2]

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1. व्यतिस इयानित्यादौ is according to Pâyagunda a wrong reading because the form व्यतिसे (from rt. अस् 'to be' with prep. व्यति, cf. P. VI., 4, 111, VII., 4, 50) is not in use; (see also Paribh. XXX.). The आदि 'etc.' includes इः in the sense of अस्यापत्यम् 'the descendant of A' (cf. P. IV., 1, 95). इयत् is formed from इदम् by the following rules: इदम् + वत् by P. V., 2, 40 इदम् + घत्; VII., 1, 2 इदम् + इयत्; VI., 3, 90 ई + इयत्; VI., 4, 148 इयत्.

2. P. proposes a second explanation of the words तस्य तादृशसमुदायेन व्यभिचारेण, *viz.* तस्य | श्रूयमाणप्रत्ययस्य | समुदायेन | सहेति शेषः | व्यभिचारे च द्वयोः साहित्यम् | ; 'because the affix (itself, if it is said always to postu-

Where[1] an affix is made the cause (of an operation) there only that portion (of the Paribhâshâ) which ends with तदादेः is applicable, (*i. e.* there the affix denotes the affix by itself and the operation affects that to which the affix is added[2]); this may be seen in the Bhâshya and in Kaiyaṭa's commentary on P. VI., 4, 1.[3] In the same manner the

late a combination of a base and of the affix itself,) ceases to exist together with that combination (*i. e.* ceases to exist when that combination ceases to exist).'

1. *E. g.* in P. VII., 4, 13 कैऽणः, or P. VI., 4, 71 लुङ्लङ्लृङ्क्ष्वुदात्तः.— The present Paribhâshâ does not concern an affix when it is being taught in a rule, but it refers only to an affix that has been taught elsewhere, when it is mentioned in a rule which teaches something else than this affix.

2. That to which the affix is added stands here in the Genitive case.

3. Cf. Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 1: अथवा प्रत्यय इति प्रकृत्याङ्गकार्यमध्येष्ये | यदि प्रत्यय इति प्रकृत्याङ्गकार्यमधीषे प्राकरोत् उपैहिष्ट उपसर्गात्पूर्वमडाटौ प्राप्नुतः | सिद्धं तु प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स विहितस्तदादितदन्तविज्ञानात् | सिद्धमेतत् | कथम् | प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स विहितस्तदादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणं भवतीति | एवमुपसर्गात्पूर्वमडाटौ न भविष्यतः ||

Kaiyaṭa: सिद्धं त्विति | यत्र प्रत्ययो निमित्तत्वेनोपादीयते तत्र पूर्वैः कार्यित्वेन गृह्यमाणो यस्मात्स विहितस्तदादिर्गृह्यते | एतच्चाङ्गसूत्रे योगविभागेन साधितम् | यत्र तु प्रत्यय एव कार्यित्वेनोपादीयते तत्र तदन्तग्रहणमिति द्वे एते परिभाषे ||

Pâyagunda, in order to show that the application of the portion तदन्तस्य of this Paribhâshâ to लुङ्लङ्लृङ्क्षु of P. VI., 4, 71, and to कै of P. VII., 4, 13, etc. is in reality prevented by Paribhâshâ XXIV., explains Kaiyaṭa's remark thus: उपस्थितपूर्वस्येत्यस्यैवावधित्वेनान्वयादपञ्चम्या इति निषेधेन तदन्तविधिर्नेति तदाद्यन्तांशमात्रोपस्थितिरिति स एव कार्यीति न तत्राडादीति कैयटः— He further says that the chief result of Nâgojibhaṭṭa's statement regarding an affix which is made the cause of an operation, is this that P. VI., 3, 46 conveys the meaning that 'before the affix जातीय आ is sub-

portion ending with तदादेः is likewise applicable, where[1] an affix which follows upon a word in the Ablative case (*i. e.* which is qualified by a word in the Ablative case) is (somehow or other) made (the cause of an operation[2]) ; but here (that to which the affix is added) is denoted by that which stands in the Ablative case; (*i. e.* the affix denotes likewise merely itself; that which is expressed by the word in the Ablative case qualifies that to which the affix is added ; and the latter in its turn, being so qualified, qualifies the affix). We therefore derive from P. VI., 1, 69 (where संबुद्धेः follows upon the Ablative एङ्-ह्रस्वात्) the meaning that '(Lopa is substituted for a consonant belonging to the Vocative affix when this affix) follows upon (that to which the Vocative affix is added), provided that the latter ends with एङ् (etc.).'[3]

Another reason why this Paribhâshâ should be adopted has been mentioned in the Bhâshya[4] on P. I., 1, 72, (*viz.* this,

stituted for (the final of) that to which जातीय is added if it ends with महत्' and that consequently आ is by P. VI., 3, 46 substituted for the त् of अतिमहत् in the formation of अतिमहाजातीय.

1. *E. g.* in P. VI., 1, 69 एङ्ह्रस्वात्संबुद्धेः or P. VIII., 2, 42 रदाभ्यां निष्ठातो नः पूर्वस्य च दः.

2. आश्रीयत इति; यथाकथंचिन्निमित्तत्वेनेत्यादिः. P.

3. But where an affix is given as that which undergoes the operation taught in a rule, there the whole Paribhâshâ applies to it, as *e. g.* in the case of वतु, उति etc. in P. I., 1, 23 etc. To indicate this Nâgojîbhaṭṭa continues with अस्याः *scil.* समुदितायाः etc. P.

4. *Viz.* by means of the Vârttika प्रत्ययग्रहणं चापञ्चम्याः; the sense of this Vârttika is: 'the rule येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य applies to affixes, except where an affix, which has been taught somewhere else, is given in a rule, for the sake of teaching some other operation than the addition of this affix itself, after a word in the Ablative case (*i. e.* so as to be qualified by a word in the Ablative case).' Cf. Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72:

that we can account by it for the formation of (words like) परमगार्ग्यायण 'a descendant of Paramagârgya.' Here the affix (फक् of P. IV., 1, 101) has been added to the word गार्ग्य only, (and) not to the whole (परमगार्ग्य), notwithstanding that (परमगार्ग्यायण) is dissolved into परमगार्ग्यस्यापत्यम् 'a descendant of Paramagârgya'; (but this addition of फक् to गार्ग्य only is justified by the present Paribhâshâ according to which only the word गार्ग्य *i. e.* गर्ग + यञ् can be denoted by the affix यञ् in P. IV., 1, 101). Although (in परमगार्ग्य + फक्) the meaning (of the affix फक्) does not unite itself with the meaning of the separate word (गार्ग्य) alone, (but unites itself with the meaning of the whole परमगार्ग्य,) nevertheless the Taddhita-affix फक् is here undoubtedly added (to the separate word गार्ग्य alone). That the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72 authorises this, has been fully explained elsewhere.[1]

The present (Paribhâshâ) applies, as appears from the Bhâ-

प्रत्ययग्रहणं चापञ्चम्याः प्रयोजनम् । यञिञोः फग्भवति । गार्ग्यायणः वात्स्यायनः परमगार्ग्यायणः परमवात्स्यायनः । अपञ्चम्या इति किमर्थम् । दृष्टीर्णां परिषत्तीर्णां ॥

Kaiyaṭa: ..... परमगार्ग्यायण इति । अत्र गार्ग्यायण इत्येवोदाहरणं गार्ग्यशब्दाद्यञन्तात्फञ्विधानात् । न त्वत्र परमगार्ग्यशब्दात्प्रत्ययस्तस्य यञन्तत्वाभावात् ॥

One might object that, as ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् of P. IV., 1, 1 is valid in P. IV., 1, 101 यञिञोश्च, the affixes यञ् and इञ् stand after (*i. e.* are qualified by) a word in the Ablative case, and that therefore the Tadantavidhi ought on account of the exception अपञ्चम्याः not to apply to यञ् and इञ्. But this is wrong, because the Ablative ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् does not qualify यञिञोः, but is qualified by यञिञोः which, although it is a Genitive, has the meaning of an Ablative case; for P. IV., 1, 101 has to be explained यञन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् etc. P.

1. *Viz.* in the Uddyota.

shya[1] on P. IV., 1, 6, wherever any term is employed which cannot denote anything but an affix, but it does not apply where a term is employed which may denote both an affix and also something else. It is found in the Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 13.[2]

1. Cf. Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 6. ..... उभयथा निर्गोमती निर्यवमतीति न सिध्यति । किं कारणम् । प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादिर्ग्रहणं भवतीति । नैतत्प्रत्ययग्रहणं प्रत्ययाप्रत्ययोरेतद्ग्रहणम् । कथम् । वर्णोऽप्युगित् । प्रत्ययोऽप्युगित् । प्रातिपदिकमप्युगित् ।

उगित् 'that to which one of the letters contained in the Pratyâhâra उक् is attached as Anubandha,' does not denote merely affixes, but also letters etc.; consequently the present Paribhâshâ does not apply to it, and निर्गोमत् (*i. e.* गोमतो निष्क्रान्तः) may therefore just like गोमत् be considered as ending with the *ugit* affix मतुप् and receive the affix ङीप् in the Feminine, although the *ugit* affix has not been added to निर्गो but has been added to गो only.

2. There the Paribhâshâ is made use of to show that the rule P. I., 4, 13 is unnecessary. P. remarks that, as it is an Ekades'in (*i. e.* one who is only imperfectly acquainted with the true state of the matter) who tries to refute P. VI., 4, 1 by means of this Paribhâshâ, so he who tries to reject P. I., 4, 13 by means of it, must likewise be an Ekades'in.

Extract from the Bhâshya on P. 1, 4, 13 :[1]

तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । कथमिदानीमङ्गकार्यं भविष्यति । प्रत्यय इति प्रकृत्याङ्गकार्यमध्येष्ये । यदि प्रत्यय इति प्रकृत्याङ्गकार्यमधीषे प्राकरोत् उपैहिष्ट उपसर्गात्पूर्वमडाटौ प्राप्नुतः । सिद्धं तु प्रत्ययग्रहणे य-

1. Kaiyata: अवयवान्विचार्य सूत्रमाक्षेप्तुं प्रश्नं करोति । तर्हीति । सूत्रमित्यर्थः ॥ प्रत्यय इति प्रकृत्येति । तेन ब्राह्मणभिक्षा क्रिमिणां पश्येत्यादावित्सुदीर्घाद्यभावः ॥ प्राकरोदिति । लङि परतः पूर्वस्यानियतावयेरडागमो विधीयमान उपसर्गादेः स्यात् ॥ सिद्धं त्विति । यत्

स्मात्स तदादेस्तदन्तविज्ञानात् । सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स विहितस्तदादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणं भवतीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । कः पुनरत्र विशेषः । एषा परिभाषा क्रियते **प्रत्ययग्रहणं वा** । **अवश्यमेषा** परिभाषा कर्तव्या । बहून्यस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि । प्रयोजनं धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययसमासतद्धितविधिस्वराः ॥ धातु । देवदत्तश्चिकीर्षति । **संघातस्य** धातुसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति । धातु ॥ प्रातिपदिक । देवदत्तो गार्ग्यः । संघातस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति । प्रातिपदिक ॥ प्रत्यय । **महान्तं** पुत्रमिच्छति । संघातात्प्रत्ययोत्पत्तिः प्रसज्येत । प्रत्यय ॥ समास । **ऋद्धस्य** राज्ञः पुरुषः । संघातस्य समाससंज्ञा प्राप्नोति ॥ तद्धितविधि । देवदत्तो गार्ग्यायणः । **संघातात्तद्धितोत्पत्तिः** प्राप्नोति । तद्धित ॥ स्वर । देवदत्तो गार्ग्यः । संघातस्य ञ्नित्यादुदात्तत्वं प्राप्नोति ॥ प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणं भवतीति न दोषो भवति ॥ सा तर्ह्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । न कर्तव्या । **एवं वक्ष्यामि** । यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्यये गृह्यमाणे गृह्यते । ततोऽङ्गम् । अङ्गसंज्ञं च भवति यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्यये ॥ यदि प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादेर्ग्रहणं भवतीत्युच्यते ऽवतप्तेनकुलस्थितं त एतत् उदकेविशीर्णं त एतत् सगतिकेन

पूर्वैः कार्यित्वेनाश्रीयते तत्र तदादेः कार्यं भवति यत्र तु प्रत्ययान्तसंघात आश्रीयते तत्र तदादिप्रत्ययान्तस्य ग्रहणं भवतीत्यर्थः ॥ प्रत्ययग्रहणं वेति । प्रत्ययो गृह्यते यस्मिन्सूत्रे तदङ्गसंज्ञासूत्रमित्यर्थः ॥ अवश्यमिति । क्रियमाणेऽप्यस्मिन्सूत्रे परिभाषावश्यं कर्तव्येति व्यापित्वात्परिभाषैवाश्रयणीया न तु सूत्रमित्यर्थः ॥ संघातस्येति । ततश्च सुब्लुक् प्राप्नोति ॥ महान्तं पुत्रमिति । समुदायस्यान्ते सुप्श्रवणात्सुबन्तत्वात् । सत्यां तु परिभाषायां समुदायस्यासुबन्तत्वादवयवस्य सापेक्षत्वादसामर्थ्यान्न भवति प्रत्ययः ॥ ऋद्धस्येति । सुप्सुपेति विवक्षितायामपि संख्यायां समुदायस्य सुबन्तत्वात्समासप्रसङ्गः । परिभाषायां तु सत्यां समुदायस्यासुबन्तत्वात्सुबन्तसमुदायस्य च संख्याविवक्षायां समासाप्रसङ्गादवयवस्य च सापेक्षत्वात्समासाभावः ॥ संघातात्तद्धितोत्पत्तिरिति । ततश्च वृद्धिस्वरौ संघातस्य स्यातां पूर्वस्य च सुपो लुक् ॥ एवं वक्ष्यामीति । योगविभागोऽत्र क्रियते । यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्यय इत्येकं सूत्रम् । अल

सनकुलेन सह समासो न प्राप्नोति । एवं तर्हि प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादेर्ग्रहणं भवतीत्युक्त्वा ततो वक्ष्यामि रुद्रग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि । रुद्रग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं भवतीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । कान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि । प्रयोजनं समासतद्धितविधिस्वरः ॥ समास । अवतप्तेनकुलस्थितं त एतत् उदकेविशीर्णं त एतत् सगतिकेन सनकुलेन च समाससिद्धिर्भवति । समास ॥ तद्धितविधि । सांकूटिनं व्यावक्रोशी संघातात्तद्धितोत्पत्तिः सिद्धा भवति । तद्धितविधि ॥ स्वर । दूरात् आगतो दूरादागतः । अन्तः [६. २. १४३] थाथघञ्क्ताजबित्रकाणाम् [१४४] इत्येष स्वरः सिद्धो भवति । रुद्रग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं भवतीति न दोषो भवति ॥ सा तर्ह्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । न कर्तव्या । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्येषा परिभाषेति यदयं गतिरनन्तरः [६. २. ४९] इत्यनन्तरग्रहणं करोति ॥

सोपस्कारत्वात्सूत्राणां गृह्यमाणे गृह्यत इति वाक्यशेषः समर्थ्यते । प्रत्यये गृह्यमाणे यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि गृह्यत इत्यर्थः ॥ सांकूटिनमिति । अण्णिनुणः [५. ४. १५] इति यदि कूटिन्नित्येतस्मादण् स्यात्तदा तस्यैवादिवृद्धिः स्यात् ॥ दूरादागत इति । आगम्यते स्मेति कर्मणि क्तः । तत्र गतिस्वरेणाद्युदात्त आगतशब्दः । ततो दूरशब्दस्य स्तोकान्तिक [२. १. ३९] इति समासः । पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः [६. ३. २] इत्यलुक् । अत्र समासान्तोदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते तदपवादकृत्स्वरेणाद्युदात्त आगतशब्दे प्राप्ते सगतेरपि क्तान्तत्वात्स्थानान्तरप्राप्तत्वाद्गतिस्वरस्य बाधकस्यापि बाधकत्वात्थाथघञ्क्तेति सिद्धमन्तोदात्तत्वम् ॥ यदयमिति । अनन्तरग्रहणप्रयोजनमभ्युद्धृतमित्यत्राभिशब्दस्य व्यवहितस्य प्रकृतिस्वरो मा भूदिति । यदि चैषा परिभाषा न स्यात्तत उद्धृतशब्दस्याक्तान्तत्वात्क्तान्त उत्तरपदेऽनन्तरे परतो गतिस्वरो विधीयमानो नैव प्राप्नोति किमनन्तरग्रहणेन तत्क्रियमाणमस्याः परिभाषायाः सद्भावं ज्ञापयतीत्यर्थः ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XXIV.

In the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 1, 72 we read[1] the (following) exception regarding the portion तदन्तस्य of the preceding (Paribhâshâ):

P. XXIV: And where an affix is employed after a word in the Ablative case, (there it does) not (denote a word-form ending with the affix).

The meaning[2] is this that, where an affix which follows upon (or, in other words, is qualified by) a word in the Ablative case, is made use of[3] (in a rule) for the sake of teaching some

1. In the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72 we read really प्रत्ययग्रहणं चापञ्चम्याः, but this has the same sense as Paribhâshâ XXIV. See note 4 on page 120.

2. One might say that by the (प्रत्यासत्तिन्याय, *i. e.* the) maxim of association (*viz.* because the word 'affix' suggests the idea that 'the word in the Ablative case' ought likewise to be an affix) this Paribhâshâ conveys the meaning, that the portion तदन्तस्य of the preceding Paribhâshâ is not valid where an affix is taught after an affix that is given in the Ablative case; and one might say that this is not contained already in the Vârttika समासप्रत्ययविधौ प्रतिषेधः (Si. Kau. I., p. 23), because this Vârttika limits only the rule येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य and does not limit the preceding Paribhâshâ. But such an explanation of the present Paribhâshâ must be rejected, because according to it the affix अञ् taught in P. IV., 3, 155 would have to be added to a ञित् affix only (not to that which ends with a ञित् affix), and if this were done in the case of *e. g.* औट्रक (*i. e.* उट्र + वुञ्, see P. IV., 3, 157), the affix वुञ् would have to be called 'Anga' and would receive Vriddhi and the accent accordingly. In order to indicate this Nâgojibhaṭṭa says: 'The meaning is this....' P.

3. परिगृह्यते *i. e.* अनूद्यते; therefore the Paribhâshâ does not concern affixes that are being taught in a rule.

other operation[1] (than the addition of this very affix), there it does not denote a word-form ending with the affix ; an instance is afforded (by the affix निष्ठा) in P. VIII., 2, 42. In दृषत्तीर्णा (from दृषद्+तीर्—ता) etc. न्, (changeable to ण्), has accordingly (by P. VIII., 2, 42 been substituted for the त् of the affix त only, and it has not) been substituted for the letter त् of the root (तॄ, and for the द् preceding it). That portion (of the preceding Paribhâshâ) which ends with तदादेः being applicable (in P. VIII., 2, 42), although the portion तदन्तस्य is not applicable, the meaning (of P. VIII., 2, 42) is this, that '(न् is substituted) for the त् of the affix त when it follows upon that (to which the affix त is added), provided that (that to which त is added) ends with र् or द्, (*e. g.* when त is added to तीर्)'; consequently there is nothing incorrect (in दृषत्तीर्णा), just because there is no authority for applying the portion तदन्तस्य (of the preceding Paribhâshâ). But if the part तदन्तस्य were (likewise) applicable, both (तदादेः and तदन्तस्य) would refer to one and the same (word-form तीर्+त), and (तीर्णा) in दृषत्तीर्णा etc. would then certainly be incorrect.[2] The meaning (of लललुटोः) in P. III., 1, 33 etc.[3] is, 'when ल (*i. e.* लट् and लङ्) and लुट् follow upon'; this being the case, (ल and लुट्) require that some specific term should be supplied which should denote that upon which ल and लुट् follow ; they therefore unite with the word धातोः 'upon a root'

1. Such as the substitution of something or the addition of another affix.

2. The meaning of P. VIII., 2, 42 would in this case be: रदाभ्यां परो यस्तादिर्निष्ठान्तस्तस्य तकारस्य तत्पूर्वदस्य च नत्वम्, and न् being accordingly substituted for the radical त् of तॄ (by P. I., 1, 54) and for the final द् of दृषद्, the result would be दृषन्नीर्णा.

3. The आदि 'etc.' includes P. VII., 3, 102 सुपि च; VIII. 3, 16 रोः सुपि etc.

which is supplied (from P. III., 1, 22) as denoting that upon which they follow, and (being thus preceded or qualified by a word in the Ablative case), they do (according to this Paribhâshâ) not denote word-forms ending with (ल and लुट्, but denote the affixes ल and लुट् by themselves. When,) on the other hand, (the affixes ङी and आप्) in P. VI., 1, 68 etc.[1] (do denote word-forms ending with ङी and आप्), this is not contrary (to the present Paribhâshâ); for here (the affixes ङी and आप्) do not require[2] us to supply any specific term which should denote that upon which ङी and आप् follow; there is consequently no word in the Ablative case to qualify (ङी and आप्, and the Paribhâshâ does therefore not concern these affixes). But in P. I., 4, 13 where (the word प्रत्यये) conveys the meaning 'तदादेः[3] प्रत्यये परे when the affix follows upon that which begins with that to which it is added,' the 'affix' is clearly qualified by a word in the Ablative case (*viz.* by तदादेः, and it denotes therefore only the affix by itself and does not denote a word-form ending with the affix). It is for this reason[4] that such words as उत्तमैकाभ्याम् which occur in P. V., 4, 90 etc. are formed in accordance (with the present Paribhâshâ).

1. P. explains इत्यादौ by इत्यादांशौ; the Paribhâshâ does not apply to the portion ङ्याप् of P. VI., 1, 68, but it does apply to सुतिसि. The following तस् he explains accordingly by ङ्यादांशौ.

2. Because the word परे which in P. III., 1, 33 does require us to supply the Ablative धातोः, is here wanting.

3. तदादेरिति । प्राग्वदुपस्थिततदादित्यस्यैवावधित्वेनान्वय इति भावः ॥. P.

4. *I. e.* because प्रत्यये in P. I., 4, 13 is qualified by a word in the Ablative case, and because consequently the present Paribhâshâ applies to प्रत्यये and makes the latter denote merely an affix and not a word-form ending with an affix. Were प्रत्यये to denote a word-form ending with an affix, उत्तमैके would not be termed Anga and its final अ would not be lengthened by P. VII., 3, 102.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XXV.

Now one might say that (if) then (Paribh. XXIII. were limited only by Paribh. XXIV., affixes like रूप in P. VI., 3, 43 ought by Paribh. XXIII. to denote word-forms like ब्राह्मणिरूप that end with रूप; and such being the case,) in (the formation of a compound *e. g.* of) कुमारी + ब्राह्मणिरूपा[1] short (इ) ought by P. VI., 3, 43 to be substituted (for the ई of कुमारी. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. XXV: An affix, when employed (in a rule) in which the word उत्तरपदे is valid (*i. e.* in a rule of P. VI., 3, 1), does not denote a word-form ending with the affix.[2]

(The affix रूप in P. VI., 3, 43 denotes accordingly only this affix by itself, and does not denote words like ब्राह्मणिरूप. Such is the case) because (Pâṇini) employs the word लेख in VI., 3, 50; (for, if this Paribhâshâ did not exist, the affix अण् in P. VI., 3, 50 would denote all word-forms ending with अण्, including लेख which is formed with the affix अण्, and the separate mention of लेख would be superfluous. The fact that लेख has

1. The phrase कुमारी ब्राह्मणिरूपा is merely given in order to suggest the formation of a compound in which both members are co-ordinate; the compound, when formed, would really be कुमारब्राह्मणिरूपा. The rule P. VI., 3, 35 by which ब्राह्मणी ought to become ब्राह्मण before रूप, is superseded by P. VI., 3, 43 in accordance with which ब्राह्मणिरूपा is formed; before that, कुमारी becomes कुमार by P. VI., 3, 42.

2. But the portion तदादेः of Paribhâshâ XXIII. does apply where it is of any use, and does not apply where it is of no use; *e. g.* it does not apply in P. VI., 3, 43, but it applies in regard to the affix जातीय of VI., 3, 46; see pag. 119, note 3. P.

been mentioned separately shows, that अण् in P. VI., 3, 50 does not denote word-forms ending with अण्, and indicates thus the existence of this Paribhâshâ). The word लेख in P. VI., 3, 50 does not end with (the affix) यञ्, because (this affix) would not express the requisite meaning.[1] The (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya on the very rule P. VI., 3, 50.[2]

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1. लेख must have been formed by means of the affix अण् because it is made in the Bhâshya the Jnâpaka of this Paribhâshâ; if लेख did not end with अण्, it could not have indicated the existence of the Paribhâshâ.

2. P.: This Paribhâshâ applies only to those affixes in P. VI., 3, that are made causes of certain operations, when they are qualified by something else (*e. g.* अण् in P. VI., 3, 50, the meaning of which is अणि परे), and are employed in their individual forms (such as अण्, रूप etc., and not by means of such general terms as कृत्, or खित् etc.). They must be causes of an operation and qualified by something else, because they have to resemble in these *respects* the Adhikâra उत्तरपदे, and they must be given in their individual forms because such is the case with the affix अण् in the Jnâpaka-rule P. VI., 3, 50. Accordingly, the Paribhâshâ does not apply to ङी of P. VI., 3, 43; 61; ङ्याप् of 63; खित् of 66; त्र of 71; कृत् of 72; वप्रत्यय of 92; क्वि of 116.—यञ् in 122, to which the Paribhâshâ should apply, we are forced by the meaning of the rule to explain by यञन्त.—तद्धित in 62 does not mean तद्धितान्त, (although the Paribh. does not apply to it), because the च after तद्धिते shows that उत्तरपदे is taken separately and is not qualified by तद्धिते; we can therefore not explain तद्धितान्त उत्तरपदे but must explain तद्धिते चोत्तरपदे च.

Cf. Bhâshya on P. VI., 3, 50. यदण्ग्रहणमिदं प्रत्ययग्रहणमिदम् । प्रत्ययग्रहणम् । तत्र प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स विहितस्तदादेर्ग्रहणं भवतीति यदणन्ते प्राप्नोति । यदण्ग्रहणे रूपग्रहणं लेखग्रहणात् । यदण्ग्रहणे रूपग्रहणं द्रष्टव्यम् । कुतः । लेखग्रहणात् । यदयं लेखग्रहणं करोति तङ्ङापयत्याचार्यो न यदणन्ते भवतीति ॥ अपर आह । अत्यल्पमिदं ज्ञाप्यते । सर्वत्रैवोत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे रूपग्रहणं द्रष्टव्यम् । कुतः । लेखग्रहणात् । किं प्रयोजनम् । कुमारी गौरितरा । घादिषु नद्या ह्रस्वो भवतीति ह्रस्वत्वं प्रसज्येत ॥

Kaiyaṭa: {..... लेखग्रहणादिति । एतद्वचनान्यथानुपपत्त्या च लेखशब्दोऽणन्तो गृह्यते न तु घञन्त इति घञि हृदयलेख इत्येव भवति ॥ सर्वत्रेति । प्रकरणापेक्षं ज्ञापकमाश्रीयते न त्वेतद्योगापेक्षमेवेत्यर्थः ॥ कुमारी गौरितरेति । उदाहरणदिगियं समासस्तूदाहार्यः कुमारगौरितरेति ॥.....

PARIBHÂSHÂ XXVI.

Now one might say that, (even when Paribhâshâ XXIII. has) thus (been limited by Paribh. XXIV. and XXV., Samprasâraṇa) ought by P. VI., 1, 13 to have been (substituted for य) in अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रः 'the son of a woman who surpasses Kârîshagandhyâ,' just as (it has been substituted) in परमकारीषगन्धीपुत्रः 'the son of the excellent Kârîshagandhyâ.'[1] To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says :

P. XXVI : A feminine affix (denotes, whenever it is employed in a rule, a word-form which ends with that affix, but which need) not (necessarily begin with that to which the affix has been added) ; but where (the word-form which the feminine affix would denote by Paribhâshâ XXIII.) is subordinate (to the feminine which the affix would denote if that portion of Pari-

1. *I. e.* if that portion of Paribhâshâ XXIII. which ends with तदादेः did apply to ष्यङ् in P. VI., 1, 13, Samprasâraṇa ought not to be substituted in परमकारीषगन्ध्या ; and if it did not apply, Samprasâraṇa ought to be substituted also in अतिकारीषगन्ध्या.

bhâshâ XXIII. which ends with तदादि, were rejected, there the feminine affix denotes in accordance with Paribhâshâ XXIII. a word-form which both ends with that feminine affix and begins with that to which the affix has been added).

(As ष्यङ्[1] has been added to कारीषगन्धि, it would by Paribhâshâ XXIII. denote only the feminine कारीषगन्ध्या ; according to this Paribhâshâ, however, it denotes also the feminine परमकारीषगन्ध्या, because here कारीषगन्ध्या is not subordinate to the whole परमकारीषगन्ध्या. In अतिकारीषगन्ध्या, on the other hand, कारीषगन्ध्या *is* subordinate to the whole feminine अतिकारीषगन्ध्या, for the meaning of the latter is कारीषगन्ध्यामतिक्रान्ता स्त्री 'a woman that surpasses K.;' accordingly ष्यङ् denotes in this case only कारीषगन्ध्या, and not also अतिकारीषगन्ध्या, and P. VI., *1*, 13 is therefore not applicable to the latter. One may then by Pâṇini's rule form परमकारीषगन्धीपुत्रः, but not अतिकारीषगन्धीपुत्रः). The Locative (अनुपसर्जने) denotes the limits (within which the portion ending with तदादेः of Paribh. XXIII. is not applicable to a feminine affix.) The meaning (of the Paribhâshâ) is this, that the restriction contained in that portion of Paribh. XXIII. which ends with तदादेः, does not[2] concern a feminine affix wherever the feminine noun (which this affix would denote in accordance with Paribh.

1. ष्यङ् is a substitute for अण् and इञ् in the feminine (cf. P. IV., 1, 78 etc.); after ष्यङ् has been substituted, the Prâtipadika receives the affix चाप् by P. IV., 1, 74.

2. But the portion तदन्तस्य of Paribhâshâ XXIII. does apply to the feminine affix.

XXIII.) is not subordinate (to the meaning of the feminine noun which it would denote without that restriction); but that that restriction certainly does concern a feminine affix, wherever the feminine noun (which the affix would denote by Paribh. XXIII.,) is subordinate (to the meaning of the feminine noun which the affix would denote without the restriction तदादेः of Paribh. XXIII.). By (the maxim of) association this Paribhâshâ can only apply when (the meaning of the feminine noun which according to Paribh. XXIII. would be denoted by the feminine affix), is not subordinate to the meaning of the whole feminine noun which would be regarded as ending with the feminine affix, (if the restriction तदादेः did not exist). Consequently (the word स्त्री 'feminine affix' in P. I., 2, 48 denotes not merely the word कुमारी, but it denotes also *e. g.* राजकुमारी, and) short (इ) is (therefore by P. I., 2, 48) substituted (for the long ई of the latter) in (the formation of) अतिराजकुमारिः etc.; for here the restriction तदादेः does not apply (to स्त्री) because, although the word राजकुमारी is subordinate to the meaning of the word अति, (कुमारी) is not subordinate to the meaning of राजकुमारी.[1] The term उपसर्जन 'subordinate' has therefore in this Paribhâshâ not the technical meaning (which has been assigned to it in Pâṇini's grammar), because this would be impossible.[2] As this

1. In अतिराजकुमारि, राजकुमारी is *upasarjana* by P. I., 2, 44, but कुमारी is not *upasarjana*, in the sense in which this word is used in this Paribhâshâ, in regard to राजकुमारी.

2. असंभवात् explains the meaning of the preceding अत एव; 'this would be impossible,' because the *Upasarjanatva* of the feminine affix in this Paribhâshâ which results from the maxim of प्रत्यासत्ति, differs from the *Upasarjanatva* taught in P. I., 2, 43 and 44.

(Paribhâshâ) is an exception[1] to Paribh. XXIII. and forms one sentence with that (Paribhâshâ), the word ग्रहणे, 'when it is employed,' unites itself (also with this Paribhâshâ), and (the Paribhâshâ) applies therefore where a feminine affix is employed by means of some general designation[2] and also where some special[3] feminine affix is employed, but it does not apply where a term is employed which may denote both a feminine affix and also something else than a feminine affix.[4] This is suggested in the

1. According to the maxim उत्सर्गसमानदेशा अपवादाः ; as this maxim is not always valid, Nâgojibhaṭṭa adds तदेकवाक्यता° *i. e.* वाक्यैकवाक्यता°. The meaning of the Paribhâshâ is therefore : गृह्यमाणे स्त्रीप्रत्यये सत्यनुपसर्जनविषये तदादिनियमो नान्यत्र तत्रैवास्येव. P.

2. Such as स्त्री in P. I., 2, 48.

3. Such as ष्यङ् in P. VI., 1, 13.

4. One of the interpretations of P. I., 2, 64 is सरूपसमुदायाद्विहितायामेकविभक्तौ परत एकशेषः 'Eka-s'esha takes place when one case-termination is enjoined after a combination of uniform words,' *e. g.* भिक्षा भिक्षा भिक्षा आम्=भिक्षाणाम्. If the present Paribhâshâ did apply here, the whole combination भिक्षा भिक्षा भिक्षा would be आवन्त *i. e.* it would end with an affix, and it would consequently on account of the exception अप्रत्ययः in P. I., 2, 45 not be termed a Prâtipadika; further the termination आम् could not be added to it, and, there being no termination, the Eka-s'esha could not take place. But Kaiyaṭa remarks on P. I., 2, 64 that the termination आम् *is* added to भिक्षा भिक्षा भिक्षा, and that in the formation of भैक्ष (*i. e.* भिक्षा भिक्षा भिक्षा आम् + अ) it is dropped (in accordance with the Paribhâshâ सर्वविधिभ्यो लुग्विधिर्बलीयान्) before any other operation takes place. This shows that the present Paribhâshâ does not apply here, the reason being, that आम् is not exclusively a feminine affix. Cf. Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 2, 64. भिक्षा भिक्षा भिक्षा आम् अ इति स्थिते सर्वविधिभ्यो लुग्विधेर्बलीयस्त्वे लुकि कृते विभक्त्यभावादेकविभक्तौ परतो विधीयमान एकशेषो न प्राप्नोति प्रत्ययलक्षणं च नास्ति न लुमताङ्गस्येति प्रतिषेधात् ॥.

Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 46.[1] The (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 13 where it is given as an independent rule.[2]

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1. *Viz.* by the circumstance that the word समास has been said to convey the restriction (नियम) that of all combinations of words that possess a meaning only a compound is called *Prâtipadika.* Cf. Bhairavamis'ra: यदि स्त्रीप्रत्ययास्त्रीप्रत्ययेऽप्येषा परिभाषा प्रवर्तेत तदा राजकुमारीति समुदायस्यानया प्रत्ययान्तत्वेन प्रत्ययान्तपर्युदासस्य (cf. P. I., 2, 45) प्राप्त्या समासग्रहणस्य तत्र प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञाविधायकत्वेन चारितार्थ्यसंभवेन नियमार्थत्वकथनविरोध इति तेन ध्वनितमित्यर्थः ॥

2. *I. e.*, it is neither founded on a Nyâya nor established by a Jnâpaka.

Cf. Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 13. इहापि तर्हि न प्राप्नोति । कारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रः कारीषगन्ध्यापतिरिति । किं कारणम् । पूर्वपदमित्युच्यते । न चात्र ष्यङ् पूर्वपदमस्ति । ष्यङन्तमेतत्पूर्वपदम् । कथम् । प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादेर्ग्रहणं भवतीति । यदि प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादेर्ग्रहणं भवतीत्युच्यते परमकारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रः परमकारीषगन्ध्यापतिरिति न सिध्यति । प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादेर्ग्रहणं भवत्यस्त्रीप्रत्ययेनेति । यद्यस्त्रीप्रत्ययेनेत्युच्यते अतिक्रान्तः कारीषगन्ध्यामतिकारीषगन्ध्यस्तस्य पुत्रो अतिकारीषगन्ध्यपुत्रो अतिकारीषगन्ध्यपतिरित्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति अस्त्रीप्रत्ययेनेत्युपसर्जने न । यो ह्युपसर्जनं स्त्रीप्रत्ययो भवत्येषा तत्र परिभाषा प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादेर्ग्रहणं भवतीति ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XXVII.

Now one might say that, (even when Paribhâshâ XXIII. has) thus (been limited by Paribhâshâs XXIV.—XXVI., affixes like तरप् and तमप् in P. I., 1, 22 ought in accordance with Paribh. XXIII. to denote word-forms ending with तरप् and तमप्, and such being the case, घ etc.) ought as a technical term by P. I., 1, 22 to denote word-forms ending with तरप् etc. (and ought not to denote merely the affixes तरप् etc.). To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. XXVII: An affix, when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term, does not denote a word-form ending with the affix.

The employment of the word अन्त (in सुप्तिङन्त 'that which ends with 'Sup' or 'Tiṅ') in P. I., 4, 14 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ; for, if the Paribhâshâ did not exist, अन्त would be superfluous, because सुप्तिङ् alone would in accordance with Paribh. XXIII. denote that which ends with 'Sup' or 'Tiṅ.') Nor is it correct to say that the term पद, even if it had (in P. I., 4, 14) been assigned to the affixes (सुप् and तिङ् alone), might in accordance with Paribh. XXIII. have denoted word-forms ending with पद (or, in other words, ending with सुप् and तिङ्),[1] and that (the word अन्त in P. I., 4, 14) would therefore remain useless[2] even after having indicated[3] (the existence of this Paribhâshâ); for as the term पद, wherever P. I., 4, 17 may be applicable, attaches to a base, it would not denote only an affix or affixes (and Paribh. XXIII. would therefore not be applicable to it.[4] The Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 14.

1. *Scil.* प्रदेशेषु, in the rules in which पद is employed.

2. फलाभावः *i. e.* चारितार्थ्याभावः.

3. ज्ञापिते; *viz.* तत्र तदन्तविध्यभावे. *Scil.* 'and that अन्त ought therefore not to be regarded as Jnâpaka.'

4. पद would not denote word-forms ending with पद, or, in other words, ending with सुप् and तिङ्. See Paribh. XXII. pag. 122.

Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 14:[1]

सुप्तिङन्तं पदम्। **अन्तग्रहणं** किमर्थं न सुप्तिङ् पदमित्येवोच्येत। केनेदानीं तदन्तस्य भविष्यति। तदन्तविधिना। अत उत्तरं पठति। पदसंज्ञायामन्तग्रहणमन्यत्र संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिप्रतिषेधार्थम्। पदसंज्ञायामन्तग्रहणं क्रियते ज्ञापनार्थम्। किं ज्ञाप्यम्। एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽन्यत्र संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिर्न भवतीति। किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्। तरप्तमपौ घः। तरप्तमबन्तस्य संज्ञा न भवतीति। किं च स्यात्। **कुमारी गौरितरा**। घादिषु नद्या ह्रस्वो भवतीति ह्रस्वत्वं प्रसज्येत। यद्येतज्ज्ञाप्यते **सनाद्यन्ता धातवः** [३.१.३२] इत्यन्तग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्। कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च [१. २. ४६] अन्तग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्। इदं तृतीयमन्तग्रहणं ज्ञापकार्थम्। द्वे तावत्क्रियेते न्यास एव। यदप्युच्यते कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्चेत्यन्तग्रहणं कर्तव्यमिति न कर्तव्यम्।

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1. Kaiyaṭa: अन्तग्रहणमिति। असत्यन्तग्रहणे सुप्तिङामेव पदसंज्ञा स्यात्ततश्चाग्निष्टित्यादौ सात्पदाद्योः [८. ३. १११] इति षत्वप्रतिषेधप्रसङ्ग इत्येतदर्थं यद्यन्तग्रहणं क्रियते तन्न कर्तव्यं प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स विहित इत्यनन्तरोक्तया परिभाषया तदन्तविधेर्लब्धत्वादिति प्रश्नः॥ कुमारी गौरितरेति। तरबन्तस्य घसंज्ञायां सत्यां तस्योत्तरपदे परतो ह्रस्वत्वं कुमारीशब्दस्य पुंवद्भावं परत्वाद्बाधित्वा स्यात्तरपि तु परतो गौरीशब्दस्य न स्यात्ततः कुमारिगौरितरेति प्राप्नोति कुमारगौरितरेति चेष्यते। भाष्ये तु समासप्रदर्शनपरवाक्यमुपात्तम्॥ सनाद्यन्ता धातव इति। अन्यथा सनादीनामेव केवलानां धातुसंज्ञा स्यात्ततश्चाचिकीर्षदित्यत्र सन एव धातुत्वात्प्रत्ययोत्पत्तौ तदादेरेवाङ्गस्यात्सनः पूर्वोऽट् स्यात्॥ कृत्तद्धितेत्यत्रासत्यन्तग्रहणे केवलयोः कृत्तद्धितयोः प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा स्यात्ततश्च भिद् छिदिति क्विबन्तस्य न स्यात्। अर्थवत्सूत्रेण तु न भवत्यधातुरिति निषेधात्। नापि प्रत्ययलक्षणेन प्राप्नोति प्रत्ययनिमित्तमन्यस्य यत्कार्यं विधीयते तत्प्रत्ययलोपे भवति न तु प्रत्ययस्यैव यत्कार्यं तदपि न ह्यसत्कार्यित्वेन वचनशतेनापि शक्यमाश्रयितुम्॥ केवलस्य तद्धितस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायां सत्यामीपगत इत्यत्रापि षष्ठ्याः प्रातिपदिकेऽनन्तर्गतत्वाङ्ङ् न स्यात्। तदन्त-

अर्थवदिति वर्तते । कृत्तद्धितान्तं चेवार्थवन्न केवलाः कृतस्तद्धिता वा ॥

विधौ तु दोषोऽनवतारः ॥ न केवला इति । ननु यद्यर्थवत्ता लौकिक्याश्रीयते सा पदस्यैव न कृत्तद्धितान्तस्यापि पदस्यैव लोके प्रयोगार्हत्वात् । अन्वयव्यतिरेकगम्या चार्थवत्ता केवलानामपि कृत्तद्धितानामस्तीति किमुच्यते न केवला इति । एवं तर्ह्यर्थवद्ग्रहणानुवृत्तिसामर्थ्यात् लौकिकार्थप्रत्यासन्नोऽभिव्यक्ततरो योऽर्थः प्रत्ययान्तेषु लभ्यते स आश्रीयत इत्यदोषः ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XXVIII.

(P. II., 1, 47 teaches that a noun in the Locative case may be compounded with क्त, provided that the compound so formed conveys a censure. According to Paribh. XXIII. the affix क्त would denote here a word-form like स्थित which begins with स्था to which क्त has been added and ends with the affix क्त, but it would not denote a word-form like नकुलस्थित because the latter does not begin with that to which क्त has been added, and) one might (therefore) say that the word नकुलस्थित on account of its not being क्तान्त (in the sense which this term would convey in accordance with Paribh. XXIII.) ought not (by P. II., 1, 47) to be compounded (with the Loc. अवतप्ते, or, in other words, that a compound) like अवतप्तेनकुलस्थित (ought not to be formed). To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says :

P. XXVIII : A Krit-affix denotes, whenever it is employed (in grammar, in accordance with Paribh. XXIII. a word-form which begins with that to which that Krit-affix has been added and which ends with the Krit-affix ; but) moreover, (should a Gati, or a noun such as denotes

a case-relation, have been prefixed to that word-form which the Krit-affix would denote by Paribh. XXIII., then the Krit-affix must denote the same word-form) together with the Gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it.[1]

The employment of the word अनन्तरः 'immediately preceding' in P. VI., 2, 49,—which rule conveys the meaning that 'a Gati retains (in a compound) its own accent, when it immediately precedes a second member that ends with क्त, provided the latter denotes the object (of the action which is expressed by the root to which क्त is added)'—indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ). For that (word अनन्तरः is employed) in order to guard against too wide an application (of P. VI., 2, 49, *viz.* the application of this rule to *e. g.* the Gati अभि) in the case of अभ्युद्धृत etc. (If the present Paribhâshâ did not exist, P. VI., 2, 49) would have no concern (with the Gati अभि of अभ्युद्धृत) simply because उद्धृत on account of Paribh. XXIII. would not be (regarded as) क्तान्त *i. e.* 'ending with क्त'; as therefore the employment of अनन्तरः would (otherwise) be useless, it must indicate (the existence of) the present (Paribhâshâ). Nor can one object

1. So long then as स्थित is used by itself, the Krit-affix क्त which is valid in P. II., 1, 47 will denote in accordance with Paribh. XXIII. only this word स्थित; but as soon as the Gati प्र or the noun नकुल has been prefixed to स्थित, the affix क्त can no longer denote the portion स्थित of प्रस्थित and नकुलस्थित, but it must denote the whole प्रस्थित and the whole नकुलस्थित, and the latter may therefore by P. II., 1, 47 be compounded with अवतप्ते.

that अभि in अभ्युद्धृत etc. must be anudâtta by P. VIII., 1, 70, (a rule which would supersede P. VI., 2, 49) because it follows upon the latter, (that the word अनन्तरः in P. VI., 2, 49, even suppose it were to indicate the existence of this Paribhâshâ, would consequently remain useless after having done so, and that it therefore cannot be regarded as the Jnâpaka of this Paribhâshâ); for that (rule P. VIII., 1, 70) has no concern (with the अभि of अभ्युद्धृत etc.) because (अभि) stands at the beginning of a Pâda, and because it does not follow upon a word.[1]

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1. The words अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ of P. VIII., 1, 18 are valid in VIII., 1, 70. Nâgojîbhaṭṭa adds पदात्परत्वाभावेन च because there is no proof for it that अभि stands at the beginning of a Pâda; by doing so he implies that the word पदात् of P. VIII., 1, 17 is valid in VIII., 1, 70. But Râghavendra observes correctly that this is wrong, because पदात् is valid only as far as P. VIII., 1, 69; (पदादित्यस्य कुत्सने च सुपि [८. १. ६९] इत्यतः प्रागेव निवृत्तेरयुक्तमेतत्). Kaiyaṭa says that the accentlessness of अभि etc. in अभ्युद्धृत etc. would result from P. VIII., 1, 70 and that Pâṇini's disregard of this rule together with the employment of the word अनन्तरः in VI., 2, 49 indicate the existence of the present Paribhâshâ. Cf. Bhâshya on P. VI., 2, 49:.....एवं च कृत्वा नार्थोऽनन्तरग्रहणेन। कथमभ्युद्धृतम्। उद् हरतिक्रियां विशिनष्टि। उद्हा विशिष्टामभिर्विशिनष्टि। तत्र गतिरनन्तर इति च प्राप्नोति गतिर्गताविति च। गतिरनन्तर इत्यस्यावकाशः प्रकृतं ग्रहणम्। गतिर्गतावित्यस्यावकाशोऽभ्युद्धरत्युपसमादधाति। इहोभयं प्राप्नोत्यभ्युद्धृतमुपसंहृतमुपसमाहितम्। गतिर्गतावित्येतद्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन। एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदनन्तरग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापीति॥..... Kaiyaṭa: कथमिति। अपूर्वपदत्वादुच्छब्दस्य गतिस्वरो न प्राप्नोतीति तदर्थमनन्तरग्रहणं स्यादिति मत्वा प्रश्नः॥ उद् हरतिक्रियामिति। उच्छब्देन हरतेः संबन्धादेक उद्धृतशब्दयोः समासः। तत्रोच्छब्दस्य पूर्वपदत्वाद्भवति गतिस्वरः। पश्चादभिशब्दस्य समासेऽभेर्गतिस्वरं बाधित्वा निघातेन भाव्यम्। तत्र कृदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरेणोद एव गतिस्वरो भविष्यति नार्थोऽनन्तरग्रहणेन। अथवोद् हरतिक्रियामित्यादिनाभेर्गतित्वं प्रतिपाद्यते॥ एवं तर्हीति। परविप्रतिषेधमनपेक्ष्य व्यवहितगतिनिवृत्त्यर्थमनन्तरग्रहणं क्रियते। यदि च कृद्ग्रहणपरिभाषा न स्यात्ततः क्रान्त उत्तरपदे गतेः

When,[1] however, the word अनन्तरः 'immediately preceding' is once employed (in P. VI., 2, 49), the 'immediate precedence' denoted thereby can be no other than the immediate precedence (of a Gati) in regard to a root which is postulated by a Gati; (so far then as P. VI., 2, 49 is concerned, only the portion भृत of अभ्युद्भृत can be considered as क्तान्त 'ending with क्त' and) it is therefore quite correct (that the Gati उद् of अभ्युद्भृत should by P. VI., 2, 49 retain, and that अभि should lose, its original accent).

Nor would it be correct to say[2] that the (word अनन्तरः) has been employed (in P. VI., 2, 49) in order that in अभ्युद्भृत etc.,

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स्वरो विधीयमानो व्यवहितस्य न प्राप्नोतीति किं तन्निवृत्त्यर्थेनानन्तरग्रहणेन तत्कृतमेतां परिभाषां ज्ञापयति परिभाषाज्ञापनार्थमेव च परविप्रतिषेधो नापेक्ष्यते ॥ ननु च कृद्ग्रहणे गतिपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं ज्ञाप्यतां कारकपूर्वस्य कथं ज्ञाप्यते । उच्यते । पूर्वाचार्यैस्तावदेषा परिभाषा पठितेह त्वनन्तरग्रहणेनासावभ्यनुज्ञायते ॥.

1. Hereby Nâgojibhaṭṭa refutes the opinion that, notwithstanding the employment of अनन्तरः in VI., 2, 49, अभि of अभ्युद्भृत ought by that rule to retain its own accent, just because by the present Paribhâshâ उद्भृत is क्तान्त and because therefore अभि immediately precedes a second member of a compound that ends with क्त.

2. An opponent might say: 'The word अनन्तरः in P. VI., 2, 49 does not convey the sense which has been ascribed to it above (तद्धि—अतिव्याप्तिवारणार्थम्), but it has another meaning and it can therefore not be regarded as the Jnâpaka of this Paribhâshâ. Without अनन्तरः the rule P. VI., 2, 49 would have no concern with the उद् of अभ्युद्भृत because the term पूर्वपदम् is valid in that rule, whereas उद् in अभ्युद्भृत is no longer the first member of a compound. We should therefore apply P. VI., 2, 144 to अभ्युद्भृत and make this word by that rule antodâtta. P. VI., 2, 49 would, if it did not contain the word अनन्तरः, not apply to words like अभ्युद्भृत, but only to words with one Gati, such as उद्भृत etc. But if we read अनन्तरः in P. VI., 2, 49, पूर्वपदम् can of course no longer be valid and the rule गतिरनन्तरः must supersede P.

when (उद्भृत) is compounded with अभि, the उद् which immediately precedes (भृत) may retain its accent, although it is not the first member of a compound; for the udâtta accentuation of उद् (in अभ्युद्भृत) would (in the absence of अनन्तरः) result from P. VI., 2, 139 because the accentuation which is taught in P. VI., 2, 144 would not concern (अभ्युद्भृत) on account of the restrictive rule, that a word-form ending with क्त (which is the second member of a compound such as उद्भृत) the first member of which is a Gati, is only then antodâtta when (the whole compound) follows (as the second member of a new compound) upon a noun which denotes a case-relation, (but not when it follows,

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VI., 2, 144. The sequence of the rules which might be applied to अभ्युद्भृत is as follows:

a. P. VI., 1, 223. Samâsa antodâtta.

b. P. VI., 2, 2. Avyaya-pûrvapada-prakṛitisvara.

c. P. VI., 2, 139. Kṛit after Gati has Prakṛitisvara.

d. P. VI., 2, 144. Ktânta uttarapada after a Gati is antodâtta.

e. P. VI., 2, 49. गतिरनन्तरः; उद् of अभ्युद्भृत retains its own accent. The object of अनन्तरः is, to make P. VI., 2, 49 supersede all the preceding rules, and therefore it cannot be a Jnâpaka.'

The above is thus refuted: 'The restrictive rule कारकादेव परं गतिपूर्वपदं क्तान्तमन्तोदात्तम् shows that P. VI., 2, 144 cannot be applicable to अभ्युद्भृत and that it can for this very reason not prevent the application of P. VI., 2, 139 to अभ्युद्भृत. By the latter rule उद् must in अभ्युद्भृत retain the accent which in उद्भृत had been assigned to it by P. VI., 2, 49 गतिः (without अनन्तरः); for उद्भृत being (by the present Paribhâshâ) a Kṛit, and अभि being a Gati, P. VI., 2, 139 does apply to अभ्युद्भृत. The word अनन्तरः in P. VI., 2, 49 is consequently entirely superfluous and cannot have been employed by Pâṇini for any other purpose than for the sake of indicating the existence of the present Paribhâshâ.'

as is the case *e. g.* in अभ्युद्धृत, upon a Gati. This restrictive rule 'कारकाद्गतेः क्तः' we obtain) by separating कारकात् from the rule P. VI., 2, 148 and by supplying the word गति (from P. VI., 2, 139, क्त being valid from P. VI., 2, 145). The word अनन्तरः has been employed therefore solely for the sake of preventing (the rule P. VI., 2, 49) from applying to any (Gati) which may be separated (from the root by another Gati) and it cannot therefore but indicate (the existence of the present Paribhâshâ).[1]

The meaning (of the Paribhâshâ) is this, that wherever that word-form (which by Paribh. XXIII. would be regarded as) ending with a Kṛit-affix is combined with a Gati or with a noun that denotes a case-relation, there the Kṛit-affix can only denote that word-form together with that (Gati or noun; and) the word अपि 'moreover' (of the Paribhâshâ) shows that, on the other hand, where that word-form is not combined (with a Gati or with a noun that denotes a case-relation, there the Kṛit-affix denotes that word-form) by itself.[2] Otherwise, (*i. e.*

1. *Viz.* it indicates the existence of the whole Paribhâshâ by indicating the existence of part of it.

2. The term अनञ्पूर्वे in P. VII., 1, 37 shows that only Paribhâshâ XXIII. applies in this rule, and not Paribhâshâ XXVIII.; for, if the latter Paribhâshâ did apply, अनञ्पूर्वे would be superfluous. Suppose we did apply both Paribhâshâs and read the Sûtra simply 'समासे क्त्वो ल्यप्'; as the rule contains the word समासे we could not apply it to forms like कृत्वा; we ought consequently to give up Paribhâshâ XXIII. and ought to apply only the other Paribhâshâ. According to the latter, क्त्वा would denote only a Gerund preceded by a Gati, not a Gerund preceded by the negative अ. Our rule समासे क्त्वो ल्यप् would teach then the substitution of ल्यप् only in forms like प्र + कृत्वा, but it would not teach the substitution of ल्यप् in forms like अकृत्वा. This would be exactly

if the present Paribhâshâ did not contain the word अपि 'moreover,') it would, wherever Kṛit-affixes might be employed, necessarily supersede Paribhâshâ XXIII. because it follows upon (that Paribhâshâ)[1]; and this is the reason why अपि 'moreover' has been employed (in the Paribhâshâ). The above

what Pâṇini intended to teach and the employment of अनञ्पूर्वे would therefore appear to be entirely useless. Pâṇini, however, does employ the word अनञ्पूर्वे, and by doing so he indicates that only Paribh. XXIII. shall be applied to the क्त्वा of VII., 1, 37. As soon as we apply only Paribh. XXIII., the prohibition contained in अनञ्पूर्वे becomes necessary, and the meaning of VII., 1, 37 is नञ्सदृशादव्ययात्पदात्प्रत्यासत्तिन्यायात्समासावयवात्परस्य धात्वादेः क्त्वान्तस्य समासे क्त्वो ल्यप्. (Cf. Bhâshya and Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 1, 37 below.)

Both Paribhâshâs XXIII. and XXVIII. cannot apply in one and the same place. In P. VII., 1, 37 Paribh. XXVIII. alone would apply if the term अनञ्पूर्वे did not indicate that Paribh. XXIII. has to be applied there. P.

1. Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 1, 37 says that Paribh. XXVIII. is *para* in regard to Paribhâshâ XXIII. because the latter is derived from P. I., 4, 13 whereas the existence of Paribh. XXVIII. is indicated by the word अनन्तरः in P. VI., 2, 49.—The present Paribhâshâ does not supersede Paribh. XXIII.; hereby the opinion of Śiradeva that Paribh. XXVIII. in an Apavâda of Paribh. XXIII., is rejected. According to Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 1, 37, Paribh. XXIII. does, in the formation of व्यावलेखी, व्यावचर्ची etc., not apply to the affix णच् in P. V., 4, 14 because it is in that case rejected by Paribh. XXVI. Paribh. XXVIII. alone applies there, but it does not by its own force supersede Paribh. XXIII.; and although the Tadâdi-niyama of Paribh. XXIII. is rejected by Par. XXVI; the application of Paribh. XXVIII. to णच् is nevertheless necessary in order that णच् may denote the णजन्त when preceded by a Gati etc., but not when it is preceded by something else.

proves[1] the correctness of a remark (made by the author) of the Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 48, 'that when according to Paribh. LXXV. and the present Paribhâshâ[2] a compound is formed (of the Gati सम्) and of (कूटिन्) which ends with the Kṛit-affix (इनुण्), and when अण् is added to the *whole* (संकूटिन्,) the result is सांकूटिनम्, but not संकौटिनम्. (If,) on the other hand, (Paribh. XXIII. and XXVIII. were both applicable in one and the same place, the affix) अण् might have been added also to the separate (portion) कूटिन् in संकूटिन्, because that (portion) might (by Paribh. XXIII.) likewise have been (regarded as) ending with इनुण्, and in that case it would have been difficult to prevent the formation of the incorrect form (संकौटिनम्) which should have been formed on this alternative.—And all this is found in the Bhâshya and in Kaiyaṭa's (commentary) on P. VII., 1, 37.—In P. VI., 2, 49, however,[3] a word-form

1. अत एव *i. e.* तत्समभिव्याहारे तद्विशिष्टस्यैव ग्रहणमित्याद्यर्थोक्तीकारादेव. P.

2. Both Paribhâshâs LXXV. and XXVIII. are necessary, as may be seen from the Bhâshya and from Kaiyaṭa's remark on P. IV., 1, 48. प्रातिपदिकात् being valid in P. V., 4, 15 the meaning of this rule is 'इनुणन्तात्प्रातिपदिकादण्.' According to Paribh. XXVIII. alone संकूटिन् would be इनुणन्त but it would not, merely as a Kṛidanta, be a Prâtipadika, for the employment of the term समास in P. I., 2, 46 shows that of all combinations of words compounds alone are termed Prâtipadikas. Paribh. XXVIII. alone therefore would not enable us to add the Taddhita-affix अण् to the whole संकूटिन्. We first have by Paribh. LXXV. to form the *compound* संकूटिन्, and to this compound which, as such, is a Prâtipadika, and which by Paribh. XXVIII. is also इनुणन्त, we have to add the affix अण्.—To the कृत् of P. I., 2, 46 only Paribh. XXIII. is applicable.

3. P. Now one might say that, if the present Paribhâshâ applies wherever a Kṛidanta is combined with a Gati, P. VI., 2, 49 ought not

without a Gati must be understood to be denoted by क्तान्त 'ending with क्त,' although that word-form (in this case) *is* combined with a Gati; for (P. VI., 2, 49) teaches an operation concerning a Gati which forms the first member of a compound[1] and is followed by a second member that ends with क्त.– And it appears from the Bhâshya[2] on P. IV., 1, 14 that this (Paribhâshâ) is applicable wherever any particular Kṛit-affix may be employed, and also wherever any general term which denotes Kṛit-affixes may be employed, but that it is not applicable where a term is employed which may denote both a Kṛit-affix and also something else than a Kṛit-affix.

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to be applied *e. g.* to पुरोहित, because in this case the whole पुरोहित would by this Paribhâshâ be regarded as क्तान्त, and because it would on that account be impossible to separate the Gati पुरः from the क्तान्त; Nâgoji-bhaṭṭa says therefore: 'In P. VI., 2, 49 however etc.' See above pag. 140.

1. पूर्वपदस्य *i. e.* वस्तुतः पूर्वपदभूतस्य । नेदमनुवृत्तिपरं तदननुवृत्तेरुक्तत्वात् । P.

2. *E. g.* The whole word कुम्भकार (P. III., 2, 1) cannot by the present Paribhâshâ be called अणन्त because अण् is not merely a Kṛit, but is also a Taddhita-affix. Cf. Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 14:.....इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् । प्रधानेन तदन्तविधिर्यथा स्यात् । कुम्भकारी नगरकारी । अत्र हि प्रत्ययग्रहण यस्मात्स तदादिर्ग्रहणं भवतीत्यवयवादुत्पत्तिः प्राप्नोति । कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं भवतीति संघातादुत्पत्तिर्भविष्यति । कृद्ग्रहण इत्युच्यते न चैतत्कृद्ग्रहणम् । कृदकृद्ग्रहणमेतत् । कृदप्ययमण् तद्धितोऽपि ॥.

Extract from the Bhâshya[1] on P. VII., 1, 37:

स्नात्वाकालकादिषु च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । स्नात्वाकालकः पीत्वास्थिरकः भुक्त्वासुहितक इति ॥ तदन्तनिर्देशात्सिद्धम् । तदन्तनिर्देशात्सिद्धमेतत् । क्त्वान्तस्य ल्यपा भवितव्यं न चैतत्क्त्वान्तम् ॥ समासनिपातनाद्वा । अथवावश्यमत्र समासार्थं निपातनं कर्तव्यम् । तेनैव यत्नेन ल्यबपि न भविष्यति ॥ अनञो वा परस्य । अथवानञः परस्य ल्यपा भवितव्यम् । न चात्रानञं पश्यामः । ननु च धातुरेवानञ् । न धातोः परस्य भवितव्यम् । किं कारणम् । नञिवयुक्तमन्यसदृशाधिकरणे तथा ह्यर्थगतिः । नञ्युक्तमिवयुक्तं चान्यस्मिंस्तत्सदृशे कार्यं विज्ञास्यते । कुत एतत् । तथा ह्यर्थो गम्यते । तद्यथाब्राह्मणमानयेत्युक्ते ब्राह्मणसदृशं पुरुषमानयति नासौ लोष्टमानीय कृती भवत्येवमिहाप्यनञिति नञ्प्रतिषेधादन्यस्मादनञो नञ्सदृशात्कार्यं विज्ञास्यते । किं चान्यदनञ् नञ्सदृशम् । पदमित्याह ॥ **अथवा** प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादेर्ग्रहणं भवतीति । एवं धातुरपि क्त्वाग्रहणेन ग्राहिष्यते । ननु चेयमपि परिभाषास्ति कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं भवतीति । सापीहोपतिष्ठते । तत्र को दोषः । इह न स्यात् । प्रकृत्य प्रहृत्य । क्व तर्हि स्यात् । परमकृत्वा उत्तमकृत्वा ॥ **न वा** । अत्रेष्यते । अनिष्टं च प्राप्नोति । इष्टं च न सिध्यति । गतिकारकपूर्वस्यैवेष्यते । कुतो नु खल्वेतत् । द्वयोः परि-

1. Extract from Kaiyaṭa on the above: अथवेति । क्त्वाग्रहणेन धातुप्रत्ययसमुदायस्य परिग्रहात्तदवयवत्वाद्धातोः स्वावयवेन पौर्वापर्यसंभवाद्धातुरनञ्ग्रहणेन न गृह्यते ॥ .....

आचार्य आह । न वा अत्रेष्यत इति । तस्मात्कृद्ग्रहणपरिभाषात्र नाश्रीयते ॥ चोदक आह । अनिष्टं चेति ॥ आचार्य आह । गतिकारकपूर्वस्यैवेष्यत इति । प्रकृत्य पार्श्वतःकृत्येत्यादौ ल्यबादेश इष्यते । कृद्ग्रहणपरिभाषोपस्थाने च न सिध्यतीति नासौ परिभाषाश्रीयते ॥ चोदक आह । कुतो न्विति ॥ प्रत्ययग्रहणपरिभाषाया अवकाशो उपगोरपत्यमौपगव इत्यत्र तद्धितान्तस्य प्रातिपदिकत्वात्सुब्लुग्भवति । कृद्ग्रहणपरिभाषाया अवकाशो व्यावलेखी व्यावचर्चीति णचः स्त्रियामञ्चिति गतिपूर्वस्य णजन्तत्वादञि सति वृद्धिस्वरौ भवतः । अत्र

भाषयोः सावकाशयोः समवस्थितयोः प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स विहितस्तदादेर्ग्रहणं भवति कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्येतीयमिह परिभाषा भवति प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादेर्ग्रहणं भवतीतीयं न भवति कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापीति । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयतीयमिह परिभाषा भवति प्रत्ययग्रहण इतीयं न भवति कृद्ग्रहण इति **यदयमनञिति** प्रतिषेधं शास्ति । कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् । अयं हि नञ् न गतिर्न च कारकम् । तत्र कः प्रसङ्गोऽयं नञ्पूर्वस्य स्यात् । पश्यति त्वाचार्य इयमिह परिभाषा भवति प्रत्ययग्रहण इतीयं न भवति कृद्ग्रहण इति । ततो ऽनञिति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ॥ किं नञः प्रतिषेधेन न गतिर्न च कारकम् । यावता नञ्पूर्वे तु ल्यब्भावो न भविष्यति प्रतिषेधात्तु जानीमस्तत्पूर्वं नेह गृह्यते । **प्रत्ययग्रहणे** यावत्तावद्भवितुमर्हति ॥

हि प्रत्ययग्रहणपरिभाषायाः स्त्रीप्रत्यये चानुपसर्जने नेति प्रतिषेधात्तदुपस्थानाभावः । एवं सावकाशयोः परिभाषयोर्भिन्नफलयोर्विरोधात्पर्यायोऽप्रतिपत्तिर्वा प्राप्नोति । प्रत्ययग्रहणपरिभाषायामाश्रीयमाणायां प्रकृत्येति गतेः क्त्वान्तेऽनन्तर्भावात्पौर्वापर्योपपत्तौ ल्यप्सिध्यति न तु कृद्ग्रहणपरिभाषाश्रयण इति फलभेदः । कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषामित्यत्र दर्शने समानदेशत्वात्परिभाषयोः परत्वेनापि व्यवस्था नास्ति । सांकूटिने त्वेवमव्यवस्थाप्रसङ्गाद्यथोद्देशपक्ष आश्रयितव्यः । तत्र हि परत्वेन व्यवस्थासिद्धिः । प्रत्ययग्रहणपरिभाषाङ्गसंज्ञासूत्रे योगविभागेन व्यवस्थापिता । कृद्ग्रहणपरिभाषा तु गतिरनन्तर इत्यत्रानन्तरग्रहणेन ज्ञापनात्परा भवति ॥ यदयमिति । कथं पुनरेतज्ज्ञापकं यावता सत्यामपि कृद्ग्रहणपरिभाषायामपिशब्दात्केवलस्यापि क्त्वान्तस्य ग्रहणादकृत्वेत्यादौ नञोऽगतित्वादकारकत्वाच्च क्त्वान्तेऽनन्तर्भावादसत्यनञ्ग्रहणे ल्यप्प्रसङ्गो ऽप्रकृत्येत्यादौ च प्रतिषेधार्थमनञ्पूर्वस्य ग्रहणं स्यात् । उच्यते । अपिग्रहणेन प्रत्ययग्रहणपरिभाषा समुच्चीयते न त्वन्यपूर्वम् । तत्र समास इति वचनात्केवलस्य कृत्वादेर्ग्रहणाभावादपिशब्दसमुच्चेतव्यस्याभावाद्गतिकारकपूर्वस्यैव समासस्य ग्रहणं भविष्यतीति किमनञ्पूर्व इत्यनेन । तत्क्रियमाणं कृद्ग्रहणपरिभाषाया अनुपस्थानं ज्ञापयति । तदुपस्थाने तु तूष्णींभूय नानाभूय द्विधाभूयेत्यादौ ल्यब्न स्यात् । तदेवं कृद्ग्रहणपरिभाषानुपस्थाने नञ्सदृशादव्ययात्पदात्प्रत्यासत्तिन्यायात्समासावयवात्परस्य धात्वादेः क्त्वान्तस्य समासे क्त्वो ल्यब्विधीयमानं स्नात्वाकालकः परमकृत्वेत्यादौ न भवति । परमं कृत्वा परमकृत्वेति सन्महत् [२. १. ६१] इति समासः परमत्वस्य क्रियाविशेषणत्वात्सामानाधिकरण्यात् ॥ तत्पूर्वमिति । गतिकारकपूर्वमित्यर्थः ॥ प्रत्ययग्रहण इति । प्रत्ययग्रहणपरिभाषाया यावद्ग्राह्यं तावद्गृह्यते ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XXIX.

P. XXIX: (A word or base which occurs in a rule) in which (the term) पद or अङ्ग is valid, (denotes) both that (word or base by itself) and (it denotes) also (any word or base) which ends with that (word or base).

What ought to be qualified (by the word or base that may occur in a rule where this Paribhâshâ is applicable) is a Pada, or a base, and (the word or base) which qualifies these (qualifies them in accordance with P. I., 1, 72 in such a manner that they must be regarded) as ending with that (word or base which occurs in the rule). This is a more developed form of the rule P. I., 1, 72.

Accordingly short (अ is substituted) by P. VI., 3, 65 (where उत्तरपदे[1] is valid from P. VI., 3, 1, for the final आ not only of इटका, but also *e. g.* of पक्वेटका), a circumstance which accounts for the formation of इटकचितम्, पक्वेटकचितम् etc.; (similarly) long (आ is substituted) by P. VI., 4, 10 (where अङ्गस्य is valid from P. VI., 4, 1, for the penultimate अ not only of महत्, but also *e. g.* of परममहत्, परमातिमहत्, and) this accounts for the formation of महान्, परममहान्, परमातिमहान् etc. The fact (that P. VI., 4, 10 concerns also परमातिमहत्) proves, as appears from the Bhâshya,[2] that the reading तदुत्तरपदस्य '(a compound) of which that (word or base) is the second member' (instead of

1. It will be stated below that पदाधिकार in this Paribhâshâ denotes also उत्तरपदाधिकार; cf. Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 72: पदशब्देनोत्तरपदं गृह्यते पदैकदेशलोपात् । उत्तरपदेन सामर्थ्यादाक्षिप्तं पूर्वपदमिटकादिभिर्विशेष्यते ॥

2. Cf. Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72; Ed. Ballantyne pag. 792. There the Vârttika पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपदस्य च is given, and further on

तदन्तस्य) is incorrect. The word पदाधिकारे in this (Paribhâshâ denotes[1] a rule) in which (the term) उत्तरपद is valid and also (a rule) in which merely पद is valid. To suit the various forms (that have to be accounted for by the rules of grammar, the word पाद) in P. VI, 3, 52 does (contrary to the present Paribhâshâ) not denote (words) ending with पाद (but it denotes only पाद by itself).[2] All this is found in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72.

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it is shown that if this Vârttika be adopted, the restriction अलेवानर्थकेन (तदन्तविधिः) of P. I., 1, 72 becomes unnecessary. Then the question is raised whether it be better to adopt the Vârttika पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपदस्य च or to retain P. I., 1, 72 with the restriction अलेवानर्थकेन, a question which is answered in favour of the latter alternative, because thus the formation of परमातिमहान् also can be accounted for. The latter cannot be formed by means of the Vârttika पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपदस्य च, because परमातिमहत् is neither महत् nor a compound the second member of which is महत्, the second member of the compound being अतिमहत्.

1. केवलपदाधिकारश्च; *scil.* गृह्यते. P.

2. According to the remarks in the Bhâshya on the Vârttika पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपदस्य च the portion तदुत्तरपदस्य च of this Vârttika does not apply to पाद्, nor to पाद, (for which पद् is substituted), in a Padâdhikâra, but it applies only to पाद् and पाद in the Angâdhikâra. It applies therefore *e. g.* in P. VI., 4, 130 (cf. द्विपदः पश्य), but not in P. VI., 3, 54. According to the latter rule one has to form पत्काषी, but one can, as Kaiyaṭa observes, say only परमपादेन कषति, परमपादकाषी, (not परमपत्काषी). When one wishes to say परमः पत्काषी, one has of course to form परमपत्काषी. In the same manner the portion तदुत्तरपदस्य च does not refer to पाद in P. VI., 3, 52; by this rule one forms पादेनोपहतम्, पदोपहतम्, but दिग्धपादेनोपहतम् becomes दिग्धपादोपहतम्, and not दिग्धपदोपहतम्.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XXX.

(P. IV., 1, 95 अत इञ् teaches that, in order to denote a descendant, the affix इञ् is added to a Prâtipadika which is अत् *i. e.* अ. Here then) one might say that, (as neither पद nor अङ्ग is valid in P. IV., 1, 95, the term अत् of this rule ought by P. I., 1, 72 *to* denote a Prâtipadika ending with अ, but that it ought not to denote the Prâtipadika अ, and that consequently) इञ् ought not to be added to (the Prâtipadika) अ (*i. e.* 'Vishṇu') to denote 'a descendant of A,' just because this Prâtipadika does not end with अ.[1] To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. XXX: (An operation which affects) something on account of some special designation which (for certain reasons) attaches to the latter, (affects) likewise that which stands alone (and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach).

The meaning is this: *Vyapades'in* is that which for certain reasons has received some special designation, *i. e.* is called by a name which expresses what that to which it is assigned, actually is; when, on the other hand, something which stands alone has not that special designation, because the reasons for it do not exist, it is, so far as the application to it of some (grammatical) operation is concerned, equal to that (to which

1. अ cannot be called the end of अ because the definition of the word 'end,' सत्यन्यस्मिन्नरमात्परं नास्ति पूर्वमस्ति सोऽन्त इत्युच्यते '*end* is called that which, while it is accompanied by something else, is not followed by anything, but is preceded by something' (Mahâbhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne p. 406), does not apply to it.

the special designation does attach), and an operation (which affects that to which the special designation does attach), must consequently affect also that which stands alone.[1] Because, accordingly, also the letter अ ends with *ă*, (P. IV., 1, 95 may be applied to the Prâtipadika अ, just as it may be applied *e. g.* to दक्ष etc., and) it can therefore not be incorrect (to form इ in the sense of 'a descendant of A').

On account of the employment (in this Paribhâshâ) of the word एकस्मिन् 'that which stands alone' the letter आ in सभासंनयन cannot be (regarded as) the *first* (vowel of that word) nor can the letter इ in the root दरिद्रा be (regarded as) *final*. (Had), on the other hand, (एकस्मिन् not been employed, the letter आ in सभासंनयन might, when taken by itself, have been regarded as the *first* vowel; the whole word would in that case have been termed *vriddha* by P. I., 1, 73, and) the affix छ would by P. IV., 2, 114 have been added (to it) to express the meaning सभासंनयने भवः; in like manner (the letter इ of दरिद्रा might, when considered by itself, have been regarded as *final*, and the affix) अच् which

1. In a Prâtipadika like दक्ष the letter अ is final, because it is accompanied by other letters, has no letters after it, but is preceded by other letters; consequently दक्ष receives the *Vyapades'a* अदन्त 'ending with अ' which expresses what दक्ष really is, and P. IV., 1, 95 applies to it. In the Prâtipadika अ, on the other hand, अ cannot properly be called final, because it is not accompanied by other letters etc.; the Prâtipadika अ ought therefore not to be called अदन्त 'ending with अ,' and P. IV., 1, 95 ought not to apply to it. The present Paribhâshâ, however, teaches that the same operation which affects *e. g.* दक्ष because it is अदन्त, affects also the अ which stands alone (and which properly ought not to be called अदन्त), and P. IV., 1, 95 applies therefore also to the Prâtipadika अ.

(according to P. III., 3, 56) is added to roots ending with the vowel इ, might have been added to दरिद्रा. For the same reason the सु in हरिषु etc. is not termed a 'Pada'.[1] In ordinary life, likewise, a man does not, provided he has many sons, call one of them his eldest and his youngest son etc., by saying 'this is my eldest (son), my youngest, my second etc.,' but (he does so) only in case that he has only one son.

And[2] by this (Paribhâshâ) something which is not taught in grammar, may likewise be ascribed (to that which stands alone). This is the reason why reduplication, (the taking place of) which depends on there being something which contains one vowel (and which therefore ought to be something more than one vowel), does take place *e. g.* in the Perfect of इ[3] (notwithstanding that इ is nothing but a vowel.) For the same reason is भू in भवति etc. termed 'Anga' (in regard to

1. If एकस्मिन् had not been employed in the Paribhâshâ, सु would have been termed a Pada because it would by the Paribhâshâ व्यपदेशिवत् have been regarded not only as सुबन्त 'ending with सुप्,' but also as यस्माद्विहितस्तदादि 'beginning with that to which it has been added.' (P.: अन्यथा यस्माद्विहितस्तदादित्वस्याशास्त्रीयस्यानयातिदेशात्तत्त्वं दुर्वारमिति भावः; see below.)

2. Nâgojibhaṭṭa, being about to censure Kaiyaṭa, gives herewith his own Siddhânta. अपि 'likewise' indicates that that which is taught in one of Pâṇini's rules is likewise ascribed to that which stands alone. शास्त्रीय means here 'taught in a rule'; *e. g.* the अदन्तत्व in the case of अस्यापत्यमिः is *s'âstríya* because it is taught in P. I., 1, 21, but the एकाच्त्व in the case of इ, इयाय, and the यस्माद्विहितस्तदादित्व in the case of भवति (see below) etc. are अशास्त्रीय 'not taught in a rule.'

3. *Viz.* because एकाच्त्व which properly belongs only to पच् etc., and which is not taught in any rule of grammar, is by this Paribhâshâ ascribed to इ etc., and because we are thereby enabled to apply the rules of reduplication P. VI., 1, 1, etc. also to the latter.

the following शप्, although भू does not begin with भू but is nothing else than भू);[1] similarly इयत् etc. is on the Kâryakâlapaksha termed a 'Prâtipadika,' a term which ought not to be applied except to that which *ends* with a Taddhita-affix, (whereas इयत् is nothing but a Taddhita-affix.[2] Were), on the other hand, (something that is not taught in grammar not by this Paribhâshâ ascribed to that which stands alone, भू) could not have been (termed 'Anga,' nor इयत् 'ending with a Taddhita' and 'Prâtipadika'), because (in that case) neither could have been (regarded as) beginning with that to which (the affixes शप् and क्त्वा) have been added.[3]

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1. In भवति, भव is by P. I., 4, 13 termed 'Anga' in regard to the termination ति, because it is यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि *i. e.* because भव begins with that (भू) to which the affix ति has been added. But भू would in regard to शप्, which is likewise an affix, not be termed 'Anga,' because it does not *begin* with that to which शप् has been added, if by the present Paribhâshâ यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादित्व were not ascribed to it.

2. According to P. I., 2, 46 a Taddhitânta like दाक्षि (*i. e.* दक्ष + इ) is termed Prâtipadika; इयत् is properly not a Taddhitânta, but is only a Taddhita, because its base इदम् has disappeared (see pag. 118, note 1) and it ought therefore not to be termed Prâtipadika. By the present Paribhâshâ however तद्धितान्तत्व is ascribed to इयत् and the latter is therefore likewise called a Prâtipadika.—The इत्यादौ 'etc.' after इयान् includes अधुना etc.; cf. P. V., 3, 17, Si. Kau. I, 693.—कार्यकालपक्षे, P.: तस्यैव मुख्यत्वादिति भावः; Râghavendra: यथैदेधौ तु स्थानिवत्त्वेनैव प्रातिपदिकत्वसिद्धिरिति भावः.

3. *Viz.* because यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादित्व, being not taught in any of Pânini's rules, would not by this Paribhâshâ have been ascribed to भू and इयत्.—In the same manner in which the Paribhâshâ is applied in the case of भू and इयत्, it must be applied also in the case of इ, इयाय,

But when Kaiyaṭa[1] maintains that (the root इ) has the special designation एकाच् 'containing one vowel' (which implies that इ is something more than one vowel), because that which possesses a meaning may be (considered both as) void of that meaning and (as) endowed with it, so that, when about to form *e. g.* the Perfect of इ, one may say 'this one vowel (इ), considered merely as a letter, of the root (इ) endowed with a meaning,' (and when Kaiyaṭa then applies the present Paribhâshâ), he is wrong, because that (root इ endowed with a meaning) is called एकाच्, a term which (in this case) expresses what इ actually is, in the same manner in which according to the Bhâshya in एकपदा ऋक् 'a Ṛich containing one Pâda' (the term एकपदा expresses what the Ṛich really is, and because under these circumstances the present Paribhâshâ becomes inapplicable). It has been said in the Bhâshya that in एकपदा ऋक् the special designation (एकपदा) is connected with the meaning, (*i. e.* that the Ṛich as a meaning *is* qualified by the Bahuvrîhi-compound एकपदा).[2] The import of *this* (passage of the Bhâshya) so far as the meaning (of एकपदा ऋक् *is* concerned) in this that, because what

i. e. एकाच्त्व must be ascribed to इ, and Kaiyaṭa's view, which will now be *stated*, cannot therefore be correct.

1. According to Kaiyaṭa, इ can really be called एकाच्, because besides containing one vowel it contains also a meaning. But, if this view be adopted, the present Paribhâshâ cannot be applied to इ, because in that case एकाच् is a *vyapades'a* and इ *vyapades'in*. See Mahâbhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne p. 408.

2. Cf. Bhâshya Ed. Ball. p. 409. भवति चैतदेकस्मिन्नपि । एकवर्णे पदम् एकपदकं एकर्चं सूक्तमिति । अलाप्यर्थेन युक्तो व्यपदेशः । पदं नामार्थं ऋङ्नामार्थः सूक्तं नामार्थं इति ॥ Kaiyaṭa: अलाप्यर्थेनेति । पदादीनां योऽर्थः सोऽन्यपदार्थं इत्यर्थः । अभेदोपचाराच्चार्थ एव पदादिभिरभिधीयते ॥

one calls a Ṛich etc. is both a meaning and also certain sounds, (one may say) 'the Pâda, considered merely as certain sounds, forms one part of that (Ṛich).' As one then by assigning several properties to an only (son) may call him equally 'the eldest, (the youngest)' etc., and as one in such expressions as 'the body of a round stone-piece,' by ascribing various states to the one (stone-piece) and by thus ascribing to it an existence in various (states) etc., may speak of its body[1] etc., in the same manner[2] one may (also) in the case (of इ, इयाय etc.) without impropriety speak (of इ etc.) as 'containing one vowel' etc., and this (Paribhâshâ) is therefore established by a maxim of ordinary life.

And it cannot be said that, as this (Paribhâshâ) concerns only that which is not accompanied by anything else, भू in भवति ought not (by this Paribhâshâ to be considered as यस्माद्विहितस्तदादि and ought therefore not) to be termed 'Anga' (in regard to the following शप्), because (भू) *is* accompanied (by शप् etc.); for as शप् is the cause[3] of the assignment of the term 'Anga' (to भू), the latter, so far as its being that which begins with that to which (शप्) has been added, is concerned, is not accompanied by anything. The case is the same as when in ordinary life a man who has (only) one son, even though he

1. P. वयस्कृतावस्थानामपि प्राणिनिष्ठत्वेन वस्तुनस्तत्तासत्त्वादाह । आरोपितेति ॥ समुदायरूपतेति । अनेकावस्थाविशिष्टशिलापुत्तकत्वेत्यर्थः । आदिनैकावस्थाविशिष्टशिलापुत्तकत्वपरिग्रहः ॥ तस्येति । अनेकावस्थाविशिष्टशिलापुत्तकस्यैकावस्थाविशिष्टमिदं शरीरमवयव इत्यादिव्यवहार इत्यर्थः ॥. In reality the body does not form part of the round stone-piece because the latter is nothing else than the body; it exists only in this one state, *viz.* as body.

2. But not in the way in which Kaiyaṭa calls इ एकाच्.

3. अङ्गत्वे कार्ये; जन्यजनकभावः सम्पर्यः । तज्जनकीभूत इति यावत् ॥ P.

possesses children of the other sex, *viz.* daughters etc., calls that same son his eldest etc.[1] Nor can one say that, (if this Paribhâshâ did) then (apply only to that which is not accompanied by anything else,) the statement in the Bhâshya (on P. VI., 1, 1) 'that there are in निज् four things which contain one vowel (*viz.* नि, निज्, इ, and इज्)' would be incorrect because (in this case) the letter इ, being really accompanied by something else (*viz.* by न् and ज्), cannot (in accordance with this Paribhâshâ) fitly be said to contain one vowel ; for that (statement) has been made without any regard to the word एकस्मिन् (of the present Paribhâshâ).[2]

The word[3] अर्थवत् 'possessed of a meaning' in the expression अर्थवता व्यपदेशिवद्भावः likewise denotes by implication that (that which is possessed of a meaning) is (at the same time) not accompanied by anything else. The meaning of that (expression) is, that a word which possesses a meaning, (although on account

1. भू is not accompanied by anything *sajâtîya*, *i. e.* by anything which, like itself, is कार्यिन्; the शप् by which it is accompanied is, as the निमित्त of the term अङ्ग, *vijâtîya*.

2. And this shows that that statement of the Bhâshya belongs to the Pûrvapakshin, and not to the Siddhântin.

3. P. Now one might say: 'It follows from the expression of the Bhâshyakâra अर्थवता व्यपदेशिवद्भावः that Patanjali approves only of that meaning of the present Paribhâshâ which has been assigned to it by Kaiyaṭa, on the ground that, wherever (in interpretation) *Ekavâkyatâ* is possible (as is the case in the explanation of अर्थवता व्यपदेशिवद्भावः), *Vâkyabheda* (which we see in the explanation of व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्, the meaning being असहाये तत्कार्यं कर्तव्यं ससहाये तु न,) ought not to be had recourse to, and Kaiyaṭa has therefore been censured unjustly.' To refute this Nâgojibhaṭṭa says: 'The word अर्थवत् etc.'

of the absence of certain causes a particular designation may not attach to it), undergoes the same operation as another word to which that particular designation does attach. (We said that the word अर्थवत् denotes by implication that that which is possessed of a meaning is at the same time not accompanied by anything else), because usually[1] only that is possessed of a meaning which is not accompanied by anything else.

In[2] (the formation of) कुरुते etc. (from कुरुत etc.) the letter

1. Not always; *e. g.* in forms like अधीते in which a root is accompanied by a preposition, which does not convey a meaning but is merely *dyotaka*, the root accompanied by something else possesses a meaning. But though this is the case, nevertheless, wherever the present Paribhâshâ may be applicable, the अर्थवत् is असहाय and अर्थवत् does therefore imply असहायत्व.

2. One might maintain, that the अ of the Âtmanepada termination त of कुरु-त cannot be termed इ, because it is accompanied by something else, *viz.* by त्, and because therefore the present Paribhâshâ ought not to apply to it. Nâgojibhatta says therefore: 'In the formation of कुरुते etc.' Although अ has a *vijâtîya* companion त्, it has no *sajâtîya* companion, because the Âtmanepada termination त contains no other vowel besides अ; the Paribhâshâ is therefore applicable to it. By it अ may be considered as 'beginning with the last vowel of त,' and it is consequently termed इ and undergoes the operation taught in P. III., 4, 79.—Hereby the opinion is refuted that this Paribhâshâ and अर्थवता व्यपदेशिवद्भावः are two separate Paribhâshâs. This Nâgojibhatta indicates by the concluding words इत्यन्यत्र विस्तरः; 'elsewhere' *i. e.* in the Uddyota etc.—Cf. the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 21, Ed. Ballantyne pag. 406, of which the following is a short analysis:

1. आदि and अन्त, are defined thus: 'आदि is that which, while it is accompanied by something else, is not preceded by anything but is followed by something;' 'अन्त is that which, while it is accompanied

अ of the syllable त is, so far as the expression 'last of the vowels' and the expression 'that which begins with it' are concerned, decidedly not accompanied by anything else, and as therefore the present Paribhâshâ does apply to it, it is termed

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by something else, *is* not followed by anything but is preceded by something.' These definitions accepted, the rule आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् becomes necessary.

2. (*a.*) It is objected that Pâṇini, to give a more comprehensive rule, should have said 'व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्.' For what object? एकाचो द्वे प्रथमार्थम् । वक्ष्यत्येकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य [६. १. १] इति बहुव्रीहिनिर्देश इति । तस्मिन्क्रियमाण इहैव स्यात् । पपाच पपाठ । इयाय आर इत्यत्र न स्यात् । व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्कार्यं भवतीत्यत्रापि सिद्धं भवति ॥ षत्वे चादेशसंप्रत्ययार्थम् । वक्ष्यत्यादेशप्रत्यययोः [८. ३. ५९] इत्यवयवषष्ठ्येति । एतस्मिन्क्रियमाण इहैव स्यात् । करिष्यति हरिष्यति। इह न स्यात् । इन्द्रो मा वक्षत् स देवान्यक्षदिति । (Here the affix consists of only स् and स् cannot be *part of* स्); व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्कार्यं भवतीत्यत्रापि सिद्धं भवति ॥

(*b.*) Nevertheless the rule व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन् need not be given because it contains a maxim which is generally valid and applies therefore also in grammar.

3. Lastly the objector tries to show that the rule आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् is altogether superfluous. आदि, he says, is that which is not preceded by anything else, अन्त that which is not followed by anything else. If anything stands quite alone, it may according to these definitions be considered as both आदि and अन्त, and the rule आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् is superfluous. Patanjali (गोनर्दीयः), however, says that these definitions of आदि and अन्त are incorrect, and those given above correct, and that therefore the rule आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् is not superfluous.

But why is the Sûtra given at all? Does not its meaning result from the general maxim व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्? This question is answered by Kaiyaṭa: यद्यपि लौकिकेन व्यपदेशिवद्भावेनाद्यन्तव्यपदेश एकस्मिन्नपि सिध्यति तथापि गौणत्वात्कार्येण न भवितव्यमिति यस्य भ्रान्तिः स्यात्तं प्रति योगो ऽयमारब्धव्यः ॥

टि (by P. I., 1, 64 and undergoes the operation which is taught in P. III., 4, 79). This has been fully discussed elsewhere.

4. Which are the objects of the rule आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन्?

a. आदित्वे प्रयोजनं प्रत्ययञ्जिनदाद्युदात्तत्वे *e. g.* कर्तव्य—भौपगव. P. III., 1, 3.

b. वलादेरार्धधातुकस्येट् प्रयोजनम् *e. g.* करिष्यति—जोषिषत्. P. VII., 2, 35.

c. यस्मिन्विधिस्तदादिल्ये प्रयोजनम् *e. g.* श्रियः—श्रियौ. P. VI., 4, 77.

d. अजाद्यात्ल्वे प्रयोजनम् *e. g.* ऐहिट—ऐट्. P. VI., 4, 72.

e. अन्तवद् द्विवचनान्तप्रगृह्यत्वे प्रयोजनम् *e. g.* पचेते—माले. P. I., 1, 11.

f. मिदचोऽन्त्यात्परः प्रयोजनम् *e. g.* कुण्डानि—यानि. P. I., 1, 47; VII., 1, 72.

g. अचो ञ्णिति टि प्रयोजनम् *e. g.* कुर्वाथे—कुरुते.

Kaiyaṭa: कुरुत इति । अर्थवता व्यपदेशिवद्भावात्तशब्दाकारस्यानर्थकत्वादिह प्रयोजनत्वेनोपन्यासः ॥

Nâgojibhaṭṭa: अर्थवतेति । तल ह्यर्थस्य त्यागोपादानाभ्यां भेदः सुकर इति भावः । इदं चिन्त्यम् । यद्यपि व्यपदेशिवद्भावेन सिध्यति तथापि गौणत्वान्नेति यस्य भ्रान्तिस्तं प्रति सूत्रारम्भ इति पूर्वग्रन्थविरोधात्सूत्रकारेण तदज्ञानात्तदुदाहरणसंभवाच्चार्थवतेति चासहायत्वस्यैवोपलक्षणं ससहायस्य प्रायेणानर्थकत्वात्तशब्दाकारश्चासहाय एव । येन सहायेनाचामन्त्यत्वस्य बहुव्रीह्यर्थस्य चोपपत्तिस्तादृशसहायाभावात् । अन्यथाद्यन्तवद्भावो ऽपि न स्यात् ॥

h. अलोऽन्त्यस्य प्रयोजनम् *e. g.* पटाभ्याम्—आभ्याम्. P. VII., 3, 102.

i. येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य प्रयोजनम् *e. g.* चेयम्—अध्येयम्. P. III., 1, 97.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XXXI.

One[1] might say that (the affix) यञ् which (by P. IV., 1, 105)

1. The sequence of the Paribhâshâs XXIX.-XXXII. is thus accounted for by Pâyagunda: Paribh. XXIX. is, as has been stated, a further developed form of P. I., 1, 72. It is followed by Paribh. XXX. because the portion तस्य च in the former suggests at once the latter Paribhâshâ. Then follows Paribh. XXXI. which restricts P. I., 1, 72,

may be added to गर्ग etc., may be added also[1] to परमगर्ग etc., because (गर्ग etc. qualify प्रातिपदिकात् which is valid from P. IV., 1, 1, and) should denote (therefore according to P. I., 1, 72 Prâtipadikas) that end with (गर्ग etc.). To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. XXXI: That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prâtipadika[2] does (contrary to P. I., 1, 72) not denote that which ends with it, (but it denotes only itself).

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and Paribh. XXXII. is given after XXXI., because XXXI. prevents too wide an application of P. I., 1, 72, on which Paribh. XXIX. is based, whereas Paribh. XXXII. prevents too wide an application of Paribh. XXX.

1. *I. e.* besides being added to गर्ग etc. by Vyapades'ivadbhâva.

2. *E. g.* गर्ग in IV., 1. 105 or ऋषि 'the name of a Rishi' in P. IV., 1, 114, which cannot possibly be anything else than Prâtipadikas; but not अस् in P. V., 2, 121, nor अत् in P. IV., 1, 95, nor उगित् in P. IV., 1, 6, because अस्, अत्, and उगित् do not necessarily denote a Prâtipadika, but may refer also to something else than a Prâtipadika. Nâgojibhatta explains the word ग्रहणवत् in the following by विशिष्य *i. e.* तत्तद्रूपेण गृहीत; Pâyagunda by विशिष्य *i. e.* तत्तद्रूपेणोच्चारणवत्. Râghavendra remarks on तत्तद्रूपेण, उगिद्वर्णान्यरूपेणेत्यर्थः । तेनावृद्धाभ्यः [४. १. ११३] ऋष्यन्धकेत्यादौ न तदन्तविधिः |; cf P. IV., 1, 114. Bhairavamis'ra comments on the same word: तत्तदित्यस्य प्रातिपदिकत्वव्याप्येत्यर्थः, and he illustrates this explanation by the following remark on the meaning of the present Paribhâshâ: अत्र यस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य सूत्रे ग्रहणमुपादानं तेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्तीत्यर्थकरणे ऽस्मायामेधास्रजो विनिः [५. २. १२१] इति सूत्रे समासघटकास्पदस्योपात्तस्य प्रातिपदिकत्वात्तदन्तविध्यभावापत्तौ यशस्वीत्यादिरूपासिद्धिरतः प्रातिपदिकत्वव्याप्यधर्मवत्त्वेनोपादानं यस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य तेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्तीत्यर्थः कार्यः |' अस्त्वं तु प्रातिपदिकाप्रातिपदिकसाधारणमिति भवति तेन तदन्तविधिः ||. Similarly the Sarvamangalâ: अत्र ग्रहणवत्त्वं च न साक्षादुपात्तत्वं किंतु प्रातिपदिकत्वव्याप्यधर्मवदुपस्थापकत्वम्.

(Accordingly गर्ग in P. IV., 1, 105 cannot denote परमगर्ग but it can only denote गर्ग by itself, and यञ् can therefore not by P. IV., 1, 105 be added to परमगर्ग). This (Paribhâshâ) conveys the same sense as the portion relating to affixes of the Vârttika (on P. I., 1, 72) according to which (P. I., 1, 72) does not apply in rules that teach the formation of a compound or the addition of an affix, except that it does apply to उगित् and to letters employed (in such rules). Therefore (the prohibition contained in) this (Paribhâshâ) is (likewise) applicable only in such rules as teach the addition of an affix. It is for this reason, that the application in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72 of this rule also to a Prâtipadika given in a rule like P. VI., 4, 11 which does not teach the addition of an affix, and the quotation of an example like स्वसा, परमस्वसा, are not at variance (with this Paribhâshâ)[1]. And for the same reason[2] (the prohibition which) this (Paribhâshâ conveys) has not, like the prohibition समास-प्रत्ययविधौ *etc.*, been mentioned in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72. That (prohibition which is contained in the Vârttika समासप्रत्ययविधौ प्रतिषेधः) refers likewise only to rules in which a Prâtipadika is given by means of some particular form.[3] This is suggested in the Bhâshya on P. V., 1, 20.[4] And (the existence of) the

1. *I. e.* P. I., 1, 72 does apply to the Prâtipadika स्वसृ in P. VI., 4, 11, because this rule does not teach the addition of an affix.

2. *Viz.* because this Paribhâshâ conveys the same sense as the portion relating to affixes of the Vârttika समासप्रत्ययविधौ.....

3. *Scil.* which necessarily must denote a Prâtipadika; cf. pag. 160, note 2. The exception उगिदचां सर्वनामस्थाने धातोः does not therefore teach something new, but teaches something that is contained already in समासप्रत्यय-विधौ प्रतिषेधः.

4. There it is stated that Pâṇini employs the word असमासे in V.,

present (Paribhâshâ) is indicated by the rule P. V., 2, 87 सपूर्वाच्च (according to which the affix इनि which by P. V., 2, 86 is added to पूर्व, is added to पूर्व also when the latter is preceded by another word, as is the case *e. g.* in कृतपूर्व. If), on the other hand, (the present Paribhâshâ did not exist, इनि) might already by P. V., 2, 86 have been added (to कृतपूर्व etc.) because (in that case the word पूर्व of that rule) would have denoted (any Prâti-

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1, 20, in order to show that the Tadantavidhi applies in the preceding rule V., 1, 18 प्राग्वतेष्ठञ्, and that for this reason ठञ् may be added by P. V., 1, 18 to परमनिष्क. This however is rejected; the Nishedha ग्रहणवता etc. does not concern P. V., 1, 18, because in this rule no particular base is given to which the affix might be added, and consequently the Tadantavidhi would apply even in case Pânini had not said असमासे in V., 1, 20. If the Nishedha ग्रहणवता etc. were applicable both in rules where a particular Prâtipadika is given and also where this is not the case, the Bhâshya would be wrong. Cf. Bhâshya on V., 1, 20:

असमासे निष्कादिभ्यः । असमास इति किमर्थम् । परमनिष्केण क्रीतं परमनैष्किकम् । नैतदस्ति । निष्कशब्दात्प्रत्ययो विधीयते तत्र कः प्रसङ्गो यत्परमनिष्कशब्दात्स्यात् । नैव प्राप्नोति नार्थः प्रतिषेधेन । तदन्तविधिना प्राप्नोति । ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिः प्रतिषिध्यते । अत उत्तरं पठति । निष्कादिष्वसमासग्रहणं ज्ञापकं पूर्वत्र तदन्ताप्रतिषेधस्य । निष्कादिष्वसमासग्रहणं क्रियते ज्ञापनार्थम् । किं ज्ञाप्यम् । एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः पूर्वत्र तदन्तविधेः प्रतिषेधो न भवतीति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । प्राग्वतेष्ठञ् [५. १. १८] इत्यत्र तदन्तविधिः सिद्धो भवति । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिः प्रतिषिध्यते न च ठञ्विधौ काचित्प्रकृतिर्गृह्यते ॥ इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् । आर्हादगोपुच्छसंख्यापरिमाणाट्ठक् [५. १. १९] परमगोपुच्छेन क्रीतं पारमगोपुच्छिकम् । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । विधौ प्रतिषेधः । प्रतिषेधश्चायम् ॥ ....

Kaiyaṭa: प्राग्वतेष्ठञ्...। तेन परमनिष्कशब्दाट्ठञ्सिद्धो भवति । केवलात्प्रातिपदिकाट्ठञ्विधीयमानः समासान्न स्यादित्यभासमात्रेणेदमुक्तम्... ॥

padika) ending with (पूर्व), and. (P. V., 2, 87) would consequently be superfluous.[1]

1. The Jnâpaka of this Paribhâshâ is mentioned by Kaiyaṭa in his comment on P. V., 1, 20: पूर्वादिनिः सपूर्वाच्चेति प्रत्ययविधौ ग्रहणवतेत्येतस्याः परिभाषाया ज्ञापितत्वाद्यत्रैव प्रत्ययो विधीयते तत्रैवानया तदन्तविधिः प्रतिषिध्यते । अगोपुच्छसंख्यापरिमाणात् [५. १. १९] इत्यनेन तु ठक् प्रतिषिध्यत इति न तदन्तविधिप्रतिषेधो नापि व्यपदेशिवद्भावप्रतिषेधः ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XXXII.

(P. IV., 2, 60 teaches that the affix ठक् is added to a Prâtipadika which ends with सूत्र; P. V., 2, 45, that ङ is added to a Prâtipadika which ends with दशन्; P. V., 2, 118, that ठञ् is added to a Prâtipadika which begins with एक or with गो). Now one might say that, (as the preceding Paribhâshâ forbids only the application of P. I., 1, 72, but not that of Paribh. XXX., to Prâtipadikas, सूत्र alone may by Paribh. XXX. be regarded as 'ending with सूत्र,' दशन् alone as 'ending with दशन्,' and एक or गो as 'beginning with एक or with गो,' and that therefore) the rules P. IV., 2, 60, P. V., 2, 45, P. V., 2, 118 etc. may in accordance with Paribh. XXX. be applied also to the word सूत्र alone, to the word दशन् alone, and to the words एक etc. alone. To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says :

P. XXXII : Paribhâshâ XXX does not apply to a Prâtipadika.

(सूत्र alone can consequently not be regarded as 'ending with सूत्र,' एक alone not as 'beginning with एक' etc.).

The fact that (Pâṇini) makes the (two) separate rules (V., 2, 86 पूर्वादिनिः and 87 सपूर्वाच्च) which he certainly, (in case this Paribhâshâ did not exist), might have united in the one rule पूर्वात्सपूर्वादिनिः, indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, the one rule पूर्वात्सपूर्वादिनिः would have sufficed, because पूर्व would by Paribh. XXX. likewise have been considered as पूर्व सपूर्व *i. e.* as 'ending with पूर्व' and इनि would then by the rule पूर्वात्सपूर्वादिनिः have been added also to पूर्व when standing alone). Nor can one maintain that (the two rules P. V., 2, 86 and 87) are read as we read them (*i. e.* as two separate rules) in order that (सपूर्वाच्च) may be valid in (the following) rule 88, and that in consequence of this (validity of सपूर्वात् in 88) words like अनिटिन् are formed (by P. V, 2, 88); for on the authority of the Bhâshya[1] in which (the separate reading of P. V., 2, 86 and 87) is regarded as the Jnâpaka (of this Paribhâshâ), forms like अनिटिन् are inadmissible; and moreover there would have been no reason why (only) so much (of the whole पूर्वात्सपूर्वादिनिः as सपूर्वात्) should not have been valid[2] in the sequel even if (the two rules 86 and 87) had been united so as to form one rule.

It is only[3] because (the present Paribhâshâ does exist) that the rule P. V., 2, 49 (by which the augment म is prefixed to the affix डट् when the latter is added to a numeral that does not begin with a numeral) serves a purpose. On the other hand, (if the Paribhâshâ did not exist,) पञ्चन् etc. might by Paribh. XXX.

1. See Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72; Ed. Ballantyne p. 789.

2. *Viz.* by Paribh. XVIII.

3. P.: Nâgojibhaṭṭa mentions now another Jnâpaka of the present Paribhâshâ; in doing so he does not state his own view but that of former grammarians (प्राञ्चः).

likewise be considered as 'beginning with a numeral,' and in that case P. V., 2, 49 would clearly be altogether useless. And[1] this (Paribhâshâ) applies wherever a term is employed which cannot denote anything but a Prâtipadika, but it does not apply where a term is employed which may denote both a Prâtipadika and also something else than a Prâtipadika. There is therefore nothing strange (in its not applying to the term उगित्[2]) in P. IV., 1, 6; this may be seen in the Bhâshya[3] on that very rule. According to the Bhâshya and Kaiyaṭa on P. V., 1, 20[4] this and the

1. P.: In order to indicate that the statement of former grammarians which has just been repeated, is incorrect, and desirous of stating distinctly where the present Paribhâshâ applies and where it does not apply, Nâgojibhaṭṭa gives us now his own Siddhânta, by way of guarding against too wide an application of this Paribhâshâ. The word ग्रहणवता is valid from the preceding Paribhâshâ, and this is one more reason why this Paribhâshâ has been placed after Paribh. XXXI.

2. *Viz.* because उगित् does not denote merely Prâtipadikas, but denotes also affixes etc., and because the term प्रातिपदिकात्, although it is valid from P. IV., 1, 1, is not actually employed in P. IV., 1, 6.

3. There it is stated that उगितश्च may mean उगिदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् 'after a Prâtipadika which ends with an उगित् etc.'; against this explanation the objection is raised that according to it ङीप् would by P. IV., 1, 6 be added to अतिभवत् etc., but that on account of the prohibition व्यपदेशिवद्भावो ऽप्रातिपदिकेन it could not be added to भवत्. This objection is afterwards refuted with the remark that व्यपदेशिवद्भावो ऽप्रातिपदिकेन does not concern उगित् because नैतत्प्रातिपदिकग्रहणं प्रातिपदिकाप्रातिपदिकयोरेतद्ग्रहणम्, on which Kaiyaṭa comments: उगित्यस्य तदुगादिति शब्दरूपमात्रमन्यपदार्थं आश्रीयते न तु प्रातिपदिकमेवेत्यर्थः.

4. There it has been said that Pâṇini employs the word असमासे in V., 1, 20 in order to show that the Tadantavidhi is not forbidden in

preceding Paribhâshâ are applicable only where the addition of an affix is taught; the rule P. VIII., 2, 68, *e. g.*, concerns therefore the word परमाहन् and also the word अहन् alone.[1]

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the preceding rule V., 1, 19, and that ठञ् may therefore be added *e. g.* to परमगोपुच्छ. This however is rejected by the statement that the Tadantavidhi is forbidden where the addition of an affix is taught, whereas by अगोपुच्छ etc. the addition of the affix ठक् is prohibited; cf. note on pag. 163. Pâyagunda goes on to say that the fact that this Paribhâshâ applies only where the addition of an affix is taught, proves the incorrectness of the opinion of former grammarians regarding the rule P. V., 2, 49, which has been repeated by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa above; for, he says, this Paribhâshâ cannot apply in P. V., 2, 49 because no addition of an affix is taught in that rule. One ought therefore to supply the words इति कैश्चित् after the sentence अत एव नान्ताद°... स्पष्टमेव. He further refutes the objection that this Paribhâshâ does not apply merely where the addition of an affix is taught, but that it is likewise applicable where something connected with an affix is taught, and that it might therefore apply also in P. V., 2, 49; for, he remarks, even if this were admitted, the Paribhâshâ would not be applicable in P. V., 2, 49, because the term नान्तात् in that rule differs in no way from अगितः in IV., 1, 6 (नान्तात् being a Varnagrahana and no Prâtipadika being given in V., 2, 49); as the Paribhâshâ is not applicable in P. IV., 1, 6, it can likewise not be applied in P. V. 2, 49. In the latter rule no Vyapades'ivadbhâva takes place either on account of the Vis'eshana असंख्यादेः or because, if it did take place, the rule would have no sense. Pâyagunda thus tries to defend Nâgojîbhaṭṭa from an inconsistency, but there is nothing to prove that the latter did not consider P. V., 2, 49 as offering a genuine example for this Paribhâshâ.

1. Kaiyaṭa remarks on P. I., 1, 72 (Ed. p. 789) that the Paribhâshâ व्यपदेशिवद्भावोऽप्रातिपदिकेन applies where the word अन्त has actually been given in a rule, as *e. g.* in दशान्ताड्डः; and Nâgojîbhaṭṭa in his comment

More elsewhere.[1]

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on Kaiyaṭa's words observes that the word अन्त denotes by implication other words, and that the Paribh. applies therefore also in the case of एकगोपूर्वात् etc. According to this view the Paribhâshâ could not possibly apply in P. VIII., 2, 68. Râghavendra observes therefore in regard to the words तेनाहन् etc.: 'Really this Paribhâshâ applies only when words like अन्त etc. are given in a rule (and it can therefore not apply in P. VIII., 2, 68) etc.'

1. Pâyagunda concludes his remarks on this Paribhâshâ with a passage which is taken from Nâgojîbhaṭṭa's commentary on P. I., 1, 72, Ed. Ballantyne p. 788 ननु समास°—चमत्कारि. If we consider a word which occurs in a rule, in which प्रातिपदिक is valid, as Vis'eshana of प्रातिपदिक, we have a Vis'eshanavis'eshyabhâva and must apply the Tadantavidhi (P. I., 1, 72); but if we consider the word प्रातिपदिक as Vis'eshana of the word which is actually given in the rule, we have a Vis'eshanavis'eshyabhâvavyatyâsa, *i. e.* a reversion of the Vis'eshanavis'eshyabhâva; in the latter case the Tadantavidhi is not applicable. Now one might argue thus: 'As the Vârttika समासप्रत्ययविधौ प्रतिषेधः etc. shows us only the import of the Vis'eshanavis'eshyabhâvavyatyâsa, *i. e.* shows us where the Vis'eshanavis'eshyabhâva is reversed (*viz.* in a Pratyaya-, and a Samâsa-vidhi), the Tadantavidhi might, just as it is applied to दिति (cf. Bhâshya p. 788) be applied also to दशन् etc., and the actual addition of the word अन्त to दशन् in दशान्ताड्डः is in itself sufficient to show that this rule has no concern with the simple word दशन् etc; consequently the Paribhâshâ व्यपदेशिवद्भावोऽप्रातिपदिकेन is useless. (Hereby the opinion that in consequence of the prohibition Paribh. XXXI. ग्रहणवता etc. P. V., 2, 45 would not apply to a Prâtipadika that ends with दशन् if the word अन्त had not been added to दशन् in V., 2, 45, is rejected). Moreover the Paribh. व्यपदेशिवद्भावोऽप्रातिपदिकेन is useless, because, just as it was said before (cf. Kaiyaṭa p. 788) that the affix ष्ण cannot be added to परमदिति because the new word which would re-

sult from the addition of the affix, is not in use, so one may say here, that the affix ङ cannot be added to the simple दद्यान् etc., because the new word that would result from the addition of the affix is not used.'

This, however, is untenable. Just as the prohibition समासप्रत्ययविधौ प्रतिषेधः is necessary as showing the import of the Vis'eshanavis'eshya-bhâvavyatyâsa, so the Paribhâshâ व्यपदेशिवद्भावी ऽप्रातिपदिकेन is necessary (as showing where the Tadantavidhi alone is applicable). The Tadanta-vidhi would be applied too widely if it were applied also in the absence of that which shows the meaning intended by the Sûtra, Vârttika and Bhâshya (*i. e.* if it were applied everywhere, without any regard to the Vârttika समासप्रत्ययविधौ etc.). Therefore उगिदचां ग्रहणवर्जम् (which would have no meaning if the Tadantavidhi were applicable everywhere) serves a purpose. On the other hand, to reject (the addition of an affix) by saying that the new word which would result from the addition of the affix would not denote anything or would not be in use, has nothing strange in it (and this course has therefore been rightly adopted in the case of परमदिति).

To indicate all this, Nâgojîbhaṭṭa concludes with the words इत्यन्यत्र (*i. e.* उद्द्योतादौ) विस्तरः 'more elsewhere.'

PARIBHÂSHÂ XXXIII.

One might ask: How is it that (the words यि प्रत्ययेऽ etc.) in P. VI., 1, 79 etc. mean 'when an affix follows which *begins* with य्'?[1] To answer this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. XXXIII: When a term which denotes a letter[2]

1. यि प्रत्ययेऽ ought according to P. I., 1, 72 to convey the meaning 'when an affix follows which *ends* with य्.'

2. अल्ग्रहणे does not mean अलो ग्रहणे *i. e.* उच्चारणे 'when a letter is enunciated (in a rule)' for in that case the Paribhâshâ would not apply

is exhibited (in a rule) in (the form of) the Locative case (and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the Locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as) beginning with the letter (which is denoted by the term in question, and not as ending with it).[1]

This (Paribhâshâ) is an exception to P. I., 1, 72. It is given verbatim in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72 as an independent rule.[2] And it is applicable where (a term which denotes a letter is exhibited in a rule) in the *form* of the Locative case, (but it is not necessary that this Locative case should convey the *meaning* of the Locative.[3] It applies) therefore *e. g.* in P. VII., 2, 8 (notwithstanding that the Locative वशि कृति conveys the sense of a Genitive case, and) and we derive (by it) (from वशि

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to Pratyâhâras like वश् etc., but it means अलः प्रतिपादकशब्दे 'when a word is employed which denotes a letter'. For this reason Patanjali on P. VII., 1, 73 is right in explaining व्यञ्जने by व्यञ्जनादौ. (अङ्ग्रहणं किमर्थम् । इकोऽचि व्यञ्जने मा भूत् । इकोऽचीत्युच्यते व्यञ्जनादौ मा भूत्).

1. यि प्रत्यये in P. VI., 1, 79 means therefore 'when an affix follows which begins with य्.'

2. Cf. Mahâbhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne p. 800, where the following example is given: अचि श्नुधातुभ्रुवां य्वोरियङुवङौ [६. ४. ७७] इतीहैव स्यात् श्रियौ भ्रुवौ । श्रियौ भ्रुव इत्यत्र न स्यात् ।. Kaiyaṭa observes that the Paribhâshâ is an exception to P. I., 1, 72, अत एव विशेषणेन भवति नान्येन; and Nâgojibhaṭṭa comments on the last words thus: अत एवेको यण्णचीत्यादौ न दोषः । यस्मिन्विधिरिति वाचनिकमेव । यस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यन्तोपलक्षणम । सप्तम्यन्तं यत्र विशेषणं तत्रेति यावत् ॥

3. स्वरूपसती; न तु स्वार्थविशिष्टा. P.

कृति) the meaning, 'of a Kṛit-affix which begins with one of the letters contained in the Pratyâhâra वश्.' And the fact that (Pâṇini), in saying वलादेः in the rule VII., 2, 35, employs the word आदि (after वल्, instead of saying simply वलि,) proves that this (Paribhâshâ) is only then applicable, when the term which denotes a letter and also something that is qualified by it stand both in the Locative case.[1] Accordinly (सि) in P. VIII., 3, 29, *e.g.*, (which does not qualify anything else) does not mean 'of that which follows provided it begin with स्' (but it means simply 'of the following स्'). How (ति) in P. VII., 2, 48, (से) in P. VII, 2, 57 etc. come to mean 'of that which begins with त्' etc., has been considered in the S'abdendus'ekhara.[2]

1. In P. VII., 2, 35 the Vis'eshya आर्धधातुक stands in the Genitive case.

2. P.: There the त् in P. VII.,2, 48 is made to qualify the वल् in वलादेः (of VII., 2, 35) which in its turn qualifies आर्धधातुक, and VII., 2, 48 is accordingly explained by तरूपवलादेरार्धधातुकस्य etc.; the Locative ति has, as referring to वल् in वलादेः, the meaning of a Nominative. The same applies to सि in VII., 2, 57. Pâyagunda adds: 'The construction of VII., 2, 48 is really not artificial; it is namely this, तकाराव्यवहितपरकेच्छत्यादेः परवलाद्यार्धधातुकस्येट्, and to indicate this the word अलम् has been employed there (in the S'abdendus'ekhara).' He remarks further, in order to show how हलि which from P. VI., 4, 100 is valid in 101, where it qualifies हि, can mean 'beginning with one of the letters contained in the Pratyâhâra हल्,' although that which is qualified by it does not stand in the Locative: एवं हुझल्भ्यो हेर्धिरित्यत्र हलीत्यनुवृत्त्या हलादेर्हेरिति व्याख्यानपक्षे हल्ग्रहणानुवृत्तिसामर्थ्याद्धेरस्तदन्तत्वासंभवात्तल्लाभ इति बोध्यम्.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XXXIV.

In order to show how (it is that *e. g.* of घट and पट two compounds) घटपटम् and घटपटौ[1] 'a jar and a piece of cloth' may be formed, (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. XXXIV: Every Dvandva-compound may optionally take the terminations of the Singular.[2]

('Every Dvandva-compound') means, 'every Dvandva-compound which does not fall under (any of the rules in) the chapter that begins with (the rule) P. II., 4, 2.'[3] As (Pâṇini) teaches by the rule II., 2, 29, that a Dvandva-compound (may) be formed (of any two or more nouns) without distinction[4] to denote the aggregate or the mutual union (of the persons or things denoted by those nouns), this (Paribhâshâ) is established by a maxim (accepted in grammar.[5] Moreover) the employment of the

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1. One cannot object that by P. II., 4, 6 घटपटम् only ought to be formed; for that rule would apply if the genus 'jar' and 'cloth' were intended to be denoted by the nouns compounded, whereas घट and पट denote in this case an individual jar, and an individual piece of cloth. P.

2. Literally: 'That which is denoted by a Dvandva-compound may, (although it must really be more than one and although the compound ought therefore to take either the terminations of the dual or those of the plural), always be optionally considered as one, (and the compound may accordingly optionally take the terminations of the singular).'

3. If the Paribhâshâ did concern also such compounds as fall under the rules P. II., 4, 2 etc., that whole chapter would be useless.

4. *I. e.* Pâṇini's rule II., 2, 29 applies equally to all Dvandva-compounds except those which fall under any of the rules in the chapter beginning with the rule II., 4, 2.

5. *I. e.* it is established by the maxim expressed in P. II., 2, 29;

word बहुवचनस्य 'for the plural' in the rule P. I., 2, 63 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ); for that (word बहुवचनस्य) serves the purpose of preventing (P. I., 2, 63) from applying to the neuter singular तिष्यपुनर्वसु; (this singular must therefore exist, because otherwise P. I., 2, 63 could not possibly apply to it, and बहुवचनस्य would be superfluous).[1] And one cannot say that even (if बहुवचनस्य in I., 2, 63 were to indicate the existence of this Paribhâshâ) the rule I., 2, 63 would serve no purpose because a Dvandva-compound of तिष्य and पुनर्वसू[2] ought by P. II., 4, 6 necessarily to take the terminations of the singular and because therefore a plural (of तिष्यपुनर्वसु) would not exist. (To say so would be wrong) because the rule I., 2, 63 indicates that also[3] that rule II., 4, 6 is optional (so far as a compound of तिष्य and पुनर्वसू is concerned[4]). Nor can one say that Tishya

for when the Dvandva-compound denotes the aggregate of the persons or things denoted by the nouns, it must take the terminations of the singular, otherwise those of the dual or plural.

1. If the present Paribhâshâ did not exist, a Dvandva-compound of तिष्य and पुनर्वसू could take only the terminations of the plural, and the singular इदं तिष्यपुनर्वसु would not exist.

2. *Scil.* Both not being living beings.

3. *I. e.* besides indicating by बहुवचनस्य that every Dvandva-compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular.

4. Because exactly so much is indicated by a Jnâpaka as is absolutely necessary for the removal of any inconsistency; (यावता विनानुपपत्तिस्तावन्मात्रस्य ज्ञाप्यत्वात् P.). Pâyagunda adds: or it may be that the restriction contained in II., 4, 6 refers to Dvandva-compounds the members of which denote a genus, and not to compounds the members of which denote individual things. And thus neither the word बहुवचनस्य in I., 2, 63 is useless, nor that whole rule, nor the rule II., 4, 6.

etc. are living beings, (that therefore a compound of तिष्य and पुनर्वसू does not fall under P. II., 4, 6 and that consequently I., 2, 63 cannot indicate that P. II., 4, 6 is optional); for according to the Veda-passage 'life consists of water' only those are living beings whose life wastes away in the absence of water, (which is not the case with Tishya etc.). And (all) this is found in the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 2, 63.[1]. The[2] employ-

1. Cf. Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 63 : बहुवचनस्येति किमर्थम्। उदितं तिष्यपुनर्वसु। कथं चावैकवचनम्। जातिद्वन्द्व एकवद्भवतीति। अप्राणिनामिति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति। एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यद्बहुवचनग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः सर्वो द्वन्द्वो विभाषैकवद्भवतीति। किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्। बाभ्रवशालङ्कायनं बाभ्रवशालङ्कायना इत्येतत्सिद्धं भवति। अथवा नालभवन्तः प्राणिनः प्राणा एवालभवन्तः ॥

Kaiyaṭa: जातिद्वन्द्व इति। कथमनयोर्जातिशब्दत्वं यावता जातिप्रदेशेषु भिन्नाधारा जातिर्गृह्यते न त्ववस्थाभेदकलितभेदैकवस्तुविषया। एवं तर्हि प्रतिमन्वन्तरं भिन्नानि नक्षत्राणीति दर्शने भिन्नाधारा जातिः संभवतीति न कश्चिद्दोषः ॥ सर्वो द्वन्द्व इति। अप्राणिजातिद्वन्द्वो नित्यमेकवद्भवति प्राणिद्वन्द्वस्तु विकल्पेन। न्यायसिद्धश्चार्थो बहुवचनग्रहणेन लिङ्गेन सूच्यते। एकवद्भावप्रकरणं हि विषयविभागार्थमारब्धम्। प्राण्यङ्गादीनां समाहार एव न तु प्राण्यङ्गादीनामेव समाहार इति। ततस्तत्प्रकरणानुपात्तानां समाहारेतरयोर्गयोर्द्वन्द्वः सिद्ध एव ॥ अथवेति। न ह्येतेषु लोके प्राणिव्यवहारः सिद्ध इति भावः ॥ प्राणा एवेति। तदधीनस्थितित्वात्प्राणिनामित एव प्राणा उच्यन्ते ॥

2. Now one might say: 'on the alternative that Tishya etc. are living beings, the rule P. I., 2, 63 cannot indicate that P. II., 4, 6 is optional, because a Dvandva-compound of तिष्य etc. would not fall under that rule; as further the restriction conveyed in P. II., 4, 2 etc. is this, that aggregative Dvandva-compounds are formed only of nouns that denote members of living beings etc., and not of any other nouns, no aggregative compound can be formed of तिष्य and पुनर्वसू; consequently the singular तिष्यपुनर्वसु does not exist, and बहुवचनस्य in P. I., 2, 63, which was said to have been employed in order to prevent the application of that rule to the singular तिष्यपुनर्वसु, is useless.' To meet this

ment of बहुवचनस्य in P. I., 2, 63 proves also, that the restriction (which is intended to be) conveyed by P. II., 4, 2, etc. (is this, that the compounds treated of in those rules denote only an aggregate but no mutual union, and that it) cannot be the inverse restriction, *viz.* that aggregative Dvandva-compounds are formed only of such nouns as denote members of living beings etc. (but not of any other nouns, for with the latter restriction बहुवचनस्य in I., 2, 63 would be superfluous[1]).

objection, Nâgojibhaṭṭa says अत एव *i. e.* because बहुवचनस्य has been employed in P. I., 2, 63.

1. *Viz.* because the formation of the aggregative Dvandva-compound would be impossible.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XXXV.

P. XXXV : All rules are optional in the Veda.

This (Paribhâshâ) has been established in the Bhâshya[1] on P. III., 1, 85, where a separate rule is made of the portion बहुलम् 'variously' (of III., 1, 85, छन्दसि being valid from the preced-

1. *Viz.* by the formation of the rule छन्दसि बहुलम्, or of the rule छन्दसि वा, which is still shorter. Cf. Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 9:

षष्ठीयुक्तश्छन्दसि वा ॥ योगविभागः कर्तव्यः । षष्ठीयुक्तश्छन्दसि । षष्ठीयुक्तः पतिशब्दश्छन्दसि घिसंज्ञो भवति । ततो वा । वा छन्दसि सर्वे विधयो भवन्ति । सुपां व्यत्ययः । तिङां व्यत्ययः । वर्णव्यत्ययः । लिङ्गव्यत्ययः । कालव्यत्ययः । पुरुषव्यत्ययः । आत्मनेपदव्यत्ययः । परस्मैपदव्यत्ययः ॥ सुपां व्यत्ययः । युक्ता मातासीद्धुरि दक्षिणायाः [ऋग्वे० १. १६४. ९] दक्षिणायामिति प्राप्ते ॥ तिङां व्यत्ययः । चषालं ये अश्वयूपाय तक्षति [ऋग्वे० १. १६२. ६] तक्षन्तीति प्राप्त इत्यादि ॥

Kaiyaṭa: योगविभाग इति । तेन परिभाषा संपद्यते । यावदिह शास्त्रे कार्यं तच्छन्दसि वा भवति । तलानयैव सिद्धत्वाद्बहुलं छन्दसीत्यादि न वक्तव्यम् ॥

ing rule), and also (in the Bhâshya) on P. I., 4, 9, where a separate rule is made of the portion वा 'optionally' (of I., 4, 9, छन्दसि being supplied from the same rule). This accounts *e. g.* for (the Parasmaipada युध्यति in the Veda-passage) प्रतीपमन्य ऊर्मिर्युध्यति; (according to P. I., 3, 12) युध् ought to have taken the termination of the Âtmanepada.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XXXVI.

One might ask: How is (it that) *e. g.* in क्षियः (of P. VI., 4, 59, and VIII., 2, 46) इयङ् (has in accordance with P. VI., 4, 77 been substituted for the इ of क्षि, although the latter is not a root but is merely the imitative name of the root क्षि[1])? To answer this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. XXXVI: An imitative name is like its original.[2]

The fact that (the substitute) इयङ् has (in P. VI., 4, 59 and VIII,, 2, 46) actually been put down in क्षियः, indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ, for it shows that the imitative name क्षि of the root क्षि is treated exactly like the latter). When, on the other hand, in the same (form क्षियः of P. VI., 4, 59 etc.) a case-termination, which cannot be added except to a Prâtipadika, has been added (to क्षि), this proves that the present (Paribhâshâ) is not invariably valid. (If the imitative name क्षि of

1. A root denotes an action, whereas क्षि in P. VI., 4, 59 and VIII., 2, 46 denotes the root क्षि and is therefore not a root.

2. *Scil.* and undergoes therefore the same operations which the original would have to undergo.

the root क्षि were invariably treated like the root क्षि, no case-termination could have been added to it, because according to P. I., 2, 45 a root is not termed *Prâtipadika*). This is found in the Bhâshya on the rule P. VIII., 2, 46.[1]

1. The Paribhâshâ is, so far as क्षिय : is concerned, unnecessary because क्षिय् may be considered as an imitative name of that form of the root क्षि which the latter assumes before vowel-terminations.

Bhâshya[1] on P. VIII., 2, 46 : क्षियो दीर्घात् ॥ दीर्घादिति किमर्थम् । **अक्षितमसि** मा मे क्षेष्ठाः । दीर्घादिति शक्यमवक्तुम् । कस्मान्न भवति । अक्षितमसि मा मे क्षेष्ठा इति । निर्देशादेवेदं व्यक्तं दीर्घस्य ग्रहणमिति । यदि ह्रस्वस्य ग्रहणं स्यात्क्षेरित्येव ब्रूयात् ॥ **नात्र निर्देशः** प्रमाणं शक्यं कर्तुम् । यथैव ह्यत्राप्राप्ता विभक्तिरेवमियङादेशोऽपि । नात्राप्राप्ता विभक्तिः । सिद्धात्र विभक्तिः प्रातिपदिकादिति । कथं प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा । अर्थवत्प्रातिपदिकमिति । ननु चाधातुरिति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति । **नैष धातुः** । धातोरेतदनुकरणम् । यद्यनुकरणमियङादेशो न प्राप्नोति । **प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं** भवतीतीयङादेशो भविष्यति । यदि प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवतीत्युच्यते **स्वाद्युत्पत्तिर्न** प्राप्नोति । एवं तर्ह्यतिदे-

1. Kaiyaṭa: अक्षितमिति । क्षयः क्षितमिति भावे क्तः । भावश्च ण्यदर्थ इति दीर्घाभावान्नत्वाभावः ॥ क्षेरिति । इयङादेशात्परत्वाद्ढेर्ङिति [७. 3. १११] इति गुणस्य न्याय्यत्वात् ॥ नात्र निर्देश इति । न हीयङादेशाद्दीर्घस्य ग्रहणं प्रत्येतुं शक्यत इयङ्गमिन्नस्य विभक्तेर्दुर्लभत्वात्ततो ऽप्राप्ता यथा विभक्तिः सौत्रत्वान्निर्देशस्य भवत्येवं ह्रस्वस्यापीयङादेशः स्यादिति दीर्घग्रहणमर्थवत् ॥ नैष धातुरिति । क्रियावाचिनो धातुसंज्ञाविधानान्निर्देशो चाक्रियावाचित्वात् ॥ प्रकृतिवदिति । अर्थभेदादनुकार्यानुकरणयोर्भेदाद्वाचानिकः कार्यातिदेशः ॥ स्वाद्युत्पत्तिर्नेति । अधातुरिति प्रकृतेः प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञानिषेधादनुकरणस्यापि तत्प्रसङ्गात् ॥ अतिदेशिकानामिति । अतिदेशः प्रयोजनं येषां तान्यातिदेशिकान्यतिदेशभा-

शिकानां स्वाश्रयाण्यपि न निवर्तन्ते । अथाप्येतन्नातिदेशिकानां स्वाश्रयाण्यपि न निवर्तन्त इति । एवमपि न दोषः । अवश्यमत्र सर्वतो नैर्देशिकी विभक्तिर्वक्तव्या । तद्यथा नेर्विशः [१. ३. १७] परिव्यवेभ्यः क्रियः [१. ३. १८] विपराभ्यां जेः [१. ३. १९] इत्येवमर्थम् । अथाप्येतन्नास्ति प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवतीति । एवमपि न दोषः । धातोरजादौ यद्रूपं तदनुक्रियते ॥

क्ष्युच्यन्ते । ननु यदतिदेशकार्येणाविरुद्धं स्वाश्रयं कार्यं तन्मा निवर्तताम् यत्तु विरुद्धं तत्कथं न निवर्तेत । एवं तर्ह्यधातुरिति पर्युदासो न प्रसज्यप्रतिषेध इत्यातिदेशिकस्य कार्यस्याभावाद्धातोरन्यत्वात्स्वाश्रया प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा प्रवर्तते प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधे तु निषेध एवातिदेशिकः स्यात् । इयङादेशस्त्वातिदेशिको धातोर्विधीयमानत्वाद्भवति स च दीर्घस्यैवेति दीर्घग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात् ॥ अथापीति । यद्यप्यधातुरिति प्रसज्यप्रतिषेध इति भावः ॥ अवश्यमिति । यस्मात्प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञानिषेधादप्राप्ता यस्माच्चोत्पन्ना लुप्ता तस्मात्सर्वस्मादित्यर्थः ॥ नैर्विश इति । नेरिति लुप्तविभक्तिकाव्ययानुकरणान्निर्देशार्थौ विभक्तिर्विश इति निर्देशादेवाप्राप्ता विभक्तिरियङ् तु दीर्घानुकरणस्यैवेति दीर्घग्रहणमनर्थकम् ॥ अथापीति । इहानुकर्ता कदाचित्सामान्यमनुकरोति कदाचिद्विशेषं तत्र यदा सामान्यमनुक्रियते तदा विशेषनिबन्धनस्य कार्यस्य सामान्येऽभावात्प्रकृतावदृष्टत्वादनुकरणेऽप्यभावो यदा तु विशेषोऽनुक्रियते तदा तन्निबन्धनं कार्यमनुकरणे प्रवर्तते । तत्र यदा धात्वधातुसामान्यं क्षिमात्रमनुक्रियते तदेयङोऽप्राप्तिरिति चिक्षियतुरित्यादौ कृतेयङादेशस्येदमनुकरणमिति दीर्घादिति कर्तव्यम् ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XXXVII.

One might ask: How is it that *e. g.* रामौ, after the Vṛiddhi vowel (औ) has been substituted (for the final अ of राम and the case-termination औ), should also on the Kâryakâlapaksha be termed a *Pada* ?[1] For (one might argue), as (औ) cannot be

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1. The question whether रामौ be a *Pada* or not, arises when रामौ is employed before a verb, in such phrases as रामौ पश्य. P. VIII., 1, 28 teaches that a Pada which ends with a तिङ् is anudâtta when it fol-

considered both as the final (of that to which the termination औ has been added) and at the same time as the initial (of the

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lows upon a Pada which does not end with a तिङ्. If रामौ be a Pada, पश्य must by this rule be anudâtta, but if it be no Pada, P. VIII., 1, 28 does not apply to पश्य. The Samjnâ-rule P. I., 4, 14 which teaches that a word which ends with a सुप् or a तिङ् is termed a Pada, is on the Kâryakâlapaksha placed near P. VIII., 1, 28 and applies when that rule applies; that rule however takes effect only when रामौ is followed by पश्य *i. e.* after the formation of रामौ has been completed; consequently P. I., 4, 14 ought likewise to be applied after रामौ has been formed; but at that time रामौ cannot be called 'ending with a सुप्' and it can therefore on the Kâryakâlapaksha not be termed a Pada. Nor can रामौ be termed a Pada on the Yathoddes'apaksha, for although on this alternative P. VIII., 1, 28 takes its position near P. I., 4, 14, the latter rule can also in this case not be applied until P. VIII., 1, 28 is applicable, *i. e.* until रामौ has been formed and is followed by पश्य. If one however accepts Kaiyaṭa's view (pag. 6) that the Yathoddes'apaksha 'refers to those scholars who accept what they are taught as they hear it, and who, when they have understood the meaning of a particular sentence (in which a Samjnâ or a Paribhâshâ is taught) rest satisfied with the general knowledge that what they have learned will be of some use on a future occasion,' one has to apply the term *Pada* already to राम + औ *i. e.* before the substitution which is taught in P. VI., 1, 88, has taken place.

Pâyagunda and Bhairavamis'ra adopt the view that रामौ can neither on the Kâryakâlapaksha nor on the Yathoddes'apaksha be termed a Pada, the reason which Bhairava brings forward being 'यथोद्देशपक्षेऽपि पूर्वकालप्रवृत्तस्य पदत्वस्यैकादेशे कृते रामावित्यादौ समुदायस्यान्यत्वादलाभात्.' According to the author of the Sarvamangalâ, on the other hand, there is no reason why रामौ on the Yathoddes'apaksha should not be termed a Pada. His own words are: न च यथोद्देशे राम औडित्यत्र परत्वान्नित्यत्वा-

termination औ,[1] रामौ) does not begin with that (राम) to which (औ) has been added and end with that (termination औ, and it ought consequently not to be regarded as 'ending with a case-termination' or, in other words, it ought not to be termed a *Pada* by P. I., 4, 14). To answer this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. XXXVII: That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means (in consequence of this change) something else (than what it was before the change had taken place).

(Literally, 'it is not like something else'). The word अनन्यवत् means 'not like something else.' As that (which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts) is (hereby) forbidden to be (considered as) *similar* to something else (than what it

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दन्तरङ्गत्वाद्वृद्धिरेचि [६. १. ८८] इत्यस्य प्रवृत्त्या पदत्वस्य स्थानिधर्मत्वाभावेन तत्रापि तदसिद्धिरिति वाच्यम् । वृद्धिरेचीत्यस्य पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घेण बाधे प्राप्ते (by VI., 1, 102) तस्य नादिचि [६. १. १०४] इति निषेधे ततो वृद्धिनिषेधसमकालमेव पदत्वमिति न दोषः ॥. Râghavendrâchârya says that some remark that what Nâgojibhatta says here concerning the Kâryakâlapaksha of the Padasamjnâ-rule I., 4, 14 is contrary to the statement made above (pag. 12) that in regard to the terms *Bha*, *Pada* etc. in P. I., 4—II., 2, there exists only the Yathoddes'apaksha. But Bhairavamis'ra refutes this remark by stating that the terms *Bha*, *Pada* etc. are restricted to the Yathoddes'apaksha only when two of those terms apply simultaneously.

1. The substitute औ for अ + औ may either be considered as part of the base, and in that case it cannot be called a case-termination; or it may be regarded as case-termination, but if this be done the base to which the case-termination has been added (*viz.* राम) ceases to exist.

was before the change had taken place), it can *a fortiori* not be (considered as altogether) something else.[1] On this account such (a word) conveys (after it has undergone the change in regard to one of its parts) the meaning (which it conveyed before. If) on the contrary (the word subsequently to the change were a different word) it would not convey (the meaning which it conveyed before), because one would no (longer) observe in it the sequence (of letters etc.) which determines its ability of possessing a particular force. And thus (राम remains after the loss of its final अ, *i. e.* after it has been changed to) राम्, when it (really) ends with म्, (still राम, and राम्) is (therefore like राम) that to which (औ) has been added; the (remaining) आ (which has been substituted for अ + औ) may be considered as the initial of the latter (औ) and is therefore a case-termination; accordingly the fact that (रामौ) begins with that (to which औ has been added) and ends with (औ, in other words, its ending with a case-termination or its being a Pada) is established by the circumstance that it combines in itself the meanings[2] (of a base and a case-affix. राम्) ending with म् is considered as that (to which औ has been added, *i. e.* as राम), after the manner in which one calls a dog whose tail has been cut off (still) a dog, (and its being regarded as such is there-

1. Some explain अनन्यवत्, which they consider to be formed by means of the possessive affix मतुप्, by 'not possessed of the peculiarities or properties inherent in something else.' (केचित्तु वृत्तिविषयेऽन्यशब्दस्य धर्मपरत्वेन मतुपा चान्यत्वस्यैव निषेधोऽनयेत्याहुः P.).

2. आर्धसमाजग्रस्तमिति | अर्थानामयमार्धः समाजस्तेन ग्रस्तमालिङ्गितम् | वर्तमानार्धसमुदायान्तर्गतम् | तदादितदन्तत्वं प्रकृतिप्रत्ययरूपार्धसमुदायान्तर्भूतमिति यावत् || Sarvamangalâ.

1. Ms. °न्तर्गततदन्तत्वं प्रकृति.°

fore) established by a maxim of ordinary life.[1] Just because this (maxim of ordinary life is adopted also in grammar), it has been remarked in the Bhâshya on the rule P. IV., 1, 83, subsequently to the statement that (दीव्यत् in) that (rule) represents the portion दीव्यत् of the word दीव्यति (in P. IV., 4, 2): 'why has (दीव्यति) been put down without (its final इ, *viz.* as दीव्यत्)? Pâṇini indicates (thereby), that the Paribhâshâ "that which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts etc." is in existence (and is valid in his grammar).' This (circumstance that the validity of this Paribhâshâ which is established by a maxim of ordinary life is indicated by दीव्यत् in P. IV., 1, 83) proves the futility of the view, according to which this maxim applies only in the case of an operation that is taught in grammar and only in the case of a change that is taught in grammar, (for the dropping of the इ of दीव्यति is neither the one nor the other). But in regard to an operation that would depend on the part which has undergone a change (*e. g.* has been lost) this (maxim) is not (applicable), because, just as in the case of a dog whose tail has been cut off, it would be difficult to speak of (the dog) as having a tail, so it would (here) be difficult to make out that the part, after it has been dropped, is still present.[2] From the said consideration this (maxim) is

1. This maxim of ordinary life is based on the circumstance that even though an object may be deprived of some of its parts, the perception of the greater number of parts that remain will still tell, to what kind or class the perceived object belongs. (भूयोऽवयवदर्शनं जातिव्यञ्जकम् P.).

2. *Viz.* because the greater number of parts that remain tells us nothing about the part which has been lost. An operation therefore which solely depends on the part that has disappeared cannot take effect by this Paribhâshâ.

likewise not (applicable) in the case of (a word etc.) which is given (in a rule) by means of a definite sequence (or limited number of letters etc.)[1] This is suggested in the Bhâshya and by Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 72.[2]

Where,[3] on the other hand, half[4] or more than half[5] (of any word etc.) has undergone a change, there the Sthânivatsûtra (P. I., 1, 56 alone) can teach us that (any) operations (which would have depended on the original) take effect (also in the changed form); for here one does not recognize (that which has undergone the change) to be the same (what it was before the change had taken place), because one does not perceive (in the changed form) the greater number of parts (of the original) which, (had they been perceptible), would have indicated the

1. Although *e. g.* we perceive in सर्वक the greater number or rather all the parts of सर्व, which perception could tell us the kind or class to which the word सर्वक belongs, nevertheless, as the name *Sarvanâman* is given to the particular sequence of letters सर्व, we cannot term सर्वक a *Sarvanâman*, because it neither contains the particular sequence of letters सर्व, nor does it end with it.

2. See Mahâbhâshya I., 1, 72, Ed. Ballantyne pag. 783 etc., especially the remarks of Nâgojîbhaṭṭa:

अकपरिमाणानामिति | अत्र परिमाणमानुपूर्वीविशेषोऽपि | परिमाणेत्युपलक्षणं परिच्छिन्नार्थानां तदाह संख्येति || नन्वधिकगङ्वादिजननेऽपि शुनः श्वत्ववदकस्याधिकस्योपजनेऽपि सर्वकस्य सर्वशब्दत्वमक्षतमेवेत्यत आह | नित्या इति | वस्तुतः परिच्छिन्नपरिमाणकग्रहण एकदेशविकृतन्यायस्थाप्यप्रवृत्तिरिति भाष्याशयः ||

Pâyagunda refers us also to the Bhâshya etc. on P. I., 4, 13.

3. This is to prevent the supposition that the present Paribhâshâ renders the Sthânivatsûtra superfluous.

4. As *e. g.* by P. III., 4, 86 एरुः.

5. As *e. g.* by P. VI., 4, 20 ज्ञरत्वर°.

class (or nature of the changed form; and consequently this Paribhâshâ cannot be applied. The Sthânivatsûtra is) likewise (necessary) to make one recognize that (portion of anything) which undergoes the change, as still part (of the whole even after the change has taken place), except when that portion is a letter.

Occasionally, however, to suit particular forms (which have to be formed or to be accounted for by certain rules) the maxim (which is expressed in this Paribhâshâ) is disregarded. In this manner we are able to account for such forms as अभीयात्.[1] And that a maxim occasionally is not applied has been distinctly stated by Kaiyaṭa[2] on P. VI., 1, 102. More elsewhere.[3]

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1. If this Paribhâshâ were everywhere applied, the part अभ् of अभीयात् would after the substitution of ई for the final of अभि and the initial of इयात् or ईयान् be termed a *Pada*, just as the original अभि is termed a *Pada*; subsequently ष् should be substituted for भ् by P. VIII., 2, 39. Cf. Bhairavamis'ra: न चाबीपसर्गसंज्ञाया अक्तपरिमाणनिष्ठतयानेन न्यायेनोपसर्ग-लाभात्पूर्वोपपादितरीत्यैव सिद्धिरिति लक्ष्यानुरोधपर्यन्तानुसंधानं विफलमिति वाच्यम्। पदत्वस्याक्तपरिमाणनिष्ठत्वाभावेन भान्ते जश्त्वाभावसिध्यर्थं लक्ष्यानुरोधस्यावश्यकत्वात् ॥. See P. VII., 4, 24, by which, one might suppose, इ should be substituted also for the ई of अभीयात्; but this cannot be because अभ् is no *Upasarga*.

2. न हि वचनस्यासत्तासंभावना न्यायस्तु क्वचित्कश्चिदाश्रीयत इति युज्यते वक्तुम्.

3. *Viz.* in the S'abdendus'ekhara. There it is stated that this Paribhâshâ must be approved of by Patanjali because otherwise his remarks on P. I., 1, 57 (Ed. p. 661) about श्रायसौ would be wrong. श्रेयस् with अण् becomes श्रायस by P. VII., 3, 1; the Nom. Du. Masc. of श्रायस is श्रायस + औ=श्रायसौ. After the substitution in this form of औ for the final अ of श्रायस and the termination औ, श्रायस् is by this Paribhâshâ termed *Anga* just as the original श्रायस was termed *Anga*. Now श्रायस् being termed *Anga*, and this *Anga* the final of which is स being besides

ङिच्, and moreover the following ओ being *Sarvanâmasthâna*, श्रायस् should in accordance with P. VII., 1, 70 receive the augment नुम्. This is prevented in the Bhâshya by the rule अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ. But if the present Paribhâshâ were not valid, श्रायस् would not be termed *Anga*; consequently there would be no reason why it should receive the augment नुम्, and to prevent the addition of this augment by means of the rule अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ would be useless. This shows that Patanjali must have approved of the Paribhâshâ.

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PARIBHÂSHÂ XXXVIII.

P. XXXVIII : Of (these five kinds of rules,—*viz.*) a preceding (rule), a subsequent (rule), a *nitya* (rule), an *antaranga* (rule), and an *Apavâda*,—each following (rule) possesses greater force (than any one of, or all, the rules which in this Paribhâshâ are mentioned before it).[1]

A subsequent (rule) possesses greater force than a preceding

1. This Paribhâshâ stands at the head of a very important chapter of the Paribhâshendus'ekhara which extends as far as Par. LXVI. The terms पूर्व 'preceding' and पर 'subsequent' are sufficiently clear in themselves; they refer to the sequence of the rules in Pâṇini's grammar. The term नित्य will be defined in Par. XLII. etc., the term अन्तरङ्ग in Par. L., and the term अपवाद in Par. LVII. It has been considered safest to retain the three last terms in the translation, because no translation which either has been proposed by other scholars or which could have been invented, appeared to be sufficiently accurate. It will be clear from the following that all the five terms पूर्व, पर etc. do not apply merely to the rules of Pâṇini's grammar, but also to that which is taught in those rules; *e. g.* just as we say that the *rule* P. VII., 3, 103 is *para* with reference to P. VII., 3, 102, so we may also say that the *substitution of* ए (taught in P. VII., 3, 103), or the ए (the substitution of which is taught in P. VII., 3, 103), is *para* with reference to the substitution of a long vowel (taught in P. VII., 3, 102), or with reference to the long vowel (the substitution of which is taught in P. VII., 3, 102).

(rule); *i. e.* a subsequent (rule) supersedes by P. I., 4, 2 (a rule) which (in Pâṇini's grammar) precedes it.[1]

1. *E. g.* In the formation of the Dat. Plur. of वृक्ष, from वृक्ष+भ्यः, there arises the question whether the final अ of वृक्ष shall be lengthened by P. VII., 3, 102, or changed to ए by P. VII., 3, 103. Here the subsequent rule VII., 3, 103 supersedes by the present Paribhâshâ the preceding rule VII., 3, 102, and अ is accordingly changed to ए. We obtain thus वृक्षेभ्यः. See pag. 19.

PARIBHÂSHÂS XXXIX. AND XL.

Now one might say that, (if) then (a subsequent rule were always to supersede a preceding rule), भि[1] ought never, in the

1. P.: Some say: 'The right reading is भिन्द्धकीत्यत्र परत्वाद्धिना बाधितोऽकङ स्यात्; the reading भिन्द्धीत्यत्र परत्वात्तातङा बाधितो भिर्न स्यात् is incorrect, because it is contrary to the Bhâshya and to Kaiyaṭa's remarks on P. I., 2, 28. There namely Kaiyaṭa has stated that Par. XXXIX. is occasionally adopted, *viz.* when the taking effect of the preceding rule does not render the taking effect of the subsequent rule impossible. (In the case of भिन्द्धि the substitution of भि for हि, regarding which there is no option, would make the optional substitution of तातङ् for हि impossible, and Par. XXXIX. ought therefore according to Kaiyaṭa not to be resorted to in this instance). In the case of भिन्द्धकि, on the other hand, the insertion of अकच् before the final इ, which is taught in P. V., 3, 71, does not prevent the taking effect of P. VI., 4, 101, and भिन्द्धकि offers accordingly a genuine example of the application of Par. XXXIX.'

[Cf. Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 28: अथ पूर्वस्मिन्योगे (*i. e.* in P. I, 2, 27) ऽङ्ग्रहणे सति किं प्रयोजनम् | अङ्ग्रहणं संयोगाच्चसमुदायनिवृत्त्यर्थम् | अङ्ग्रहणं क्रियते (*viz.* in P. I.,2,27) संयोगनिवृत्त्यर्थम्| अच्चसमुदायनिवृत्त्यर्थं च || संयोगनिवृत्त्यर्थं तावत्|

(formation of the) 2. Sing. Pres. Imper. Par. of भिद् (from भिन्द् +हि), to be (substituted for the original हि), because (its substitution ought to be) superseded by (that of) तातङ्; for (the rule P. VII., 1, 35 which teaches the substitution of तातङ्) *follows* (upon the rule P. VI., 4, 101 which teaches the substitution

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प्रतक्ष्य प्ररक्ष्य । ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् [६.१.७१] इति तुग्मा भूत् ॥ अच्समुदायनिवृत्त्यर्थम् । तितउच्छत्रं तितउच्छाया । दीर्घात्पदान्ताद्वा [६.१.७५,७६] इति तुग्मा भूदिति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: तितउच्छत्रमिति । परत्वाद्दीर्घलक्षणे वा तुकि सति सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेध इति न्यायाद्ध्रस्वलक्षणः पुनर्न प्रवर्तते । न चैवंविधे विषये पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानमस्ति नित्यविकल्पयोर्विरोधात्पूर्वेण बाधात् । यत्र हि पूर्वो विधिः परं न बाधते तत्र पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानं क्वचिदाश्रीयते ॥]

In reality, however, the above statement of Kaiyaṭa is incorrect because it is at variance with the Bhâshya, with Kaiyaṭa's own comment, and with the remarks of other scholars on P. VII., 1, 77. For there it is said that in the formation of अक्षी (from अक्षि+औ) the rule P. VII., 1, 77, which teaches the substitution of ई for the final इ of अक्षि, supersedes the preceding rule P. VII., 1, 73, which teaches the addition of the augment नुम्; further, that when P. VII., 1, 77 has once taken effect, P. VII., 1, 73 is by Par. XL. prevented from applying again; that ई is substituted (by P. VII., 1, 19) for the termination औ, and that finally ई is (by P. VI., 1, 101) substituted for the final ई of the base and the termination ई.

[Cf. Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 1, 77 . . . . ईकारस्तु विधीयमानः परत्वान्नुमं बाधते तेन शीभावे कृते पूर्वसवर्णेनाक्षी इति सिध्यति ।].

If the statement made by Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 2, 28 were correct, Par. XXXIX. ought to have been applied here, and not Par. XL.; for in this case the addition of नुम्, which is taught in the preceding rule VII., 1, 73, would not have prevented the substitution of ई taught in the subsequent rule VII., 1, 77.

Moreover Kaiyaṭa's remark on P. I., 2, 28 is incorrect because it is contrary to the Bhâshya and to Kaiyaṭa's own remarks on P. I., 4, 74;

of सि for हि). To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says :

P. XXXIX : (Occasionally the formation of a particular form) is accounted for by the fact that (a preceding rule) is allowed to apply again, (after it had previously been superseded by a subsequent rule).[1]

In (the formation of) the Gen. Fem. of वि, (from वि+आम्, two rules apply simultaneously, *viz.* P. VII., 1, 53 which teaches the

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for in the last mentioned passage Par. XXXIX. has actually been applied by Kaiyaṭa himself whereas the same scholar's statement on P. I., 2, 28 would prevent its application.

[Cf. Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 74 : तत्र च द्विप्रतिषेधः । तत्र च दीर्घान्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । लवणीकृत्य ॥ न वा पूर्वेण कृतत्वात् । न वा वक्तव्यम् । किं कारणम् । पूर्वेण कृतत्वात् । अस्त्वनेन विभाषा पूर्वेण (*viz.* by P. I., 4, 61) नित्या भविष्यति ॥ Kaiyaṭa : लवणीकृत्येति । अत्र हि परत्वादनेन विभाषा प्राप्नोति नित्या च गतिसंज्ञेष्यते ॥ पूर्वेणेति । पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानादिति भावः ॥]

The truth is that either of the two Paribhâshâs, XXXIX. or XL., may be resorted to, just as the particular forms that have to be formed or to be accounted for by the rules of Pâṇini's grammar require the adoption of the one or the other, and to indicate this Nâgojîbhaṭṭa says pag. 36, l. 8 (of the text) तत्र लक्ष्यानुसारात् etc. The reading भिन्द्धीत्यत्र is therefore quite correct.

1. P. VII., 1, 35 supersedes therefore first P. VI., 4, 101 ; but after the former rule has taken effect and after we have obtained by it the two forms भिन्त्तात् and भिन्द्+हि, P. VI., 4, 101 is allowed to apply again and accordingly we change भिन्द्+हि to भिन्द्धि. But we are not allowed to substitute धि by P. VI., 4, 101 also for the तात् of भिन्त्तात् which by Sthânivattva would be equivalent to the original हि, because such a proceeding would render the rule P. VII., 1, 35 entirely useless.—Cf. also Si. Kau. II., pag. 66 ; 106.

substitution of लय for लि, and P. VII., 2, 99 which teaches the substitution of तिसृ for लि; such being the case, P. VII., 2, 99 supersedes by Paribhâshâ XXXVIII. P. VII., 1, 53) because it follows upon that rule, (and) तिसृ is (accordingly by P. VII., 2, 99) substituted (for लि). Now one might say that (if) then (Paribhâshâ XXXIX. were to be acted upon in every case, the substitute) लय (which is taught in P. VII., 1, 53) ought, (after the substitution of तिसृ has taken place, in accordance with that Paribhâshâ) to be substituted (for तिसृ, to which P. VII., 1, 53 would) again (be applicable, because तिसृ by Sthânivadbhâva would be equivalent to the original लि). To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. XL: When (two rules), while they apply (simultaneously), mutually prohibit each other,[1] that (rule of the two) which is once superseded (by the other), is superseded altogether (and cannot therefore apply again after the latter rule has taken effect).[2]

(The latter) of these (two Paribhâshâs, *viz.*) Par. XL., is established thus: as two operations, either of which takes effect

1. P.: गतौ शास्त्रयोः प्राप्तौ सत्यां यौ विप्रतिषेधस्तस्मिन्सति सकृदेकवारं यद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेव; or the words गतौ विप्रतिषेधे are explained to mean: 'when (two rules either of which) takes effect (in the formation of some form or forms where the other is not applicable) prohibit each other mutually (while they apply simultaneously in the formation of one and the same form).' Pâyagunda's own words are: यद्वा गत्यभिन्ने विप्रतिषेधेऽन्यत्र लब्धावकाशयोरेकस्मिन्युगपदसंभावितप्राप्तिरेव विप्रतिषेधपदार्थत्वेनोक्तत्वात् । अन्यत्प्राग्वत् ।.

2. Accordingly, when P. VII., 1, 53 has once been superseded by P. VII., 2, 99, it cannot apply again, and लय can therefore not be substituted for तिसृ.

in (the formation of) some (form or forms where the other does not apply[1]), cannot possibly both take effect simultaneously in (the formation of) one and the same (form), the two rules (which teach those two operations) would apply alternately just as (the affixes) तृच् etc. (of P. III., 1, 133 etc. are added alternately), because there is nothing that could invalidate (either rule). Under these circumstances the rule P. I., 4, 2 is intended to convey the *restriction* (that the subsequent rule *only* is to take effect). Paribhâshâ XXXIX., (on the other hand), is established thus: when two men of equal power have one messenger, he will do their business alternately; (but) should both send him simultaneously and their orders require him (to go) in different directions, he will not do the business of either of them, because he cannot do it simultaneously. In the same manner two rules either of which takes effect in (the formation of) some form or forms (where the other does not apply) would have no concern with a form (to which both apply) because they cannot take effect simultaneously. Such being the case, the same (rule P. I., 4, 2) is meant to *direct* (that) the subsequent rule (shall take effect). Should, after the (subsequent rule) has taken effect, the preceding rule be (still) applicable, then that rule likewise takes effect. (All) this is found in the Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 2.

Kaiyaṭa and others,[1] however, (differ from the above. A word denotes either an individual or it denotes a genus;[2] *e. g.* the word ब्राह्मण 'Brâhman' denotes either an individual Brâhman, or it may denote the genus Brâhman, *i. e.* any and every Brâhman. On the former alternative the term लि in P. VII., 1, 53 denotes

1. कैयटादयः; आदिना सीरदेवहरदत्तकौस्तुभकृदादयः. P.
2. See Mahâbhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne pag. 41.

the individual त्रि of which the Gen. Masc. is formed, the त्रि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed, and the त्रि of which the Gen. Neut. is formed. Similarly the term त्रि in P. VII., 2, 99 denotes the individual त्रि of which the Nom. Fem. is formed, the त्रि of which the Acc. Fem. is formed, the त्रि of which the Instr. Fem. is formed, the त्रि of which the Dat. and Abl. Fem. is formed, the त्रि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed, and the त्रि of which the Loc. Fem. is formed. On the latter alternative the term त्रि both of P. VII., 1, 53 and of P. VII., 2, 99 denotes only one thing, *viz.* whatever falls under or possesses the genus त्रित्व, any and every त्रि whatsoever. Kaiyaṭa and others) maintain (now) that on the first alternative a rule is repeated as many times as there are individual forms (that fall under the rule; *e. g.* P. VII., 1, 53 is repeated three times, once for the त्रि of which the Gen. Masc. is formed, once for the त्रि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed, and once for the त्रि of which the Gen. Neut. is formed; similarly P. VII., 2, 99 is repeated seven times, once for the त्रि of which the Nom. Fem. is formed, once for the त्रि of which the Acc. Fem. is formed etc.) Such being the case, whenever one and the same form (such as that त्रि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed) falls under two rules (P. VII., 1, 53 and VII., 2, 99), both (rules) ought to apply to it alternately because they (or at any rate one of them) would (otherwise) serve no purpose, (both rules applying exclusively to the one individual त्रि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed, and to no other त्रि whatsoever).[1] Under these circumstances, (however), the (rule

1. Instead of the one rule त्रेरत्रयः we have three rules त्रेरत्रयः, one for the त्रि of the Gen. Masc., one for the त्रि of the Gen. Fem., and one for the त्रि of the Gen. Neut. Similarly instead of the one rule त्रिचतुरोः etc. we have seven rules त्रिचतुरोः etc., one for the त्रि of the Nom. Fem.,

P. I., 4, 2) is intended to convey the *restriction* that the subsequent (rule P. VII., 2, 99) only (shall take effect,) and thereby Par. XL. is established. On this alternative the preceding rule (P. VII., 1, 53) is in consequence of this restriction not repeated for that one form (स्त्रि where the subsequent rule P. VII., 2, 99 only is to take effect, *i. e.* for that स्त्रि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed). On the other hand, on the alternative that a word denotes a genus, two rules (such as P. VII., 1, 53 and VII., 2, 99) either of which takes effect in some form[1] which is possessed of that which determines its being subject to (either) rule,[2] (as *e. g.* P. VII., 1, 53 takes effect in the case of the स्त्रि of which the Gen. Masc. is formed, and P. VII., 2, 99 in the case of the स्त्रि of which the Nom. Fem. is formed), would neither of them apply where they would come into conflict with each other, or in other words, where both would not be able to take effect simultaneously, (which would be the case in the Gen. Fem. of स्त्रि), just

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one for the स्त्रि of the Acc. Fem. etc. For the स्त्रि of the Gen. Fem. we have the two rules स्त्रेस्त्रयः and स्त्रिचतुरोः etc., which do not concern any other स्त्रि except that of which the Gen. Fem. is formed. As both these rules must be given for some purpose we should have to apply both alternately, if P. I., 4. 2 did not prescribe another course. On the Jâtipaksha we have only one rule स्त्रेस्त्रयः and one rule स्त्रिचतुरोः etc.; the former we make use of *e. g.* in the Gen. Masc. of स्त्रि, the latter *e. g.* in the Nom. Fem. In the Gen. Fem. where both rules would come into conflict with each other, we might be inclined to apply neither rule because both rules *do* serve a purpose even without being applied in the Gen. Fem. But here again we are directed by P. I., 4, 2 to adopt a different course.

1. *Viz.* which does not fall under the other rule.

2. *E. g.* The स्त्रि of which the Gen. Masc. is formed is possessed of the genus स्त्रित्व and it falls therefore under the rule P. VII., 1, 53 स्त्रेस्त्रयः in which स्त्रि is the उद्दिश्य *i. e.* that यदुद्दिश्य तयादेशो विधीयते.

as two inferences cannot be drawn from two counterbalanced reasons. Such being the case, the same (rule P. I., 4, 2) is meant to *direct* (that) the subsequent (rule shall take effect), and thereby Par. XXXIX. is established.

All this, (however), is inadmissible. For there is nothing to prove that a rule extends its operation to every (individual) word (which may fall under it, only) on the alternative that a word denotes an individual, (and) not on the alternative that it denotes a genus; we see namely that in the Bhâshya[1] the alternative according to which a word denotes a genus is had recourse to for the very purpose that in such phrases as 'one should not kill a Brâhman' (the prohibition) should extend to *every* individual of the genus (Brâhman). In such phrases as 'the ox shall be bound' the object (of the binding) has accordingly[2] in the Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 64 been declared to be improper, should the word (ox) denote the genus (ox), because (in that case) the command would not (extend) to (certain) particular (oxen, but would) extend to all (oxen), while (in reality) it is impossible to bind all oxen. On the other hand, it has been stated that when (a word, such as 'ox,') denotes (individual) objects, in such expressions as 'the ox shall be bound' one (object) will be referred to in the command while another will not be referred to, because it is impossible to form a conception of *all* (individual) objects. (Kaiyaṭa's view is) further (inadmissible) because there is no proof for it that the example of (the affixes) तृच् etc.[3] which is given in the Bhâshya

1. See Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 64: धर्मशास्त्रं च तथा । एवं च कृत्वा धर्मशास्त्रं प्रवृत्तम् । ब्राह्मणो न हन्तव्यः सुरा न पेयेति ब्राह्मणमात्रं च न हन्यते सुरामात्रं च न पीयते । यदि द्रव्यं पदार्थः स्यादेकं ब्राह्मणमहत्त्वैका च सुरामपीत्वान्यत्र कामचारः स्यात्॥

2. अत एव, जातिपक्षस्य व्यापकत्वादेवेत्यर्थः. P.

3. See above pag. 190.

holds good generally only on the alternative that a word denotes an individual, (and) not on the alternative that it denotes a genus. Moreover even on the alternative that a word denotes an individual it is quite possible to say that a certain individual (word, such as the ति of which the Gen. Fem. is formed) does not allow itself to be operated upon by two (rules) that are both (otherwise) effective, (*viz.*) in operating (each separately) on other individual (words), because (the two rules) would come into conflict (if that one ति of the Gen. Fem. did allow itself to be operated upon by both). And as regards the alternative according to which a word denotes a genus, there is nothing to determine why (a rule) should extend its operation only to certain individuals of the genus (and) not (also) to other individuals (of the same genus).

One should (then) keep in mind that of the two (examples mentioned on pag. 190) sometimes[1] the example taken from (Pâṇini's) grammar (*i. e.* the example of the affixes तृच् etc. or, in other words, Par. XL.) is had recourse to, sometimes[2] the example from ordinary life (*i. e.* the example of two equally strong men who have one messenger or, in other words, Par. XXXIX.), just as (particular) forms (that have to be formed, or the formation of which has to be accounted for, by the rules of Pâṇini's grammar,) require (the adoption of the one Paribhâshâ or the other), and that only this course which is approved of in the Bhâshya is the proper (course to adopt).

In order that the Vipratishedha-rule (P. I., 4, 2 should apply), it is only necessary that it should be impossible for two operations (either of which takes effect in the formation of some

1. *E. g.* in the case of तिसृणाम्.

2. *E. g.* in the case of भिन्धि.

form or forms where the other is not applicable, to take effect) simultaneously (when both apply in the formation of one and the same form). This is clear from Kaiyaṭa's (commentary) [1] on P. I., 1, 3. The following are instances :

(*a*). In (the formation of) the form in तात् of the 2. Sing. Pres. Imper. Par. of शास्, (from शास्+हि, where P. VI., 4, 35 teaches the substitution of शा for शास्, and P. VII., 1, 35 the substitution of तातङ् for हि,) the sequence of the causes of each of these substitutions (*i. e.* शास्+हि) cannot exist when both substitutions take place simultaneously [2]; (and) although it certainly does exist in consequence of the Sthânivattva of तातङ् and (of शा), yet that (Sthânivadbhâva obtains) only after the substitution (of तातङ् and of शा) but not while the latter are being substituted.

(*b*). So in (the formation of) the Nom. Plur. Neut. of प्रियक्रीडु (from प्रियक्रीडु+इ) etc. (where P. VII., 1, 72 teaches the addition of

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1. Bhâshya on P. I., 1. 3; Ed. Ballantyne pag. 265.: एवमप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः । द्विकार्ययोगो हि विप्रतिषेधः । न चात्रैको द्विकार्ययुक्तः । नावश्यं द्विकार्ययोग एव विप्रतिषेधः । किं तर्हि । असंभवोऽपि । स चास्यत्रासंभवः । कोऽसावसंभवः । इह तावद्भक्षेभ्यः भक्षेभ्य इत्येकः स्थानी द्वावादेशौ । न चास्ति संभवो यदेकस्य स्थानिनो द्वावादेशौ स्याताम् । इहेदानीं मेद्यति मेद्यतो मेद्यन्तीति द्वौ स्थानिनावेक आदेशः । न चास्ति संभवो द्वयोः स्थानिनोरेक आदेशः स्यादित्येषोऽसंभवः । सत्येतस्मिन्नसंभवे युक्तो विप्रतिषेधः ॥

Kaiyaṭa: द्विकार्ययोग इति । द्वाभ्यां कार्याभ्यां योगो यस्य स्थानिनः स विप्रतिषेधविषयत्वाद्विप्रतिषेधः ॥ नावश्यमिति । द्विकार्ययोगत्वाभावे कैवलोऽप्यसंभवो विप्रतिषेध इत्यर्थः ॥ इह तावदिति । दीर्घत्वं च यञ्यनन्तरे विधीयत एत्त्वं च झल्यनन्तरे न च संभवोऽस्ति यद्वयोः स्वेनस्वेन निमित्तेनानन्तर्यं स्यात् ॥ इहेदानीमिति । मिदेरित्येका षष्ठी सा यद्यवयवसंबन्धे तदेकारस्य गुणेन भाव्यमथ स्थानषष्ठी तदालोऽन्त्यस्येति वचनादकारस्य न चास्ति संभवो युगपदुभयोर्गुणस्येत्यर्थः ॥

2. By the substitution of तातङ्, हि would disappear; and by the substitution of शा, the base शास् would disappear.

the augment नुम् to the final उ of the base, and P. VII., 1, 95 the change of प्रियकौष्टु to प्रियकौष्टृ) both these operations cannot (take effect) simultaneously, because Par. XI. (by which प्रियकौष्टुन् would be equal to प्रियकौष्टु) would (only) be applicable after the addition of (the augment) नुम् (but not while it is being added).[1]

(*c*). (The case of the 2. Sing. Pres. Imper. Par. of भिद्) must be regarded in the same manner. In (the formation of) this form (from भिन्द्+हि namely, where P. VII., 1, 35 teaches the substitution of तातङ् for हि, and P. VI., 4, 101 that of धि for the same हि), both these substitutes cannot simultaneously take the place of the same original (हि), nor can the (same) base (भिन्द्), which is one of the causes (of either substitution, at the same time) precede (both substitutes).

(*d*). So do also (the augments) नुम् (which by P. VII., 1, 73 is added to the final of a neuter base ending in इ, उ, ऋ, [and ऌ], before a vowel-termination) and नुट् (which by P. VII., 1, 54 is prefixed to the termination आम् after a base that ends in a short vowel etc.) mutually prohibit each other (*e. g.* in the formation of the Gen. Plur. of वारि from वारि+आम्), because they cannot (be added simultaneously); for when नुट् (is prefixed to आम्, the base) ceases to be followed by a vowel-termination, (and) when नुम् (is added to वारि) the base ceases to end in a short vowel.

In some cases [2] where (the particular forms which it is) desired (to form or to account for by Pâṇini's rules) require (the

1. *Scil.* and because प्रियकौष्टृ would be termed 'Anga' by Sthânivattva only *after* the change of प्रियकौष्टु to प्रियकौष्टृ.

2. *E. g.* in the formation of the Gen. Plur. of कौष्टु, कौष्टूनाम्, where P. VII., 1, 54 teaches that नुट् shall be prefixed to the termination आम्, and P. VII., 1, 97 the optional change of कौष्टु to कौष्टृ before the vowel-termination आम्, P. VII., 1, 54 supersedes P. VII., 1, 97 although it precedes that rule. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 123; 143.

adoption of such a course), a preceding (rule) is (allowed to supersede a subsequent rule, whereas according to Par. XXXVIII. the subsequent rule should supersede the preceding rule.) Such is the case when in the preceding rule a Svarita is assigned (to that which is taught in it), because (the rule P. I., 3, 11(स्वरितेनाधिकारः) conveys the meaning that (a rule) in consequence of the Svarita has greater effect (than it would have without it, *i. e.* that it supersedes a subsequent rule, whereas without the Svarita it would have been superseded by the latter). This disposes, as appears from the Bhâshya on P. I., 3, 11, of all the cases in which a preceding rule supersedes (a subsequent rule of equal force).[1] In the Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 2 it is stated that (all) those (cases) are disposed of by the circumstance that the word पर in P. I., 4, 2 means 'desirable,' (*i. e.* that the rule P. I., 4, 2 conveys the meaning that, 'when two rules of equal force mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two takes effect the taking effect of which is required for the formation of the correct forms of the language').

1. See Bhâshya on P. I., 3, 11: पूर्वविप्रतिषेधा न पठितव्या भवन्ति । गुणवृद्ध्योस्तृज्वद्भावेभ्यो नुं पूर्वविप्रतिषिद्धं नुमचिरतृज्वद्भावेभ्यो नुडिति नुम्नुटौ स्वरयिष्येते । तत्र स्वरितेनाधिकः कारो भवतीति नुम्नुटौ भविष्यतः । कथं पुनरधिकः कार इत्यनेन पूर्वविप्रतिषेधाः शक्या न पठितुम् । लोकतः । तद्यथा लोकेऽधिकमयं कारं करोतीत्युच्यते योऽयं दुर्बलः सन्बलवद्भिः सह भारं वहत्येवमिहाप्यधिकमयं कारं करोतीत्युच्यते योऽयं पूर्वः सन्परं बाधते ॥

Kaiyaṭa: पूर्वं इति । विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यमिति वचनात्पूर्वो बाध्यः स्वरितत्वप्रतिज्ञानेन बाधकः संपद्यते तुल्यजातीयस्य बाधको न तु नित्यत्वादियुक्तस्य ॥

Extract from the Bhâshya[1] on P. I., 4, 2:

विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् ॥ विप्रतिषेध इति कोऽयं शब्दः। विप्रति-पूर्वात्सिधेः कर्मव्यतीहारे घञ्। इतरेतरप्रतिषेधो विप्रतिषेधः। अन्यो-न्यप्रतिषेधो विप्रतिषेधः॥ कः पुनर्विप्रतिषेधः। द्वौ प्रसङ्गावन्यार्थावे-कस्मिन्स विप्रतिषेधः। द्वौ प्रसङ्गौ यदान्यार्थौ भवत एकस्मिंश्च युग-पत्प्राप्नुतः स विप्रतिषेधः। क्व पुनरन्यार्थौ क्व चैकस्मिन्प्राप्नुतः। वृक्षाभ्यां वृक्षेष्वित्यन्यार्थौ वृक्षेभ्य इत्यत्र युगपत्प्राप्नुतः। किं च स्यात्। एकस्मिन्युगपदसंभवात्पूर्वपरप्राप्तेरुभयप्रसङ्गः। एकस्मिन्युगपदसंभवा-त्पूर्वस्याश्च परस्याश्च प्राप्तेरुभयप्रसङ्गः। इदं विप्रतिषिद्धं यदुच्यत एकस्मिन्युगपदसंभवात्पूर्वपरप्राप्तेरुभयप्रसङ्ग इति। कथं ह्येकस्मिन्नाम युगपदसंभवः स्यात्पूर्वस्याः परस्याश्च प्राप्तेरुभयप्रसङ्गश्च स्यात्। नैत-द्विप्रतिषिद्धं यदुच्यत एकस्मिन्युगपदसंभवादिति। कार्ययोर्युगपदसंभवः शास्त्रयोरुभयप्रसङ्गः। तृजादिभिस्तुल्यम्। तृजादिभिस्तुल्यं पर्यायः प्रा-प्नोति। तद्यथा तृजादयः पर्यायेण भवन्ति। किं पुनः कारणं तृजादयः पर्यायेण भवन्ति। **अनवयवप्रसङ्गात्प्रतिपदं विधेश्च**। अनवयवेन प्रस-ज्यन्ते प्रतिपदं च विधीयन्ते॥

अप्रतिपत्तिर्वोभयोस्तुल्यबलत्वात्। अप्रतिपत्तिर्वा पुनरुभयोः शास्त्र-योः स्यात्। किं कारणम्। तुल्यबलत्वात्। तुल्यबले ह्युभे शास्त्रे। तद्यथा द्वयोस्तुल्यबलयोरेकः प्रेष्यो भवति स तयोः पर्यायेण कार्यं करो-ति यदा तमुभौ युगपत्प्रेषयतो नानादिक्षु च कार्ये भवतस्तदा यद्यसा-वविरोधार्थी भवत्युभयोर्न करोति। किं पुनः कारणमुभयोर्न करोति।

1. Extract from Kaiyaṭa on the above:

किं च स्यादिति। यदीदं नारभ्येतेति भावः॥ इतरेतरव्यक्तिपदार्थाश्रयेण पर्यायप्रसङ्गमाह। एकस्मिन्निति॥ अनवयवप्रसङ्गादिति। सर्वेष्वयवेषूद्देशेन शास्त्रस्य प्रवर्तनादित्यर्थः॥ प्रति-पदं विधेश्चेति। अनेनोत्सर्गापवादवैधर्म्यं दर्शयति। न ह्युत्सर्गः प्रतिपदं विधीयते। तत्र प-र्यायप्रसङ्गे नियमार्थमिदं परमेव भवति न पूर्वमिति। एतत्सूत्रारम्भाच्च पूर्वस्य लक्षणस्य त-

यौगपद्यासंभवात् । नास्ति यौगपद्येन संभवः । तत्र प्रतिपत्त्यर्थं वचनम् । तत्र प्रतिपत्त्यर्थमिदं वक्तव्यम् ॥

तव्यदादीनां त्वप्रसिद्धिः । **तव्यदादीनां तु** कार्यस्याप्रसिद्धिः । न हि किंचित्तव्यदादिषु नियमकारि शास्त्रमारभ्यते येन तव्यदादयः स्युः । यश्च भवता हेतुर्व्यपदिष्टोऽप्रतिपत्तिर्वोभयोस्तुल्यबलत्वादिति तुल्यः स तव्यदादिषु । नैष दोषः । अनवकाशास्तव्यदादय उच्यन्ते च ते वचनाद्विष्यन्ति । यश्च भवता हेतुर्व्यपदिष्टस्तृजादिभिस्तुल्यं पर्यायः प्राप्नोतीति तुल्यः स तव्यदादिषु ॥

एतावदिह सूत्रं विप्रतिषेधे परमिति । पठिष्यति ह्याचार्यः । सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेव । पुनश्च पठिष्यति । पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानात्सिद्धमिति । किं पुनरियता सूत्रेणोभयं लभ्यम् । लभ्यमित्याह । कथम् । इह भवता द्वौ हेतू व्यपदिष्टौ । तृजादिभिस्तुल्यं पर्यायः प्राप्नोतीति । अप्रतिपत्तिर्वोभयोस्तुल्यबलत्वादिति च । तद्यदा तावदेष हेतुस्तृजादिभिस्तुल्यं पर्यायः प्राप्नोतीति तदा विप्रतिषेधे परमित्यनेन किं क्रियते । नियमः । विप्रतिषेधे परमेव भवतीति । तदेतदुपपन्नं भवति **सकृद्गतौ** विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेवेति । यदा त्वेष हेतुरप्रतिपत्तिर्वोभयोस्तुल्यबलत्वादिति तदा विप्रतिषेधे परमित्यनेन किं क्रियते । द्वारम् । विप्रतिषेधे परं तावद्भवति तस्मिन्कृते यदि पूर्वमपि प्राप्नोति तदपि भवति । तदेतदुपपन्नं भवति **पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानात्सिद्धमिति** ॥

विप्रतिषेधे परमित्युक्ताङ्गाधिकारे पूर्वमिति वक्तव्यम् । किं कृतं भवति । पूर्वविप्रतिषेधा न पठनीया भवन्ति । गुणवृद्धयौत्त्वतृज्वद्भावेभ्यो नुं

त्वानारम्भो ऽनुमीयते । तदुच्यते सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेवेति ॥ इदानीं जातिपक्षाश्रयणेनाह । अप्रतिपत्तिर्वेति । अत्र पक्षे विध्यर्थमिदं परं भवतीति तस्मिन्कृते यदि पूर्वस्य प्राप्तिनिमित्तमस्ति ततस्तदपि प्रवर्तते । तदुच्यते पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानात्सिद्धमिति ॥ तव्यदादीनां तु कार्यस्येति । परत्वादेः साधुत्वस्य चेत्यर्थः । एकवाक्योपात्तत्वादनवकाशत्वाच्च नास्येषा परत्वेन व्यवस्था ॥ तृजादिभिरिति । आदिशब्दस्य प्रकारार्थत्वात्तृजा-

पूर्वविप्रतिषिद्धं नुमचिरतृज्वद्भावेभ्यो नुडिति। कथमङ्गाधिकारे ये परविप्रतिषेधाः। इत्त्वोत्त्वाभ्यां गुणवृद्धी भवतो विप्रतिषेधेनेति[1]। सूत्रं च भिद्यते। यथान्यासमेवास्तु। कथं ये पूर्वविप्रतिषेधाः। विप्रतिषेधे परमित्येव सिद्धम्। कथम्। परशब्दोऽयं बहुर्थः। अस्त्येव व्यवस्थायां वर्तते तद्यथा पूर्वः पर इति। अस्त्यन्यार्थे वर्तते। परपुत्रः परभार्यान्यपुत्रोऽन्यभार्येति गम्यते। अस्ति प्राधान्ये वर्तते तद्यथा परमियं ब्राह्मणी। अस्मिन्कुटुम्बे प्रधानमिति गम्यते। अस्तीष्टवाची परशब्दस्तद्यथा परं धाम गत इतीष्टं धाम गत इति गम्यते। तद्य इष्टवाची परशब्दस्तस्येदं ग्रहणं विप्रतिषेधे यदिष्टं तद्भवति॥

दिभिस्तव्यदादयो न भिन्ना इत्यर्थः॥ सकृद्गतावितिः। यथा कुरुत्वात्त्वमिति हेर्लुक्च प्राप्नोति तातङ् च। परत्वात्तातङ्। तस्य स्थानिवद्भावाल्लुग्न प्रवर्तते॥ द्वारमिति। अप्रतिपत्त्यपनयनेन परज्ञास्वप्रवृत्तेर्द्वारमुपायः क्रियत इति यावत्॥ पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानादिति। ईजतुरिति परत्वात्संप्रसारणे कृते द्विर्वचनं भवति। लक्ष्यानुरोधेन च व्यक्त्याकृतिपदार्थाश्रयणादनयोः परिभाषयोः विषयविभागोऽवसेयः॥ तद्य इष्टवाचीति। इष्टानिष्टविभागश्च व्याख्यानाद्बोद्धव्यः॥

1. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 100; 129.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XLI.

(In the formation of the Present tense of एध, from एध्+तिङ् [for लट्] two rules apply simultaneously, *viz.* P. I., 3, 12 which teaches that only the affixes called Âtmanepada shall be substituted for ल् after a root distinguished by a gravely accented indicatory vowel etc., and P. III., 1, 68 which teaches that the Vikaraṇa श्नु shall be placed after a root when a Sârvadhâtuka affix follows which denotes an agent). Now one might say that (if) then (a subsequent rule by Par. XXXVIII. always supersedes a preceding

rule of equal force except in those particular cases where there is a Pûrvavipratishedha), the Vikaraṇa (श्ना which is taught in P. III., 1, 68) ought in (the formation of) the Present tense of एध् etc. (to be added to the root before the taking effect of the restrictive rule P. I., 3, 12) because (the rule which teaches its addition) follows upon (the latter rule); and further, that after the addition of the Vikaraṇa a restrictive rule like P. I., 3, 12 would no longer be applicable because (तिङ्, the substitute for लट्,) would be separated (from the root) by the (Vikaraṇa. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. XLI: A restrictive rule possesses greater force than (rules which teach the addition of) Vikaraṇas, (and it accordingly takes effect before the latter).[1]

The fact that (Pâṇini) teaches by his rule I., 3, 92 that the Parasmaipada-terminations[2] may optionally be (substituted for लृ after the roots वृत् etc.), when स्य follows[3] (those roots), indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ. If), on the other hand, (the Paribhâshâ did not exist, the Vikaraṇa स्य would be added to the roots वृत् etc. first, and subsequently) the rule (P. I., 3, 12) which restricts (वृत् etc. to the Âtmanepada) would not be applicable because (लृ) would be separated (from वृत् etc.) by (the

1. Accordingly the rule P. I., 3, 12 which restricts एध् to the Âtmanepada takes effect first; afterwards the Vikaraṇa श्ना is added to एध् before the terminations ते etc.

2. अतङ्विधानम्, *i. e.* परस्मैपदविधानम्; the object in dividing thus is to show that P. I., 3, 92 is a rule which does away with a prohibition, *viz.* with the restrictive rule P. I., 3, 12. (एवमुक्तेः फलं तु तस्य प्रतिप्रसवविधिसूचनम्) P.

3. स्ये *scil.* परतः. P.

Vikaraṇa) स्य; (the substitution of) both (the Parasmaipada and the Âtmanepada-terminations for लृ) would in that case follow from the general rule (P. III., 4, 78), and it would consequently be superfluous to teach (in I., 3, 92) the optional (substitution of the Parasmaipada-terminations for लृ). But after the substance of the above (Paribhâshâ) has once been indicated (by P. I., 3, 92) the Locative of स्य in that (rule) must be taken to mean, 'wherever स्य may be added (to वृत् etc. at some time or other,' and not 'when स्य follows upon वृत् etc.,' just because according to the Paribhâshâ the restrictive rule I., 3, 12 takes effect before the addition of स्य.[1] All) this is found in the Bhâshya and Kaiyaṭa's (commentary) on P. I., 3, 12. In the Bhâshya on P. I., 3, 60[2] it is suggested that the same (rule P. I., 3, 92) indicates that a restrictive rule takes effect even though (णिङ् or ल्) be separated (from the root) by a Vikaraṇa.

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1. If स्ये in P. I., 3, 92 were explained by 'when स्य follows upon वृत् etc.,' then I., 3, 92 would not do away with the restrictive rule I., 3, 12 because this rule takes effect before the addition of स्य to वृत् etc.

2. Viz. in the discussion on the Vârttika उपसर्गपूर्वनियमेऽङ्ग्रहाय उपसंख्यानम् (उपसर्गपूर्वनियमेऽङ्ग्रहाय उपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । न्यक्रीणात व्यक्रीणीत।) it is said तत्र खलु लादेशे त्रीणि कार्याणि युगपत्प्राप्नुवन्ति । विकरणा अडागमो नियम इति । तद्यदि सर्वतो नियमो लभ्येत कृतं स्यात्तच्चु न लभ्यम्।; hereon Kaiyaṭa comments thus: ननु पूर्वमेव ज्ञापकाद्विकरणेभ्यो नियमस्य बलीयस्त्वं साधितं तत्किमुच्यते तच्चु न लभ्यमिति । उच्यते । अन्यथापि तज्ज्ञापकं समर्थयितुं शक्यते । कृतेऽपि विकरणो न व्यवधायक इति ॥.

P. 'On P. I., 3, 60 the Vârttika उपसर्गपूर्वे° is given. This Vârttika would be superfluous if the present Paribhâshâ were adopted; for in that case the restrictive rule P. I., 3, 17 would in the formation *e. g.* of the Imperf. of नि विश् (from नि+विश्+तिङ् [for लङ्] where the three rules I., 3, 17; III., 1, 77; and VI., 4, 71 apply) take effect first; then the Vikaraṇa-rule III., 1, 77 would take effect because it is *nitya*, and final-

In reality[1] the true state of the case is as follows. The above Jnâpaka-(rule P. I., 3, 92) proves that P. I., 3, 12 and the following rules on the same subject (do not, as was assumed before, contain a restriction, but) unite with the (general) rule P. III., 4, 78 so as to form together with it one rule.[2] Now the Ablative धातोः (which in that general rule is valid from P. III., 1, 91) means there धातोर्विहितस्य (*viz.* लस्य, *i. e.* 'in the place of the ल्) which, as is taught (elsewhere), is placed after a root;' consequently (the Ablative) अनुदात्तङितः in P. I., 3, 12 etc., which stands in apposition to (धातोः), must like (the latter) qualify (the ल्) which, as is taught (elsewhere), is placed after a root, (or in other words, we have to explain: 'Let those terminations which will be termed Âtmanepada come in the place of ल् which, as has been taught elsewhere, is placed after a root, provided the latter be distinguished by a gravely accented indicatory

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ly the Adâgama-rule VI., 4, 71. Now, however, the Jnâpaka-rule I., 3, 92 is made to indicate, not the existence of the present Paribhâshâ, but the fact 'that a restrictive rule takes effect even though (तिङ् or ल्) be separated (from the root) by a Vikaraṇa;' accordingly the Vikaraṇa-rule III., 1, 77 takes effect first because it is both *para* and *nitya*; subsequently the Aḍâgama-rule VI., 4, 71 takes effect because it is *nitya*. Afterwards the Niyama-rule I., 3, 17 would take effect notwithstanding that the Vikaraṇa श separates the root from तिङ्, if the augment अट् did not separate the root विश् from the preposition नि, and therefore the Vârttika उपसर्गपूर्व° becomes necessary. In the above no regard has been paid to the maxim लावस्थायामाट्.' See pag. 62.

1. Nâgojibhaṭṭa now proceeds to give (from वस्तुतः—तत्त्वम्) the real opinion of the author of the Bhâshya, which is stated in the Bhâshya on P. I., 3, 12 in the words यदि पुनरियं परिभाषा विज्ञायेत etc; परिभाषा means there 'like a Paribhâshâ.' P.

2. The Vidhyekavâkyatâ is as follows: धातोर्लस्य स्थाने तिबादयो भवन्ति ते चानुदात्तङितो लस्य स्थाने तादृशा भवन्ति येषां जातानामात्मनेपदसंज्ञा भवति P.

vowel etc'). And thus the presence of the Âtmanepada-terminations (in एधिष्यते etc.) is accounted for even on the alternative that स्य is added to the root which ल् is still present (*i. e.* before the personal terminations have been substituted), and notwithstanding that (ल्) is separated (from the root) by स्य. As regards (the Vikaraṇas श्प् etc, the so-called) restrictive rules (P. I., 3, 12 etc.) always take effect before the addition of श्प् etc. (because according to P. III., 1, 68 etc. श्प् etc. are added to a root after the terminations तिप् etc. have been substituted for ल्). Or,[1] (so far as the Vikaraṇas स्य etc. are concerned, one may say that) the substitutes (तिप् etc.) are *antaranga* because (their substitution) depends on (the presence of) ल् only, and that स्य etc. are *bahiranga* (and therefore to be considered as absent so far as regards the substitution of तिप् etc.) because (the addition of स्य etc.) depends on (the presence of) the letter ल् specified (by such other letters as ऋ etc.); and (on this assumption) there would be nothing wrong were one to explain the Ablative (धातोः etc.) in accordance with P. II., 3, 29 (by 'in the place of ल् which follows upon a root,' *viz.* because the personal terminations would be substituted while स्य etc. are still absent). On this (second) alternative the rule P. I., 3, 92 (or rather the Locative of स्य in that rule) must be explained

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1. P: कैयटानुरोधेनाह । लमालेति ॥ वस्तुनस्त्वत्र मालशब्देन परनिमित्तमयव्यवच्छेदः । तथा चापरनिमित्तकत्वादित्यर्थः ॥ आदेशाः । लादेशाः ॥ लकारेति । लकाररूपो यो विशेषः परस्तदपेक्षत्वादित्यर्थः । परनिमित्तकत्वादिति यावत् ॥; see pag. 47 of the text. The substitutes तिप् etc., are *antaranga* because their substitution is not caused by anything that follows upon the ल् for which they are substituted; the Vikaraṇas स्य etc. are *bahiranga* because their addition is caused by the following लृ etc.; (धातोः स्यतासी स्नौ लृलुटोः परयोः).

'wherever स्य is added (to वृत् etc. at some time or other'.[1] When, as was stated above, the rules P. I., 3, 12 etc. form one rule together with the general rule P. III., 4, 78, then) the words Âtmanepada' etc. must be considered to denote (those terminations) which at some future time, (*viz.* when the substitution of the personal terminations for ल् has taken place,) will be termed (Âtmanepada etc).

If,[2] on the other hand, one treats (the general rule P. III., 4, 78 and such rules as P. I., 3, 12 etc.) as separate rules and (accordingly) makes (the rules P. I., 3, 12 etc.) restrict the (terminations तिप् etc. the substitution of which for ल् is) directed by the general rule (P. III., 4, 78), then one must assume that (certain forms) which (previously) had been formed are by the restriction abolished in the same manner in which (certain forms are abolished) by (the substitution of) लुक् etc.—The maxim (from ordinary life) which is expressed in the words 'what would one gain by saying to a person who *has* eaten, "do not eat", cannot fitly be admitted here, in grammar, because it would deprive restrictive and other[3] rules of all meaning. This is suggested in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 50;[4] on the other

1. *Viz.* because स्य etc. are absent while the personal terminations are being substituted for ल्.

2. P.: In order to show the correctness of the view which is expressed in the words वस्तुनः—तत्त्वम्, Nâgojibhaṭṭa proceeds now (in the words भिन्नवाक्यतया—गौरवम्) to mention the faults which the two first views (विकरणेभ्यो नियमो बलीयान्, and विकरणव्यवधानेऽपि etc.) involve.

3. *E. g.* prohibitory rules (*Nishedhas*).

4. *Viz.* by the word वा of उक्तं वा in the Bhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne pag. 576. On pag. 574 the question is raised whether the rule स्थानेऽन्तरतमः teaches certain substitutes independently of other rules, or is a restrictive rule concerning substitutes that would result from other rules,

hand, (the opinion) that a rule may possibly be meaningless, has been refuted in the Bhâshya[1] on P. I., 1, 1.—When then by the general rule (P. III., 4, 78 eighteen terminations) take the place (of ल्), this necessitates the formation of as many bases (*viz.* of one base for each termination) in the manner indicated by Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 2, 64[2] in accordance with which

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and accordingly merely supplements these other rules. In the discussion on the second alternative (pag. 575) it is stated that on the adoption of this alternative not only the correct but also incorrect forms would be formed, because it would be impossible for the rule स्थानेऽन्तरतमः to abolish certain forms if they had once been formed by other rules; this argument is supported by the Loka-nyâya यो हि भुक्तवन्तम् etc. (Bhâshya: इष्टा व्यवस्था न प्रकल्पेत । नै सर्वे सर्वेषिष्यन्ते । इदमिदानीं किमर्थं स्यात् । अनर्थकं च । अनर्थकमेतत्स्यात् । यो हि भुक्तवन्तं ब्रूयान्मा भुक्था इति किं तेन कृतं स्यात् ॥

Kaiyaṭa: इष्टा व्यवस्थेति । अकः सवर्णे दीर्घे इत्यनेन लक्षणेन यदा सर्वे दीर्घाः कृतास्तदा तेषां साधुत्वं विज्ञातं न चानेन तेषामेवासाधुत्वं शक्यं प्रतिपादयितुमिति भावः ॥).

This is refuted on pag. 576:

Bhâshya: उक्तं वा । किमुक्तम् । सिद्धं तु षष्ठ्यधिकारे वचनादिति । षष्ठ्यधिकारेऽयं योगः कर्तव्यः । स्थानेऽन्तरतमः षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्येति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: उक्तं वेति । इको गुणवृद्धी इत्यत्र । यत्र षष्ठी तत्रेदमुपतिष्ठते तेनैकवाक्यतानेन सूत्रेण विधिवाक्यानामिति विधानकाल एवान्तरतम आदेशो विधीयते ॥

Nâgojibhaṭṭa: आनर्थक्यं परिहरति । उक्तं वेति ॥ द्वितीयपक्षाद्वेदमुपपादयति । एकवाक्यतेति ॥ एवं चेतरस्यविधानमेवेष्टव्यव्यवस्थासिद्धिरिति भावः । परे तूत्पन्नानामनेन निवृत्तिर्लुगादिनेति भावः । एतदाशयमजानान आह । निवृत्तिर्न सिध्यति (pag. 575) इति । तदभ्युपेत्य समाधत्ते । उक्तं वेति । भुक्तवतो भोजनफलनिवृत्तेर्ज्ञानत्वान्निषेधस्य वैयर्थ्येऽपि शास्त्रे वृद्धिरादैच्सूत्रभाष्योक्तशास्त्रप्रामाण्यात्लुगादिनेव ज्ञाननिवृत्तिरिति वाशब्देन सूचितामित्याहुः ॥

P. The word वा indicates that the Loka-nyâya is not adopted in grammar; for, if वा did not do so, it would be superfluous because no alternative (which वा might denote) is mentioned in the Bhâshya.

1. See Bhâshya Ed. Ballantyne pag. 219: प्रमाणभूत आचार्यो दर्भपवित्रपाणिः शुचावकाशे प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य महता प्रयत्नेन सूत्राणि प्रणयति स्म । तत्राशक्यं वर्णेनाप्यनर्थकेन भवितुं किं पुनरियता सूत्रेण ॥

2. For there Kaiyaṭa comments on the Bhâshya यथैव बहवो यत्र:

that which is subservient must be repeated as many times as that to which it is subservient, and when a termination is (by a restriction) abolished, this necessitates also the abolishment of the base which had been formed for it. This (shows that this whole view) is too cumbrous (to be maintained). More[1] elsewhere.

(in the sense of 'many descendants [expressed by the affix यञ्] of one Garga') एवं प्रकृतयोऽपि बह्वयः स्युः thus: एकैकस्यापत्यस्य प्रकृत्यर्थेन योगात्प्रधानभेदे च गुणवृत्त्या गार्ग्यशब्दानामेकशेषः क्रियत इत्यर्थः. The base गर्ग has to be repeated as many times as there are affixes यञ्; as the rule teaches the addition of यञ् to गर्ग, the latter is subservient to the former; it is *guṇa* while यञ् is *pradhâna*. Cf. also pag. 9, note 1.—P. adds: किंचैकस्मादनेकेषां परत्वासंभवादित्यपि वक्ष्यम्.

1. P. But if we say that in consequence of the Niyama the (prohibited) personal terminations are never substituted at all, then the two views which have been mentioned first (before वस्तुतः) are likewise faultless. Therefore Nâgojibhaṭṭa concludes with 'more elsewhere' viz. in the Uddyota etc.

Extract from the Bhâshya[1] on P. I., 3, 12:

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते । आत्मनेपदवचनं नियमार्थम् । नियमार्थोऽयमारम्भः । किमुच्यते नियमार्थोऽयमिति न पुनर्विध्यर्थोऽपि स्यात् । लविधानाद्विहितम् । लविधानाद्धात्मनेपदं परस्मैपदं च विहितम् । अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत् । किं तर्हीति । विकरणैस्तु व्यवहितत्वान्नियमो न

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1. Kaiyaṭa: किमर्थमिति । किं विहितानां लादेशानामनेन नियमः क्रियतेऽथ वाक्यैकवाक्यतया विधिरिति प्रश्नः ॥ नियमार्थ इति । एकवाक्यतायां भाविनी संज्ञाश्रयणीयेति वाक्यभेद एवाश्रीयते तेन नियमोऽयं संपद्यते ॥ परत्वादिति । विकरणानामवकाशोऽलादेशाश्रवणादयो नियमस्यावकाशो लिङ्लिटावार्धधातुकसंज्ञौ स्यर्धेन इत्यादावुभयप्रसङ्गे परत्वाद्विकरणास्तेन व्यवधानान्नियमाप्रसङ्गः ॥ अनवकाश इति । सर्वत्र विकरणानां व्यवधा-

प्राप्नोति । इदमिह संप्रधार्यं विकरणाः क्रियन्तां नियम इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वाद्विकरणाः । नित्याः खल्वपि विकरणाः । कृतेऽपि नियमे प्राप्नुवन्त्यकृतेऽपि प्राप्नुवन्ति । नित्यत्वाच्च परत्वाच्च विकरणेषु कृतेषु विकरणैर्व्यवहितत्वान्नियमो न प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । अनवकाशो नियमः । सावकाशः । कोऽवकाशः । य एते लुग्विकरणाश्च श्लुविकरणाश्च लिङ्लिटौ च ॥ यदि पुनरियं परिभाषा विज्ञायेत । किं कृतं भवति । कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषं यत्र कार्यं तत्र द्रष्टव्यम् । लस्य तिबादयो भवन्तीत्युपस्थितमिदं भवत्यनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदं शेषात्कर्तरि परस्मैपदमिति । एवमपीतरेतराश्रयं भवति । केतरेतराश्रयता । अभिनिर्वृत्तानां लस्य स्थाने तिबादीनामात्मनेपदपरस्मैपदसंज्ञया भवितव्यं संज्ञया च तिबादयो भाव्यन्ते तदितरेतराश्रयं भवति । इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते । परस्मैपदेषु तावन्नेतरेतराश्रयं भवति । परस्मैपदानुक्रमणं न करिष्यते । अवश्यं कर्तव्यम् । अनुपराभ्यां कृञः [१. ३. ७९] इत्येवमर्थम् । ननु चैतदप्यात्मनेपदानुक्रमण एव करिष्यते । स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफल आत्मनेपदं भवति कर्तर्यनुपराभ्यां कृञो नेति ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु चापि नेतरेतराश्रयं भवति । कथम् । भाविनी संज्ञा विज्ञास्यते सूत्रशाटकवत् । तद्यथा कश्चित्कंचित्तन्तुवायमाहास्य सूत्रस्य शाटकं वयेति स पश्यति यदि शाटको न वातव्योऽथ वातव्यो न शाटकः शाटको वातव्यश्चेति विप्रतिषिद्धं

यकत्वादिति भावः ॥ यदि पुनरिति । आत्मनेपदपरस्मैपदाभ्यां लिङ्भ्यामिदं प्रकरणं लादेशविधावुपतिष्ठते । तत्र महावाक्येन विहितेषु लादेशेषु विकरणा इति दोषाभावः । स्यादिषु कथं ते हि लावस्थायामेव विधीयन्त इति तैर्व्यवधानान्नियमो न प्राप्नोति । उच्यते । लमात्रापेक्षत्वादन्तरङ्गत्वाल्लादेशेषु कृतेषु लकारविशेषापेक्षया बहिरङ्गाः स्यादयो भविष्यन्ति येनाप्राप्तिन्यायेन शावादीन्बाधित्वा शावादिविधावनुवर्तनाद्वा ॥ एवमपीति । एकवाक्यतापक्षे विहिता लादेशा न सन्ति येन तेषां सतामात्मनेपदपरस्मैपदसंज्ञे स्यातां ततश्चैतत्परिभाषीयस्थाने सति संज्ञाश्रयं लादेशविधानं लादेशविधानाश्रया च संज्ञेति भावः ॥ परस्मैपदानुक्रमणी-

भाविनी खल्वस्य संज्ञाभिप्रेता स मन्ये वातव्यो यस्मिन्नुते शाटक इत्येतद्भवतीत्येवमिहापि स लस्य स्थाने कर्तव्यो यस्याभिनिर्वृत्तस्यात्मनेपदमित्येषा संज्ञा भविष्यति ॥ अथवा पुनरस्तु नियमः । ननु चोक्तं विकरणेभ्यवहितत्वान्नियमो न प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति विकरणेभ्यो नियमो बलीयानिति यदयं विकरणविधावात्मनेपदपरस्मैपदान्याश्रयति पुषादिद्युताद्यृदितः परस्मैपदेषु [३. १. ५५] आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् [५४] इति । नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । अभिनिर्वृत्तानि हि लस्य स्थान आत्मनेपदानि परस्मैपदानि च । यत्तर्ह्यनुपसर्गाद्वा [१. ३. ४३] इति विभाषां शास्ति ॥

मिति । नन्वसति परस्मैपदानुक्रमणे परस्मैपदमनुदात्तङिद्भ्यः प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । आत्मनेपदसंबन्धावगमेन तेषां परस्मैपदसंबन्धबाधनाच्छेषादेव परस्मैपदमवस्थास्यते ॥ अवश्यमिति । आत्मनेपदबाधनार्थमित्यर्थः ॥ यदयमिति । कृतनियमानामसंकरेण स्थितानां हि निमित्तभावोपपत्तिः ॥ अभिनिर्वृत्तानीति । प्रागपि नियमात्तेषां संभवमात्रेण निमित्तत्वाविरोधात् ॥ यत्तर्हीति । एतच्च लिङ्लिङर्थे स्यात् । चकमे चक्राम क्रम्यात् क्रंसीष्टेति । तस्माज्ज्ञापकदिक्प्रदर्शिता भाष्यकृता । ज्ञापकं तु वृद्धयः स्यसनोः [१. ३. ९२] इत्यत्र स्ये विकल्पविधानम् ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XLII.

(A rule which is) *nitya* possesses (greater) force than a subsequent (rule which is not *nitya*),[1] because it would apply if

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1. This we know already from the general Paribhâshâ XXXVIII., and परान्नित्यं बलवत् should therefore not have been printed as a separate Paribhâshâ; the real Par. XLII. is कृताकृतप्रसङ्गि नित्यं तद्विपरीतमनित्यम्.—Par. XLII. defines the terms *nitya* and *anitya*; in Par. XLIII., XLIV., and XLV. the general definition of the term *nitya*, as given in Par. XLII. is restricted, and it is shown that certain rules or operations which by Par. XLII. would be *nitya*, must nevertheless be regarded as *anitya*. Occasionally, however, the restrictions contained in Par. XLIII.—XLV. are

(the subsequent rule) were to have taken effect and applies when (the latter) does not take effect. The reason[1] why that (rule) of the two which is *nitya* possesses greater force (than the subsequent rule which is not *nitya*) is this, that in preference to making that not take place which (without interference on our part) would take place under any circumstances, we decidedly ought to make that (not take place) which under certain circumstances would really not take place. This (the author of the Paribhâshâs) expresses (thus):

P. XLII: (A rule) which would apply if (another rule that applies simultaneously,) were to have taken effect, and which applies when (that other rule) does not take effect, is *nitya*; (a rule) with which such is not the case, is not *nitya*.

Accordingly, in the Pres. Ind. of तुद् etc. the affixes झ etc. (which are taught in P. III., 1, 77 etc.) have, because they are *nitya*, superseded (the substitution of) Guṇa (for the penultimate

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disregarded, and the general definition of the term *nitya*, as given in Par. XLII., is therefore repeated in Par. XLVI. Subsequently, Par. XLVII. guards against too narrow an acceptation of the expression कृताकृतप्रसङ्गमात्र in Par. XLVI., while Par. XLVIII., on the contrary, states that कृताकृतप्रसङ्गमात्र occasionally must be taken in the very sense against which we were guarded by Par. XLVII. Finally, Par. XLIX contains a further restriction of the general definition of the term *nitya* which it was unnecessary to mention because it is contained already in Par. XLIII.

1. P. कृताकृतप्रसङ्गित्वस्य बलवत्त्वप्रयोजकत्वं न वाचनिकं किंतु युक्तिसिद्धमित्याह तत्रेति । परनित्ययोर्मध्य इत्यर्थः ॥ तत्कल्पनमिति । अभावकल्पनमित्यर्थः ॥ उचितमिति। उपस्थितलाघवादिति भावः ॥

उ etc.), notwithstanding that the latter is (taught in the) subsequent (rule P. VII., 3, 86.).[1]

PARIBHÂSHÂ XLIII.

In order to intimate that (a rule) can be said to apply both when (another rule) has taken effect and before (that other rule) takes effect, (or, in other words, can be said to be *nitya*), only, when the particular wordform in reference to which (it teaches something) is exactly the same when it is applied again (*i. e.* after the taking effect of the other rule), as it was when

1. Examples: *a*) नुदति.

नुद्+तिप् P. III., 1, 77 Vikarana श before Sârvadhâtuka; (*nitya*).
P. VII., 3, 86 Guna for penultim. उ before Sârvadhâtuka; (*para*, but *anitya*).

P. III., 1, 77 applies before the substitution of Guna for उ, and it would apply also if Guna were substituted for उ and if नुद् were accordingly changed to नोद्. On the other hand, P. VII., 3, 86 applies before श is added to नुद्, but after the addition of श to नुद् Guna could not by P. VII., 3, 86 be substituted for उ, because the latter would have ceased to be penultimate. Accordingly, P. III., 1, 77 is *nitya*, and P. VII., 3, 86 *anitya*; III., 1, 77 takes therefore effect first (नुद्+ति) and subsequently VII., 3, 86 is no longer applicable.

b.) रुणद्धि Si. Kau. II., pag. 158:

रुध्+तिप् P. III., 1, 78 Vikarana श्नम् before Sârvadhâtuka; (*nitya*).
P. VII, 3, 86 Guna for penultim. उ before Sârvadhâtuka; (*para*, but *anitya*).

c.) धिनवाव Si. Kau. II., pag. 70:

धिनु+व P. III., 4, 92 आ prefixed to व; (*nitya*).
P. VI., 4, 107 optional Lopa of उ before व; (*para*, but *anitya*).

it was applied first (*i. e.* before the other rule had taken effect, the author of the Paribhâshâs) says :

P. XLIII : When the wordform in reference to which a rule teaches something (after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously) would be different (from what it was before that other rule had taken effect), then the (former) rule is not *nitya*.

This is found in the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 3, 60; for there[1] it is stated that in (the formation of) न्यविशत (the addition of the augment) अट् is (by the present Paribhâshâ) not *nitya*, *viz.* because after the addition of the Vikaraṇa (श to विश् the augment) अट् would have to be prefixed to that which ends with the Vikaraṇa (*i. e.* to विश), whereas, before the addition of the Vikaraṇa, (the augment) अट् would be prefixed to the root (विश्) only.

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1. Bhâshya on P. I., 3, 60: एवं तर्हीदमिह संप्रधार्यमट् क्रियतां विकरणा इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वादडागमो नित्या विकरणाः कृतेऽप्यटि प्राप्नुवन्त्यकृतेऽपि । अडपि नित्यः कृतेष्वपि विकरणेषु प्राप्नोत्यकृतेष्वपि प्राप्नोति । अनित्योऽट् । अन्यस्य कृतेषु विकरणेषु प्राप्नोत्यन्यस्याकृतेषु शब्दान्तरस्य च प्राप्नुवन्विधिरनित्यो भवति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: शब्दान्तरस्येति । विकरणास्तु शब्दान्तरादपि प्राप्नुवन्तो नानित्याः ॥

The addition of the Vikaraṇa श is taught in P. III., 1, 77; the augment अट् in P. VI., 4, 71; here P. VI., 4, 71 is regarded as *anitya*, because before the addition of the Vikaraṇa the augment would have to be prefixed to विश्, and after its addition, to विश. On the other hand, P. III., 1, 77 is, against Par. XLIV., (but in accordance with Par. XLVI.,) regarded as *nitya*, although श before the addition of the augment would have to be added to विश्, and after its addition, to अविश्.—See also note 2 on pag. 202.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XLIV.

(The author of the Paribhâshâs also) gives (the following Paribhâshâ which is based) on the same maxim on which the preceding (Paribhâshâ was based) :[1]

P. XLIV : When the wordform after which (a rule) should take effect, or the wordform before which (a rule) should take effect, (after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously), would be different (from what it was before that other rule had taken effect), then (the former rule) is not *nitya*.[2]

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1. P. तुल्यन्यायेनेति । प्रागुक्तवचनमूलभूतयुक्तितुल्यतयेत्यर्थः । यद्व्यक्तिसंबन्धितया पूर्वं प्रवृत्तिस्तद्व्यक्तिसंबन्धित्वेनाप्राप्त्या कृताकृतप्रसङ्गित्वाभाव इति प्रागुक्ते वचने मूलं तच्च शब्दान्तरात्प्राप्नुवदादावपि तुल्यमिति भावः ॥

2. In the Mahâbhâshya I have found this Paribhâshâ nowhere, and Pâyaguṇḍa gives no examples for it. Bhairavamis'ra says : आद्योदाहरणं मा भवानुजिहदिति । अत्र ह्यूहेर्णिचि लुङि चङि शब्दान्तरात्प्राप्नुवतोऽनित्याद्द्वित्वात्पूर्वं परत्वेन णौ चङीत्युपधाह्रस्वत्वस्य प्रवृत्तिर्भवति ॥

ऊहि+चङ्+लुङ् P. VI., 1, 11 reduplication of हि;

P. VII., 4, 1 substitution of उ for ऊ.

Here P. VI., 1, 11 is *anitya*, because before the taking effect of P. VII., 4, 1 the reduplication of हि would take place after ऊ, while after the taking effect of P. VII., 4, 1, it takes place after उ. P. VII., 4, 1 takes therefore effect first, because it is *para*.

यदि तु णौ चङीति सूत्रभाष्योक्तया यदयमोणिमृदितं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो द्विर्वचनाद्ध्रस्वत्वं बलीय इति रीत्या कृताकृतप्रसङ्गित्वेन द्वित्वस्य नित्यत्वेऽपि ह्रस्वत्वस्य पूर्वं प्रवृत्तिरित्युच्यते तदा च्यवन्ते प्लवन्त इत्युदाहरणं बोध्यम् । अत्र हि गुणे कृते शब्दान्तरात्प्राप्नुवत एकादेशस्यानित्यत्वात्पूर्वं गुणो भवति । अन्यथैकादेशे ङिति निषेधः स्यात् ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XLV.

(The author of the Paribhâshâs also) states (the following) which is founded entirely on the preceding :[1]

द्यु+शप्+अन्ते P. VI., 1, 97 substitution of the अ of अन्ते for the अ of शप् and the अ of अन्ते;

P. VII., 3, 84 Guna for उ before शप्.

If VI., 1, 97 were *nitya*, it would take effect first; subsequently अन्ते would be ङित् by P. I., 2, 4, and Guna forbidden by P. I., 1, 5.

अत्राप्यचः परस्मिन्निति स्थानिवद्भावस्य निषेधे कर्तव्ये प्रवृत्तिरिति चेदुच्यते तदा नेर्विश इति सूत्रस्थस्य न्यविशन्नेत्यत्र विकरणान्तस्याटि कृते विशेर्नेः परत्वाभावान्नियमानुपपत्तावुपसर्गनियमेऽडुद्यवाय उपसंख्यानमिति यद्वार्त्तिकं तस्योक्तिसंभव एवैतस्याः प्रयोजनम् ॥

Cf. note 2 on pag. 202. Before the augment अट् is prefixed to विश, the Niyama P. I., 3, 17 would take effect after विश, but when अट् has been prefixed to विश, P. I., 3, 17 would have to take effect after अविश, and it is therefore *anitya*. The present Paribhâshâ as well as the Vârttika उपसर्गपूर्वनियमे become unnecessary as soon as Par. XLI. is adopted.

द्वितीयोदाहरणं तु करिष्यते हरिष्यत इत्यादि । अत्र हि शब्दान्तरे प्राप्तुवतो विकरणस्यानित्यत्वाल्लादेशे स्वरितञितः [१.३.७२] इत्यनेन कृतेऽस्य प्रवृत्तिः । अन्यथा कृते विकरणे ञितः परत्वाभावान्नियमो न स्यात् ॥

कृञ् + लट् P. I., 3, 72 substitution for लट् of the Âtmanepada-terminations only.

P. III., 1, 33, addition of स्य to कृञ् before लट्. This latter rule is *anitya* because, so long as P. I., 3, 72 does not take effect, it would have to take effect before लट्, and after the taking effect of P. I., 3, 72, before ते etc.; P. I., 3, 72 takes therefore effect first. In this instance the present Paribhâshâ is likewise rendered superfluous by Par. XLI. and by the remarks which have been made on that Paribhâshâ.

As all the examples which are given by Bhâ'iravamis'ra can be explained without the present Paribhâshâ, we conclude with the remark of Râghavendrâchârya: शब्दान्तरादीनामनन्यथासिद्धानि फलानि मृग्याणि.

1. P. एतदिति । उक्तपरिभाषाद्वयमूलकमेवेत्यर्थः । एवेनापूर्वत्वनिरासः ॥

P. XLV: A rule (which applies both before and after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously), is (nevertheless) not *nitya*, when (after the taking effect of that other rule) it would take effect in consequence of (the existence of) some (third) rule (without which it would no longer apply).

This (Paribhâshâ) is mentioned by Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 22 where (an operation) is (by P. I., 1, 62) transferred (from the affix उ to the Lopa substituted for it).[1]

1. Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 22: नित्यत्वात्पूर्वमुकारलोपः पश्चाद्गुणः । कृते ह्युकारलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणमिति गुणेन भाव्यं ततो लक्षणान्तरेण च प्राप्तुवन्विधिरनित्य इति गुणस्यानित्यत्वम् ॥

कृ+उ+वः; P. VI., 4, 108 Lopa of उ before व्;
P. VII., 3, 84 Guna for ऋ before उ.

The latter rule is *anitya* because after the substitution of Lopa for उ Guna can be substituted for ऋ only in consequence of P. I., 1, 62 प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम्. First, Lopa is substituted for उ by P. VI., 4, 108; afterwards Guna for ऋ by P. VII., 3, 84; thus we obtain कर्+वः; subsequently उ is substituted for the अ of कर् by P. VI., 4, 110, because the substitution of Lopa for उ which is taught in P. VI. 4, 108 is by P. VI., 4, 22 *asiddha* in regard to P. VI., 4, 110.

PARIBHÂSHÂS XLVI.—XLVIII.

But[1] when (the author of the Paribhâshâs), without (paying any regard to) the rules, considers merely whether the opera-

1. In the remarks on Par. XLII. it has been stated that in the formation of तुदति from तुद्+ति the Vikaraṇa-rule is *nitya* because it applies both before and after the substitution of Guna for उ. Now, how-

tions that are enjoined by them are *nitya* or not, and when he moreover does not concern himself (with the question) whether particular wordforms would or would not be the same (before and after the taking effect of another operation that applies simultaneously),[1] then he says:

P. XLVI: Occasionally[2] (it) also (happens that an operation) is *nitya* solely because it would apply if (another operation that applies simultaneously) were to have taken effect, and applies when (that other operation) does not take effect.

The fact is that, should (an operation) which is suspected to be *nitya*, apply again after the taking effect of a second (operation which applies simultaneously), this alone justifies our terming (the operation) *nitya*; but that, (to warrant our terming such an operation *nitya*), it is not required that (the operation) when it applies (again), should also not be superseded by (an operation) superseding it, and (that its second application) should thus be attended by results.

This (the author of the Paribhâshâs) expresses (thus):

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ever, one might object that the Vikarana-rule ought nevertheless to be regarded as *anitya* both by Par. XLIII. and XLV., *viz.* because by the substitution of Guna तुद् would be changed to तोद् (*S'abdântara*), and because तोद् only in consequence of P. I., 1, 56 (*Lakshanântarena* would be equivalent to the original तुद्. To prove then, that the addition of the Vikarana is *nitya*, in spite of Par. XLIII. and XLV., it becomes necessary to give Par. XLVI.

1. In other words, when both Par. XLV., and Par. XLIII. and XLIV. are disregarded.

2. *E. g.* in the formation of तुदति, where the addition of the Vikarana is *nitya* in spite of Par. XLIII. and XLV.

P. XLVII: (An operation) the cause of which would, (after the taking effect of another operation that applies simultaneously), be removed by another (third) rule, is not (on that account regarded as) not *nitya*.[1]

Sometimes, however, (to justify our terming an operation *nitya*), it *is* considered necessary that (the operation) when it applies (again), should *not* be superseded by (an operation) superseding it, and (that its second application) *should* thus be attended by results. This (the author of the Paribhâshâs) expresses (thus):

P. XLVIII: (An operation) the cause of which would, (after the taking effect of another operation that applies simultaneously), be removed

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1. *E g.* ऊढ from वह्+त. Here P. VI., 1, 15 teaches the substitution of Samprasâraṇa (उ) for व्, P. VI., 3, 112 the substitution of ओ for the अ of वह्. After the substitution of Samprasâraṇa for व्, the cause of the substitution of ओ, *i. e.* the radical अ, would be removed by P. VI., 1, 108 which teaches that Samprasâraṇa shall be the substitute of Samprasâraṇa and a following vowel; the substitution of ओ is nevertheless not *anitya*, but it is on the contrary *nitya*, simply because it applies both before and after the substitution of Samprasâraṇa. See the Bhâshya on P. VI., 3, 112: नित्यं संप्रसारणं कृतेऽप्योत्वे प्राप्नोत्यकृतेऽपि। ओत्वमपि नित्यम्। कथम्। कृतेऽपि संप्रसारणे प्राप्नोत्यकृतेऽपि। अनित्यमोत्वं न हि कृते संप्रसारणे प्राप्नोति। किं कारणम्। अन्तरङ्गं पूर्वत्वम्। यस्य लक्षणान्तरेण निमित्तं विहन्यते न तन्नित्यम्। न च संप्रसारणमेवौत्वस्य निमित्तं विहन्यतइयं लक्षणान्तरं पूर्वत्वं प्रतीक्ष्यम्। उभयोर्नित्ययोः परत्वादोत्वम्। ओत्वे कृते संप्रसारणे कृते संप्रसारणपरपूर्वत्वम्। तत्र कार्यिकृतत्वान्नुनरोत्वं न भविष्यति॥

by another (third) rule, is (sometimes) also (regarded as) not *nitya*.[1]

In[2] the seventh (Adhyâya, on P. VII., 1, 23,) Kaiyaṭa has in support of these (last two Paribhâshâs) quoted the two (following) sayings from ordinary life: 'Although in the fight between Bâlin and Sugrîva Bâlin was slain by the venerable (Râma), nevertheless (some) people do not say that Sugrîva was more powerful than Bâlin (*viz.* because Bâlin was slain, not by Sugrîva, but by Râma); and (on the other hand), although the Pâṇḍavas obtained the victory (over the Kauravas) because they were assisted by the venerable (Vâsudeva), yet (some) people say that the Pâṇḍavas were more powerful (than the Kauravas)'.

And all the above (Paribhâshâs) are applied severally (each in particular cases) according as (different) forms (have to be formed or to be accounted for by the rules of Pâṇini's grammar).

1. See Par. L. pag. 42, l. 18 of the text: सिद्धान्ते नित्यत्वात्पूर्वमूङ्गुणस्तूठि यणा बाधितत्वादनित्यः.

सिव्+न; P. VI., 4, 19 teaches the substitution of ऊ for व्; P. VII, 3, 86 the substitution of Guṇa for इ; here the latter operation is regarded as *anitya*, because after the substitution of ऊ for व् (in सिऊ+नं) its cause, *viz.* इ, is removed by P. VI., 1, 77 by which rule य् is substituted for इ before ऊ. (Cf. also Si. Kau. I., pag. 154, note 27).

2. P.: अनयोर्न वाचनिकत्वं किंतु लोकन्यायसिद्धत्वमित्याह सप्तम इति.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XLIX.

In the Bhâshya on the rule P. II., 4, 85[1] we read the following (Paribhâshâ):

1. Likewise in the Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 3 and elsewhere.

P. XLIX: When (the wordform) in reference to which a rule teaches something, (after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously), would be different (from what it was before that other rule had taken effect) in consequence of (some difference of) accentuation, then the (former) rule is not *nitya*.[1]

Where,[2] however, one and the same operation is both (taught in a) subsequent (rule) and *nitya*, there one may

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1. In the formation of कुमार्यै from कुमार्य्+ए two rules apply simultaneously, P. VII., 3, 112 by which आ should be prefixed to ए, and P. VI., 1, 174 by which ए should become *udâtta*; both these rules are *anitya*, the former by the present Paribhâshâ because before the taking effect of P. VI., 1, 174 ए is *anudâtta* whereas after its taking effect it would be *udâtta*, the latter by Par. XLIII. because before the taking effect of P. VII., 3, 112 ए would become *udâtta* whereas after its taking effect ऐ would become *udâtta*. See Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 6: एवं तर्हीदमिह संप्रधार्यमाङ्क्रियतामुदात्तत्वमिति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वादाडागमः । नित्यमुदात्तत्वं कृतेऽप्याटि प्राप्नोत्यकृतेऽपि । आडपि नित्यः कृतेऽप्युदात्तत्वे प्राप्नोत्यकृतेऽपि प्राप्नोति । अनित्य आडन्यथास्वरस्य कृत उदात्तत्वे प्राप्नोत्यन्यथास्वरस्याकृते । स्वरभिन्नस्य प्रापुन्निधिरनित्यो भवति । उदात्तत्वमप्यनित्यमन्यस्य कृत आटि प्राप्नोत्यन्यस्याकृते प्राप्नोति । शब्दान्तरस्य च प्रापुन्निधिरनित्यो भवति । उभयोरनित्ययोः परत्वादाडागमः ॥

Bhairavamis'ra gives the following instance: when we form a compound of दधि which is *âdyudâtta*, and of उदक, two rules apply simultaneously, *viz.* P. VI., 1, 77 which teaches the substitution of य् for the इ of दधि, and P. VI., 2, 96 by which दधि should become *antodâtta*. Because then दधि would have a different accent before and after the taking effect of P. VI., 2, 96, the rule P. VI., 1, 77 is *anitya*, and VI., 2, 96 takes effect first. We obtain thus दधि+उदक and afterwards by P. VI., 1, 77 and VIII., 2, 4 द॒ध्युदक. Had P. VI., 1, 77 been *nitya* and accordingly been applied first we should have obtained दध्य्+उदक=दध्युदक.

2. Nâgojibhaṭṭa concludes with a general remark on *nitya* operations.

optionally put down either (of those two circumstances) or both of them as the cause of the greater force of that (operation). Therefore we find here and there in the Bhâshya the expression 'because it is (taught in a) subsequent (rule) and because it is *nitya*.' In reality the expression 'because it is (taught in a) subsequent (rule)' is in those (passages) employed by one who is only partly acquainted (with the true and final opinion of the author of the Bhâshya).[1] This is clear from Kaiyaṭa's remarks on P. I., 4, 2.[2]

In the Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 1 the only reason which has been assigned for the fact that the reduplication would take effect before the (substitution of the) short vowel, is this 'that it is *nitya*,' although (the reduplication) is both *nitya* and *antaranga*.

One should remember that a *nitya* as well as an *antaranga* (rule) likewise[3] only then possesses greater force (or, in other words, only then supersedes, or takes effect before, another rule), when it cannot take effect simultaneously (with that rule).

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1. P. नित्यानित्ययोर्विप्रतिषेधासंभवादिति भावः.

2. Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 4, 2: कार्यमित्यलाहीयें कृत्यः। करणाई कार्यम्। तुल्यबलं च करणाहमिति नित्यानित्योत्सर्गापवादान्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गेष्वस्य सूत्रस्याव्यापारः॥ Therefore one ought to say only नित्यत्वात्; or where two reasons are really possible, there one ought to put down the first; to show this Nâgojibhaṭṭa goes on to say 'In the Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 1.'

3. *I. e.* just as a *para* rule. See Par. XL. Or एवं may mean उक्तवत् and may introduce a further general remark.

PARIBHÂSHÂ L.

An *antaranga* (rule) possesses greater force even than a *nitya* (rule), because that which is *bahiranga* is (regarded as) not having taken effect (or as not existing), when that which is *antaranga* (is to take effect). This (the author of the Paribhâshâs) expresses (thus) :

P. L : That which is *bahiranga* is (regarded as) not having taken effect (or as not existing), when that which is *antaranga* (is to take effect).

Antaranga[1] is (a rule) the causes (of the application) of

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1. Definition of the terms अन्तरङ्ग and बहिरङ्ग pag. 41, l. 9-12. बहिरङ्ग is equivalent to शब्दरूपं निमित्तम् p. 41, 12-p. 43, 14.
   (*a*) Meaning does not make an operation *bahiranga* p. 41, 13-p. 42, 1; (*b.*) nor does dependence on technical terms make an operation *bahiranga* p. 42,-p. 43, 14.
   Antaranga and *bahiranga* are not equivalent to *alpâpeksha* and *bahvapeksha* p. 42, 13.
2. Meaning of the whole Paribhâshâ, and its *Linga*; p. 43, 15-p. 44, 2.
3. The Paribhâshâ has no concern with the rules in P. VIII., 2-4; p. 44, 3-p. 45, 11. General Jñâpaka, ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132; p. 44, 3-15.
4. Special Jñâpaka (आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95) to prove, that a *bahiranga* rule which applies *simultaneously* with an *antaranga* rule, is likewise *asiddha*; p. 45, 12-p. 47, 4.
5. Refutation of the view that *sâmânyâpeksha* is *antaranga* in regard to *vis'eshâpeksha*, p. 47, 5-p. 49, 7.
6. The existence of the Paribhâshâ is also established by a Lokanyâya; (*antaranga* is equivalent to *antahkârya i. e. pûrvopasthitanimittaka*, but not to *pûrvasthânika*); p. 49, 8-p. 50, 8.
7. The Paribhâshâ must sometimes not be applied; p. 50, 9-16.

which lie within (or before) the sum of the causes of a *bahiranga* rule[1]; in like manner (that rule) the causes (of the application) of which lie without (or beyond) the sum of the causes of that (*antaranga* rule) is *bahiranga*.[2] This is clear from the Bhâshya

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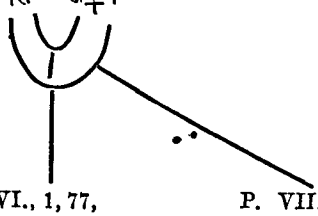
1. अन्तरङ्ग and बहिरङ्ग are two Bahuvrihi-compounds; they are adjectives and denote a rule, or an operation, or that which is taught in a rule. The word अङ्ग neither denotes here 'a member of the body,' nor is it the grammatical term अङ्ग as defined in P. I., 4, 13, but it is equivalent to उपकारक 'that which assists (an operation)', or, in other words, it denotes the निमित्त *i. e.* 'the cause' of an operation.

2. *E. g. a.*) सि ऊ+न



P. VI., 1, 77, P. VII., 3, 86,

Substitution of य् for इ before ऊ; Substitution of Guna for इ before न;

antaranga. *bahiranga.*

In the formation of स्योन, from सिव्+न, ऊ is substituted for the व् of सिव् by P. VI., 4, 19 (see note 1 on pag. 218); we obtain thus सि ऊ+न. Here two rules apply simultaneously, *viz.* P. VI., 1, 77 which teaches the substitution of य् for इ before ऊ, and P. VII., 3, 86 by which Guna should be substituted for the penultimate इ before the affix न, and the question arises, which of these two rules should take effect? The substitution of य् for इ is caused by ऊ, that of Guna for इ by न; as then the cause ऊ of the substitution of य् lies within or before the cause न of the substitution of Guna, and, on the other hand, the cause न of the substitution of Guna without or beyond the cause ऊ of the substitution of य्,—the substitution of य् for इ and the rule P. VI., 1, 77 that teaches it, is *antaranga*; and the substitution of Guna for इ and the rule P. VII., 3, 86 that teaches it, is *bahiranga*. Accord-

and from Kaiyaṭa's (comment) on P. VIII., 3, 15 and VI., 4, 22.[1]

The word अङ्ग in this (Paribhâshâ) denotes only a formal cause[2] (such as a letter or a combination of letters), because in

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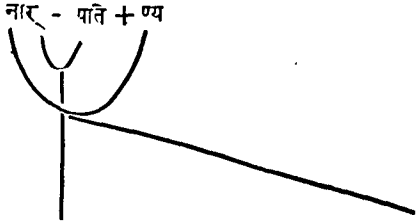
ingly P. VI., 1, 77 must take effect, because P. VII., 3, 86, so far as the taking effect of P. VI., 1, 77 is concerned, does not exist.

b.) नृ - पति + ष्य =

नार् - पति + ष्य



P. VIII., 3, 15, Substitution of Visarjanîya before प्; *antaranga.*

P. VII., 2, 117, Substitution of Vṛiddhi for ऋ before ष्य; *bahiranga.*

When the affix ष्य is added to नृपति (to form नार्पत्य), it causes by P. VII., 2, 117 the substitution of Vṛiddhi for ऋ. Subsequently the question arises whether by P. VIII., 3, 15 Visarjanîya shall be substituted for the र् of नार् before the प् of पति. The substitution of Visarjanîya for र् is caused by प्, that of Vṛiddhi for ऋ by ष्य; the former operation is therefore *antaranga*, and the latter *bahiranga*, and one might say that Visarjanîya ought not to be substituted for र् because according to the present Paribhâshâ the substitution of the Vṛiddhi आर् for ऋ, being *bahiranga*, ought so far as P. VIII., 3, 15 is concerned to be regarded as not having taken effect. (See however pag. 45. l. 5 of the text).

1. Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 22: बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गमिति च प्रतिद्वन्द्विभावितावेतावर्थौ। कथम्। सत्यन्तरङ्गे बहिरङ्गं सति च बहिरङ्गेऽन्तरङ्गम्॥ similarly on P. VIII., 3, 15.

Kaiyaṭa on P. VIII., 3, 15: अन्तरङ्गं यस्य बहिरङ्गं यस्येति बहुव्रीहिः। ततः सर्वलिङ्गावन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गशब्दावुपपन्नौ। अङ्गशब्दश्चालोपकारकवाची॥

2. *E. g.* in the example सि क+न, क is the cause of the substitu-

a work which teaches the formation of words main importance attaches to the wordform. (When) therefore (an operation is) caused by the meaning, it is not (on that account) *bahiranga*, (and the present Paribhâshâ cannot affect it). Only for this reason is the prohibition P. VI., 4, 4 (which is to prevent the lengthening of the final vowel of तिसृ etc. before the termination नाम् in the Gen. Fem.) effective. (Were), on the other hand, (an operation that is caused by the meaning, on that account *bahiranga*, the substitution of) तिसृ (for ति which is taught in P. VII., 2, 99, would), as caused by the meaning, *viz.* by (the circumstance of ति being in) the feminine gender, (be *bahiranga*) in regard to (the substitution of त्रय for ति which is taught in P. VII., 1, 53; consequently) the substitution of त्रय (for ति) would, (in preference to that of तिसृ, take place also in the Gen. Fem.) because it would be *antaranga*, and (तिसृ not having been substituted even in the Gen. Fem.) the prohibition (VI., 4, 4 regarding तिसृ) would evidently be absurd. On the same account are a Vârttika[1] on P. I., 1, 56 which says that, (contrary to P. I., 1, 56, 'the substitute) ending with सृ (*i. e.* तिसृ of P. VII., 2, 99) is not (*sthânivat*) in regard to the substitu-

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tion of य् for इ, न the cause of the substitution of Guna for इ; in नृ–पति+ण्य=नार्–पति+ण्य, ष् is the cause of the substitution of Visarjaniya for र्, ण्य the cause of the substitution of Vriddhi for ऋ. All these causes are शब्दरूपाणि निमित्तानि; none of the four substitutions is) caused by the meaning. Cf. P. निमित्तमेवेति । सप्तम्यन्तोपात्तप्रयोगस्थशब्दरूपमेव निमित्तमित्यर्थः ॥.

1. The Vârttikakâra on P. I., 1, 56 (Ed. Ballantyne pag. 636 gives the Vârttika त्रयादेशे खन्तप्रतिषेधः; the Bhâshyakâra, on the other hand, says that तिसृ is substituted परत्वात्, and that, when तिसृ has once been substituted, the rule which teaches the substitution of त्रय does by Par. XL. not apply again. (See Par. XL).

tion of तय (for त्रि taught by P. VII., 1, 53)' and (the remarks of the author of) the Bhâshya (concerning that Vârttika) etc. founded on reason (which they would not be, were the substitution of तिसृ in the Gen. Fem. superseded by that of त्रि).

This (circumstance that the word अङ्ग in the present Paribhâshâ denotes only a *formal cause*) proves the incorrectness of the assertion that in (the formation of) गौभेर,[1] पचेन् etc. the elision, (by P. VI., 1, 66, of the semivowel य् of गौभेय्+र, पचेय्+न् etc.) ought (by the present Paribhâshâ) not to take place because (the substitution, by P. VII., 1, 2 etc., of) एय् etc. (for the initial consonant of the affix द्क् etc.) would be *bahiranga* because of its dependence on (द्क् etc. as preceded by something) termed Anga, and would therefore be regarded as not having taken effect (when P. VI., 1, 66 would be applicable; for the

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1. *a.* P. IV., 1, 129 गौभ्या+द्क्; P. VII., 1, 2 गौभ्+एय्+र; P. VI., 1, 66 गौभेर. Some maintain here that the substitution of एय् for द् is *bahiranga*, because it depends on the circumstance that द्क् is preceded by an Anga; if it were really *bahiranga*, P. VI., 1, 66 would not take effect, because एय् would, so far as P. VI., 1, 66 were concerned, not exist. Really however the substitution of एय् for द् is not *bahiranga*; on the contrary, it is *antaranga* because it is not caused by something following, and the elision of य् is *bahiranga*, because it is caused by the following र्.

गौभ्+द्+र=
गौभ्+एय्+र

एय् for द्; *antaranga.*

Elision of य् before र्; *bahiranga.*

b. पच+न्; P. III., 4, 103 पच+यास्+न्; P. VII., 2, 79 पच+या+न्; P. VII., 2, 80 पच+इय्+न्; P. VI., 1, 66 पच+इन्=पचेन्. Here likewise it is

'dependence on दृक् etc. as preceded by something termed Anga' cannot be called a *formal cause*). Moreover (that assertion is proved to be incorrect) by the fact that (on the contrary) the substitutes एय् etc. are *antaranga* because they are not caused by something following.

Now one might raise the following objection[1]: 'In the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72 it has been stated, that whereas it is desirable that in (the formation of) स्योन[2] (from सि ऊ न the substitution of) य् (for इ tanght in P. VI., 1, 77) should, on account of its being *antaranga*, supersede (the substitution of) Guṇa (for इ taught in P. VII., 3, 86), such a result would not be attained if P. I., 1, 72 were to apply also in rules like P. VI., 1, 77; for

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maintained that the substitution of इय् for या is *bahiranga*, because it depends on the circumstance that या is preceded by an Anga which ends with अ. In reality the case stands thus:

पच+या+त्

पच+इय्+त्

इय् for या; *antaranga.* Elision of य् before त्; *bahiranga.*

1. The objection which is raised is this: 'In the preceding it has been stated that the word अङ्ग in अन्तरङ्ग and बहिरङ्ग denotes *only* a formal cause; this cannot be correct for Kaiyaṭa enumerates the dependence on technical terms among the causes which, according to him, make an operation *bahiranga*. Moreover, Kaiyaṭa considers the words *antaranga* and *bahiranga* as synonymous with *alpâpeksha* and *bahvapeksha*.'

2. In सि ऊ न, य् for इ is *antaranga*, and Guna for इ *bahiranga* (see note 2 on pag. 222.) If P. I., 1, 72 did apply in P. VI., 1, 77, the latter rule, when applied to सि ऊ न, would teach us that य् should be substituted for the final of that which ends with इ (*i. e.* of सि) before that which begins with ऊ (*i. e.* before ऊन); in other words, the substitution of य्

(in this case) the substitution of यु् (for इ्) would depend on the combination of letters ऊन, (the substitution of) Guṇa (for इ्) on the combination of letters न, and such being the case, (the substitution of) Guṇa would (contrary to what is desirable), because of its being *antaranga*, (supersede the substitution of यु्). Kaiyaṭa (commenting) hereon (says): "When the Uṇâdi-affix न, because (Uṇâdi-affixes are added) diversely, is added to सिव्, (three operations) apply (simultaneously, *viz.* the substitution of) Guṇa (for इ taught in *P.* VII., 3, 86), the elision of व् (taught in P. VI., 1, 66, and the substitution of) ऊ (for व् taught in P. VI., 4, 19); such being the case, (the substitution of) ऊ supersedes the elision of व् because (P. VI., 4, 19 is) an *Apavâda* (of P. VI., 1, 66), and it supersedes further (also the substitution of) Guṇa, because it is *antaranga*. For (the substitution of) Guṇa (for इ) depends on (there being) an *ârdhadhâtuka* affix and a penultimate which is prosodially short, is one of the vowels contained in the Pratyâhâra इक्, and forms part of an Anga; (the substitution of) ऊ, on the other hand, depends on (there being) an Anga which ends with the letter

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for इ would be caused by ऊन. As then the cause of the substitution of Guṇa (*i. e.* न) would lie within the cause (ऊन) of the substitution of यु्, Guṇa would be *antaranga*, and यु् *bahiranga*.

Kaiyaṭa, in order to show how सि ऊ न, from which the author of the Bhâshya starts, is obtained, tries to prove that in सिव्+न the substitution of ऊ for व् is *antaranga*, and that of Guṇa for इ *bahiranga*, and that accordingly the substitution of ऊ for व् by the present Paribhâshâ takes place in preference to the substitution of Guṇa for इ. In this Kaiyaṭa is wrong; the substitution of ऊ takes place in preference to that of Guṇa, not because the former is *antaranga*, and the latter *bahiranga*, but because the former is *nitya*, while the substitution of Guṇa for इ is *anitya*. (See note 1 on pag. 218).

ई, and an affix beginning with a nasal, and it is therefore *antaranga* because depending on fewer[1] (causes than the substitution of Guṇa). After that (substitution of ङ) has taken effect, (the substitution of) य् and (that of) Guṇa apply (simultaneously in सि ङ न)." Here then it has been clearly stated (by Kaiyaṭa not merely) that (dependence on a greater number of causes but) also that dependence on technical terms (like Anga etc.) makes (an operation) *bahiranga*.'

But this is incorrect; for (if Kaiyaṭa's view were admissible, the substitution of) Guṇa (for इ in सि ङ न) would, also in case P. I., 1, 72 were to apply (in P. VI., I, 77 etc.), be dependent on a greater number of things (than the substitution of य्)[2] or, in other words, be *bahiranga*, and therefore, as (the author of) the Bhâshya does, to find fault on that (alternative) would be absurd. Moreover, one cannot by any rule of language derive the meanings 'dependent on a greater number (of causes)' and 'dependent on a smaller number (of causes)' from the words *bahiranga* and *antaranga*. Had these (words) really been (intended to convey those meanings, the author of the Paribhâshâs) would certainly have said असिद्धं बह्वपेक्षमल्पापेक्षे (instead of saying असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे). On this account[3] has स्थान in the Bhâshya

1. Kaiyaṭa enumerates the dependence on technical terms among the causes which make an operation *antaranga* or *bahiranga*; for the substitution of Guṇa he adduces five causes, for that of ङ four, and he then maintains that the substitution of ङ is *antaranga* because it depends on fewer causes than the substitution of Guṇa.

2. The substitution of Guṇa would also in that case have five causes, and the substitution of य् for इ only two, *viz.* इगन्त and अजादि.

3. *Viz.*, because the words अन्तरङ्ग and बहिरङ्ग are not equivalent to अल्पापेक्ष and बह्वपेक्ष, and because dependence on technical terms does not make an operation *bahiranga*.

on P. I., 4, 2 (been adduced) to illustrate the statement that the substitution of यू, on account of its being *antaranga*, supersedes (the substitution of) Guṇa, but it has not been stated that (the substitution of) ऊ, on account of its being *antaranga*, supersedes (the substitution of) Guṇa. According to your (*i. e.* Kaiyaṭa's) theory this also should have been stated; or rather, this alone should have been stated because (the question as to the relative force of Guṇa and ऊ arises) earlier (than the question about the relative force of Guṇa and यू). In my (opinion), on the contrary, this has not been stated because it is impossible to prevent the (substitution of Guṇa for इ in preference to that of ऊ for वू) by means of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ.[1] Moreover, according to the real and final opinion (of the author of the Bhâshya, the substitution of) ऊ (for वू in सिच्+न takes effect) before (that of Guṇa for इ) because it is *nitya*, whereas (the substitution of) Guṇa is *anitya* because, after (the substitution of) ऊ, it would (in सि ऊ न) be superseded by (the substitution of) यू (for इ).[2] And, (to wind up), the statement of the Bhâshya (quoted above) that 'the substitution of यू (for इ) would depend on the combination of letters ऊन etc.' expresses clearly the view that the word अङ्ग in the Paribhâshâ only denotes a formal cause (such as a letter or a combination of letters) exhibited (in a rule) in a Locative or other case. When Kaiyaṭa (on P. I., 1, 72)[3] says that, in case P. I., 1, 72

1. *Viz.*, because both the substitution of Guṇa for इ and that of ऊ for वू have one and the same cause न, and because dependence on technical terms does not make an operation *bahiranga*.

2. See Par. XLVIII.

3. Cf. Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 72, Ed. Ballantyne pag. 778: यदि चेक्रौ यण्-चौत्यत्र तदन्ततदादिविधौ स्यातां तदा यणादेशस्थान्तरङ्गत्वाभावात्परत्वाद्गुणादेशः स्यात् ॥

were to apply (also in P. VI., 1, 77, the substitution of) Guṇa (would take place in preference to that of य्) because it is (taught in a) subsequent (rule), this remark should be regarded with suspicion, because it is at variance with (the statement of) the Bhâshya (quoted above) that 'the substitution of य् (for इ) would depend on the combination of letters ऊन etc.' (and that the substitution of Guṇa would consequently be *antaranga*).

To[1] say that the Antaranga-paribhâshâ does not apply[2] when (व् or य्) may have to be elided by P. VI., 1, 66, is improper (because the author of the Bhâshya has applied the Paribhâshâ in a case of that description). For in the Bhâshya[3] on that very rule (P. VI., 1, 66, first) the question is raised whether the elision (of व् or य् taught by P. VI., 1, 66) would not, beyond (its proper sphere) apply

1. Some have answered the assertion 'that in the formation of गौर्ये etc. the elision of य् of गौर्ये+र which is taught in P. VI., 1, 66 ought by the present Paribhâshâ not to take place' (see above pag. 225) by saying, that the Antaranga-paribhâshâ is not applied when व् or य् have to be elided by P. VI., 1, 66; and somebody else has maintained that Kaiyaṭa (see above pag. 227) for this very reason ought not to have applied the Paribhâshâ in the case of सिव्+न. These views are refuted in the following.

2. *Viz.* because it is not universally valid. See below.

3. Cf. Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 66:

अतिप्रसङ्गो व्रश्चादिषु | व्रश्चादिषु चातिप्रसङ्गो भवति | इहापि प्राप्नोति | व्रश्चनः व्रीहयः व्रण इति | उपदेशसामर्थ्यात्सिद्धम् | उपदेशसामर्थ्याद्व्रश्चादिषु लोपो न भविष्यति | उपदेशसामर्थ्यादिति चेत्संप्रसारणहलादिशेषेषु सामर्थ्यम् | उपदेशसामर्थ्यात्सिद्धमिति चेदस्यन्यदुपदेशवचने प्रयोजनं संप्रसारणहलादिशेषेषु वकारस्य श्रवणं यथा स्यात् | वृक्णः वृक्णवान् वृक्षति विव्रक्षिषतीति | न वा बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वात् | न चैतत्प्रयोजनमस्ति | किं कारणम् | बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वात् | बहिरङ्गाः संप्रसारणहलादिशेषाः | अन्तरङ्गो लोपः | असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ||

Kaiyaṭa: अन्तरङ्गो लोप इति | तनश्चाकृतयोरेव संप्रसारणहलादिशेषयोर्वलोपः प्राप्त उपदेशसामर्थ्यान्न भवति ||

to (the initial ऱ् of) व्रश्च् etc.; subsequently this is denied, on the ground that (व्रश्च् etc. in the Dhâtupâṭha etc.) have been put down (with an initial ऱ्, which would be absurd if ऱ् were always elided by P. VI., I, 66). Nor, it is said, would (their enumeration in the Dhâtupâṭha *with* an initial ऱ्) have any sense in the case of forms like वृश्चति (where, as ऱ् is not followed by one of the letters contained in the Pratyâhâra यञ्, one might think P. VI., 1, 66 would not apply), for (even here) the elision of ऱ् would apply *before* (the substitution of) Samprasâraṇa (for र) because the latter is *bahiranga* and therefore (regarded as) not existing (so far as regards P. VI., 1, 66.)[1]

The statement (recorded by Kaiyaṭa[2] on P. VIII., 2, 2) that the rule P. IV., 1, 10 prevents (the addition of the feminine affix टाप् of P. IV., 1, 4) to पञ्च (in such expressions as पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः), because the elision of the न् (of पञ्चन् taught in P. VIII., 2, 7 is (by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ) regarded as not having taken effect so far as (the application to पञ्च of) the technical term

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1. In the formation of वृश्चति, from व्रश्च्+अ+ति, the elision of ऱ् is *antaranga* because it is caused by र, the substitution of Samprasâraṇa for र *bahiranga*, because it is caused by the Vikaraṇa अ (P. VI., 1, 16); accordingly ऱ् would have to be elided but for the fact that व्रश्च् in the Dhâtupâṭha has been put down with an initial ऱ्.

2. Cf. Kaiyaṭa on P. VIII., 2, 2: केचित्तु पञ्च ब्राह्मण्य इत्यादौ न षट्स्वस्रादिभ्यः [४.१.१०] इति टाप्प्रतिषेधाय षट्संज्ञायां नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वमुच्यत इत्याहुः। तत्र नान्तत्वात्पूर्वं ङीप्प्राप्तौ निषिध्यते। ततो जसौ लुकि नलोपे चाकारान्तत्वाट्टाप्प्राप्तः। सोऽपि निषिध्यते स्त्रियां यदुक्तं तत्षट्स्वस्रादिभ्यो न भवतीति सामान्येन निषेधविधानात्॥ अन्ये त्वाहुः। स्त्रीसमानाधिकरणपक्षः स्त्रीसूत्रे नाश्रितोऽपि तु प्रकृत्यर्थविशेषणपक्षः प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणपक्षो वेति पञ्चादीनामलिङ्गत्वात्स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य प्राप्तिर्नास्तीति नार्थः स्त्रीनिषेधेन॥ अथापि तत्प्राप्तिः स्यात्तथापि नलोपस्य बहिरङ्गत्वादन्तरङ्गे टाप्यसिद्धत्वान्नास्ति टाप्प्राप्तिः। सत्यामपि टाप्प्राप्तावन्तरङ्गायां षट्संज्ञायां नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वात्सिद्ध एव तन्निषेधः॥

षष् (P. I., 1, 24) is concerned, (and because पञ्चन् accordingly is termed षष् and falls under P. IV., 1, 10,) should be regarded with suspicion. For (to enable us to regard the elision of न् as not having taken effect), it is necessary to assume that it is *bahiranga* on account of its dependence on (the circumstance that) the technical denomination *Pada* (attaches to पञ्चन्); and (to assume) this is impossible because (dependence on) technical terms cannot be admitted to make (an operation) *bahiranga*. It[1] should however be understood that (P. IV., 1, 10) does prevent (the addition of टाप्) to पञ्च, because the statement 'whatever (affix) applies in the feminine, is not (added to a numeral termed षष्', does not only refer to a numeral which, because it actually ends with न्, is actually termed षष्, but) refers according to the explanation (of the learned) likewise to that which (because it once ended with न्) was formerly termed षष् (as is the case with पञ्च).

(Because then dependence on technical terms does not make an operation *bahiranga*), therefore the statement (in P. VIII., 2, 2, 'that the elision of न् shall be as if it had not taken effect) so far as regards the addition (taught in P. VI., 1, 71) of the augment तुक् before a Kṛit-affix (distinguished by the indicatory letter प्') serves a purpose.[2] For the elision (by P. VIII., 2, 7)

1. Now one might say that, if Kaiyaṭa is wrong, टाप् ought to be added to पञ्च; for as the term संज्ञा in P. VIII., 2, 2 is considered superfluous in the Bhâshya, the elision of the न् of पञ्चन् cannot by P. VIII., 2, 2 be regarded as *asiddha* in regard to the application to पञ्च of the term षष्. To refute this Nâgojîbhaṭṭa adds: 'It should however' etc.

2. If dependence on technical terms did make an operation *bahiranga*, in the formation of *e. g.* वृत्रहभ्याम् (from वृत्र–हन्+क्विप्+भ्याम्) the addition of the augment तुक् would be *antaranga* as caused by क्विप्,

of the न् (*e. g.* of वृत्रहन्) in वृत्रहभ्याम् etc. is not *bahiranga* although it is caused by the fact that (वृत्रहन्) is a *Pada*. (Nor is it possible to say that the termination भ्याम् makes the elision of न् *bahiranga*), because, although भ्याम् (according to P. I., 4, 17) is the cause why the technical denomination *Pada* (attaches to वृत्रहन्), still the elision of न् is not caused (directly) by भ्याम्; on the other hand, there is no authority for the assumption that (the elision of न्) is *bahiranga* because it is indirectly caused (by भ्याम्). This[1] is suggested in the Bhâshya on P.

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and the elision of न् *bahiranga* because caused by the circumstance that वृत्रहन् is termed a *Pada*. The elision of न् would then already by the present Paribhâshâ be *asiddha* as regards the addition of तुक्, and कृति तुक् in P. VIII., 2, 2 would be superfluous.—See Par. LI.

1. P: Now one might say that, if परंपरया निमित्तत्व is nowhere forbidden, one may assume it; that the कृति तुक् of P. VIII., 2, 2 is rejected in the Bhâshya; and that sometimes the assumption of परंपरया निमित्तत्व is necessary. Nâgojibhatta adds therefore: 'this is suggested etc.' For in the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 2 the expression तुक् of that rule has been rejected by means of Par. LXXXV. (quoted in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 39), but not (as *is* done by Kaiyata) by means of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ. Therefore, even if dependence on technical terms be admitted to make an operation *bahiranga*, it has at any rate not been admitted in the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 2.—Cf. note 1 on pag. 237.

See Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 2: तुग्विधौ किमुदाहरणम्। वृत्रहभ्यां वृत्रहभिः। नश्चोः कृते ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुगिति तुक् प्राप्नोति। असिद्धत्वान्न प्राप्नोति। तुग्विधौ चोक्तम्। किमुक्तम्। संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य। इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम्। कृतीति वक्ष्यामि। इह मा भूत्। ब्रह्महच्छत्वं भ्रूणहच्छाया। न ह्येष संनिपातलक्षणो नलोपः॥

Kaiyata: तुग्विधौ चोक्तमिति। द्वयमत्रास्ति संनिपातलक्षणत्वं बहिरङ्गलक्षणं च। विभक्तिविभिन्नो हि नलोपः क्विप्रभिन्नस्तुक्। संनिपातपरिभाषायास्तुगभावः प्रयोजनत्वेनोक्त इति भाष्यकारस्तयैव व्याचष्टे संनिपातेति॥ इदं तर्हीति। नियमार्थमिदं कृल्लक्षण एव तु-

VIII., 2, 2 and has in the same place been considered in the Bhâshyapradîpoddyota.

The meaning (of the whole Paribhâshâ) is this, that when an *antaranga* (rule or operation) is about to take effect, a *bahiranga* (rule or operation) which (already) has taken effect, and likewise (a *bahiranga* rule or operation) which applies simultaneously (with the *antaranga* rule or operation), is (regarded as) not having taken effect or (as) not existing. One ought to remember that in (the case of) वृश्चति etc. (where the Paribhâshâ has been applied by Patanjali, it can) only (be applied) when both (the *antaranga* elision of व् and the *bahiranga* substitution of Samprasâraṇa for र apply) simultaneously, (and that such is the case only) on the alternative (that the various elements) of which a word (like वृश्चति) is made up (*viz.* व्रश्च्+अ+ति, are all placed side by side before the rules of Pâṇini's grammar are applied to them).[1] The (fact that a *bahiranga* rule or operation which applies simultaneously with an *antaranga* rule or operation, is likewise by this Paribhâshâ *asiddha* so for as regards the latter), renders the assertion futile that there exists another Paribhâshâ (which teaches that) 'an *antaranga* (rule or operation) possesses greater force than a *bahiranga* (rule or operation.'[2] That assertion is) moreover (disproved) by the

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ग्मा भूच्छलक्षणस्तु यथा स्यादित्यर्थः ॥ इह मा भूदिति । तुगभावः ॥ न द्वेष इति । पदत्वमात्रनिबन्धनत्वान्नात्र बहिरङ्गो नलोपः ॥

1. If it were otherwise, the Paribhâshâ would not be applicable in the formation of वृश्चति etc., because the elision of व् would apply *before* the substitution of Samprasâraṇa; it would apply already in व्रश्च् before the addition of the terminations, and the question as to the relative force of the elision of व् and the substitution of Samprasâraṇa would not arise at all.

2. *Viz.*, because the meaning of this supposed Paribhâshâ is contained in the Antaranga-paribhâshâ.

fact that in the Bhâshya[1] on P. I., 4, 2 the Paribhâshâ असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे (alone) has been adopted, and that by means of it that(other supposed Paribhâshâ) has been rejected.—It is characteristic of the present (Paribhâshâ, that it is applicable) wherever a rule may be *antaranga*.

This[2] (Paribhâshâ) has no concern (with the rules) in the three last chapters (of Pâṇini's grammar) because those rules are *asiddha* (in regard to that which precedes them in Pâṇini's grammar); and that this (Paribhâshâ) has its place among (the rules contained in) the first seven lectures and the first chapter (of the 8th lecture, or in other words, that it precedes the rules contained in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's work) results from the circumstance that its (existence) is indicated by the word ऊठ् in the rule P. VI., 4, 132. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, that (term ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132) would clearly be superfluous; (to[3] account) for the formation of

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1. See Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 2; there first the Vârttika अन्तरङ्गं च । अन्तरङ्गं च बलीयो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । is given; afterwards the Paribhâshâ असिद्धं बहिरङ्गलक्षणमन्तरङ्गलक्षणे. Then the author of the Bhâshya goes on: उभे तर्हि परिभाषे कर्तव्ये । नेत्याह । अनयैव सिद्धम् । इहापि स्योनः स्योनेत्यसिद्धत्वाद्बहिरङ्गलक्षणस्य गुणस्यान्तरङ्गो यणादेशो भविष्यति ॥

2. The existence of this Paribhâshâ is indicated by the word ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132 and accordingly the Paribhâshâ itself takes its position near that rule. When then an *antaranga* rule occurs in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar, it is by P. VIII., 2, 1 *asiddha* in regard to the Antaranga-paribhâshâ; in other words, the *antaranga* rule does, so far as regards the Paribhâshâ, not exist at all, and the Paribhâshâ can therefore have no concern with it. Nor can the Antaranga-paribhâshâ have any concern with a *bahiranga* rule contained in the last three chapters of Pâṇini, because such a rule would already by P. VIII., 2, 1 be *asiddha* in regard to any rule that precedes it.

3. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132 would be

विश्वौहः (from विश्व–वाह्+अस्) etc., it would suffice to enjoin (the substitution of) Samprasâraṇa (for the व् of वाह्), for (after the substitution by P. VI., 1, 108 of the Samprasâraṇa उ for उ+आ, *i. e.* after the change of वाह् to उह्) the Guṇa (vowel ओ would be substituted) for the prosodially short penultimate (उ by P. VII., 3, 86), and afterwards the Vṛiddhi (vowel औ for अ+ओ) by P. VI., 1, 88; whereas,[1] as soon as the present (Paribhâshâ) is (adopted), Guṇa cannot be (substituted) for the prosodially short penultimate (उ), because (the substitution of the) Sam-

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superfluous, because we should be able to form विश्वौहः etc. thus:

विश्व-वाह्+ण्वि+अस् would by P. VI., 4, 132 वाहः (without ऊठ्), where संप्रसारणम् would be valid from P. VI., 4, 131, become

विश्व-उ आह्+भः; this by P. VI., 1, 108

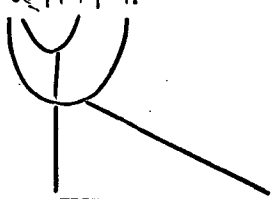
विश्व-उह्+अः; this by P. VII., 3, 86 (the affix ण्वि, which has disappeared, being nevertheless still effective by P. I., 1, 62)—

विश्व-ओह्+भः; and this by P. VI., 1, 88

विश्वौह्+भः = विश्वौहः.

1. As soon as the Paribhâshâ is adopted, ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132 becomes absolutely necessary because we are no longer able to form विश्वौहः etc. without it. Without ऊठ्, the case would stand thus:

विश्व - वाह्+ण्वि + अः =
विश्व - उह्+ण्वि + अः



Guna for उ by P. VII., 3, 86; Samprasârana for व् by P. VI., 4, 132 (वाहः);

antaranga. *bahiranga.*

prasâraṇa (उ for वा), being *bahiranga*[1] (in regard to the substitution of Guṇa), is (by this Paribhâshâ regarded as) not having taken place.[2]

And one cannot object that in the rule P. VII., 3, 86 the cause (सार्वधातुकार्धधातुक of the substitution of Guṇa for the prosodially short penultimate) qualifies इक्, (in other words, that P. VII., 3, 86 has to be explained सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकप्रत्ययपराया इग्रूपाया उपधाया गुणः), this being the reason why in भिनत्ति etc. (where इ is not followed immediately by the affix ति) Guṇa has not been (substituted for इ); and that, such being the case, the Antaranga-paribhâshâ can have no possible concern (with विश्व-उह्+अः), because (its application in this instance) would be forbidden

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I. e. The substitution of Guṇa for उ, being caused by ण्वि, would be *antaranga*, that of Samprasâraṇa for व्, being caused by अः, *bahiranga*; the latter would be *asiddha* in regard to the former, *i. e.* उ would still have to be regarded as वा, and P. VIII., 3, 86 would not take effect. We should then be unable to form विश्व+ओह्+अः, and should not arrive at विश्वौहः. Therefore Pâṇini is obliged to teach in VI., 4, 132: वाह ऊठ्; according to that rule we form विश्व+ऊह्+अः, and by P. VI., 1, 89 विश्वौहः.

1. The substitution of Samprasâraṇa for व् is caused by the fact that विश्ववाह् is termed *Bha*, and विश्ववाह् is termed *Bha* because it is followed by अः (P. I. 4, 18.)

P. Here then we have to assume on the authority of the Bhâshya, where ऊठ् is made the Jnâpaka of this Paribhâshâ, परंपरया निमित्तत्व. See above pag. 233.

2. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 132: वाह ऊड्वचनमनर्थकं संप्रसारणेन कृतत्वात् । संप्रसारणेनैव सिद्धम् । का रूपसिद्धिः । प्रष्ठौहः पश्य । गुणः प्रत्ययलक्षणत्वात् । प्रत्ययलक्षणेन गुणो भविष्यति । एङ्ग्रहणाद्वृद्धिः । एङ्ग्रहणाद्वृद्धिर्भविष्यति । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यद्वाह ऊठं शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषासिद्धं बहिरङ्गलक्षणमन्तरङ्गलक्षण इति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । पचावेदम् पचामेदम् । असिद्धत्वाद्बहिरङ्गलक्षणस्याद्गुणस्यान्तरङ्गलक्षणमैत्वं न भवतीति ॥

by Par. LI.[1] (This objection is futile), because an affix (such as सार्वधातुकार्धधातुक) postulates as its complement that portion (of the word which is called) 'the base' and can accordingly qualify nothing but that (base).[2] Nor does (this our statement) entail any incorrectness in the case of भिनत्ति etc. because we take, in accordance with the Bhâshya[3] on P. I., 1, 3 (the term लघूपध in P. VII., 3, 86, not as a Bahuvrîhi-compound qualifying अङ्ग, but) as a Karmadhâraya-compound, and explain (P. VII., 3, 86) accordingly, to mean, that 'Guṇa (is substituted) for (a vowel contained in the Pratyâhâra) इक् when it is the prosodially short penultimate of a base which is followed by an affix.'

(Nor can one object that ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132 is absolutely necessary for the formation of such forms as प्रौहः from प्रवाह् where P. VI., 1, 94 would forbid the substitution of Vṛiddhi for the vowels अ+ओ of प्र+ओहः, and likewise for the formation of such forms as वार्यूहा from वारिवाह् where, in the absence of ऊठ्,

1. Which teaches, 'that an operation (such as the substitution of Samprasâraṇa) which has taken effect, cannot be regarded as *bahiranga*, when an *antaranga* operation (such as the substitution of Guṇa) which depends on the immediate sequence of a vowel (such as इक्) and something else (such as a sârvadhâtuka or ârdhadhâtuka affix), is to take effect.'

2. P. VII., 3, 86 must therefore be explained सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकपराङ्गावयवस्येको गुणः, which explanation shows that the substitution of Guṇa does not depend on the immediate sequence of the short penultimate इक् and the affix; consequently the application of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ in the case of विश्व-उह्+अः cannot be prevented by Par. LI.

3. See Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 3; Ed. Ballantyne pag. 270: पुगन्तलघूपधस्येति नैवं विज्ञायते पुगन्तस्याङ्गस्य लघूपधस्य चेति । कथं तर्हि । पुक्यन्तः पुगन्तः । लघुपधा लघूपधा । पुगन्तश्च लघूपधा च पुगन्तलघूपधम् । पुगन्तलघूपधस्येति । अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम् । अङ्गविशेषणे सतीह प्रसज्येत भिनत्ति छिनत्तीति ॥

we should form वार्योहा,[1] and that ऊह् therefore cannot be said to indicate the existence of this Paribhâshâ, *viz.* because it would not be superfluous even if the Paribhâshâ did not exist. Such an objection would likewise be futile, for) neither is (the affix) ण्वि added to वह् nor (the affix) क्विच् to वाह्[2] (to form the second member of a compound) the first member of which is a preposition ending with the letter अ or a word that does not end with the letter अ, because (the nouns which would be formed by means of those affixes) are not used, (and because प्रवाह्, परिवाह् etc. consequently do not exist). वार्यूहा etc. however should be taken (to have been formed) by the addition of (the affix) क्विप् to (the root) ऊह्; nor does the meaning speak against (this derivation) because roots have various meanings (and because ऊह् therefore may be taken here in the sense of 'to carry'.)[3] Forms like प्रौहः are altogether incorrect because no (rule that teaches the substitution of) Vriddhi applies (to the vowels अ+ऊ of प्र +ऊहः; for) not even (the Vârttika) 3 on P. VI., 1, 89 applies (in this instance) because ऊह (consisting as it does of the base ऊह् and of the portion अ of the termination अम्) is here void of meaning (whereas ऊह in the said Vârt-

1. See note on pag. 236. The objection is this that in the absence of ऊठ् we should form प्रौहः and वार्योहा instead of प्रौहः and वार्यूहा; *viz.* thus:

प्र+वाहः; by P. VI., 4, 132 (वाहः) and VI., 1, 108 प्र+ऊहः; P. VII., 3, 86 प्र+ओहः; P. VI., 1, 94 प्रौहः.

वारि+वाहा; वारि+ऊहा; वारि+ओहा=वार्योहा.

2. *Viz.* just because the author of the Bhâshya regards the word ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132 as the Jnâpaka of this Paribhâshâ.

3. See Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 132: अनकारान्ते चोपपदे छन्दसि ण्विर्न दृश्यत इति शात्यूह इत्यादिसिद्ध्यर्थमप्यूठ्विधानं नोपपद्यते। सत्यपि वा प्रयोगे वह्यर्थे वर्तमानस्यौहतेः क्विपि शात्यूह इत्यादि भविष्यति। उपसर्गेऽप्युपपदे वहेर्ण्विश्छन्दसि नास्ति यतो वृद्धेर्बाधकं परत्वं प्रसज्येतेत्यूठ्विधानं सार्थकं स्यात्॥

tika by Par. XIV. only denotes such a combination of letters as is possessed of a meaning.)

(Above it has been stated that this Paribhâshâ has no concern with the rules in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar, in other words, that a *bahiranga* operation taught in a preceding rule cannot by this Paribhâshâ be rendered *asiddha* in regard to an *antaranga* operation which is taught in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's work). Now one cannot object that (although on the Yathoddes'apaksha the above statement may be correct) it is impossible to show why on the Kâryakâlapaksha[1] (at any rate) the Paribhâshâ should have no concern (with the rules) in the three last chapters (of Pâṇini's grammar); for (to show this is easy enough). As a subsequent (rule) is (by P. VIII., 2, 1) *asiddha* in regard to a preceding (rule), the (subsequent) *antaranga* (rule) ceases to exist (by P. VIII., 2, 1); consequently the preceding (rule) cannot be *bahiranga* in regard to it, and can therefore also not be made out to be *asiddha* by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ. Nor can one maintain that, because the preceding (*bahiranga* rule) is *asiddha* by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ, the subsequent (rule) cannot be said to be *asiddha* in regard to it by P. VIII., 2, 1, *viz.* because the preceding rule would have ceased to exist (by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ). For (as) in this manner[2] (P. VIII., 2, 1 would prevent the working of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ, and the Antaranga-paribhâshâ in its turn prevent the working of P. VIII., 2, 1,) it would, in the absence of any decisive authority (in favour of

1. *Viz.* where the Antaranga-paribhâshâ would be placed near the *antaranga* rule and where the latter would consequently not be *asiddha* in regard to that Paribhâshâ. See above pag. 26.

2. एवं हि *i. e.* द्वाभ्यां सिद्धः प्रवृत्तिप्रतिबन्धे क्रियमाणे हि. P.

either[1], come to pass that neither of the two would be applicable. Moreover as (the rule) पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् is actually enounced (by Pâṇini), whereas the existence of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ is (only) inferred (from the word ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132), it is only proper that पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् should supersede this (Paribhâshâ). Therefore[1] this (Paribhâshâ) is certainly also on the Kâryakâlapaksha not placed near (any of the rules contained) in the three last chapters (of Pâṇini's grammar.)

On this account[2] has the author of the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 3, 15, after having begun (the discussion) by adopting the Kâryakâlapaksha,[3] and after having subsequently dwelt on the above considerations, [4] wound up, when stating the real and final view of the matter, by saying that on account of those (considerations the Vârttika विसर्जनीयोऽनुत्तरपदे) cannot be shown to be unnecessary by the assumption that (the Vṛiddhi आर् of नार्त्य etc.) is *bahiranga* (and therefore *asiddha* in regard to the substitution of the Visarjanîya taught in P. VIII., 3, 15). He means to say that one cannot, as had been proposed, reject (a

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1. अतः *i. e.* हेतुद्वयात्. P.

2. In the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 3, 15 the Vârttika विसर्जनीयोऽनुत्तरपदे is given to prevent the substitution of Visarjanîya for र् in forms like नार्त्य; subsequently we read न वा बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वात् 'or that Vârttika विसर्जनीयोऽनुत्तरपदे need not be given, because (the आर् in नार्त्य) is *bahiranga* (and therefore by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ *asiddha* in regard to the substitution of Visarjanîya taught in P. VIII., 3, 15).' See note on pag. 223. Finally the whole discussion is wound up in the words अतोऽयुक्तः परिहारो न वा बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वात्.

3. Which shows that the final statement अतोऽयुक्तः परिहारः etc. likewise refers to the Kâryakâlapaksha.

4. पूर्वं प्रति परस्यासि ०....एवं हि...किंच..एवौचितः.

Vârttika by having recourse to the Antaranga-paribhâshâ),[1] in case the *antaranga* operation which is to take effect is taught in the three last chapters (of Pâṇini's grammar); and he wishes to intimate that, on the contrary, (in all such cases) some special statement (such as विसर्जनीयोऽनुत्तरपदे on P. VIII., 3, 15) must necessarily be made.—Therefore (in order to show why the optional substitution of ऌ which is taught in P. VIII., 2, 21 has taken place also) in (the Pass. of the causal of गॄ) निगाल्यते निगार्यते, (notwithstanding that the vowel इ of the causal base गारि has disappeared by P. VI., 4, 51), a special statement has actually been made (in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 58, *viz.*) this[2] 'that (the Vârttika पूर्वत्रासिद्धे च न स्थानिवत्) is incorrect, because (against that Vârttika) ऌ (has by P. VIII., 2, 21 been substituted optionally in निगाल्यते, निगार्यते.' Did the Antaranga-paribhâshâ) on the other hand (concern also such *antaranga* operations as are taught in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar, then) that (statement) would clearly be superfluous, for (in that case) the optional (substitution of) ऌ (taught in P. VIII., 2, 21) would, because it would be *antaranga*,[3] take place (in गारि) before the elision of the causal इ (by P. VI., 4, 51).

(The views of) those[4] who, to suit the actual forms (of the

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1. न युक्तः *i. e.* संयोगान्तस्य [८.२.२३] रदाभ्याम् [८.२.४२] इत्यादौ यलय-लोकः स सर्वो न युक्तः. P.

2. See Mahâbhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne, pag. 681 पूर्वत्रासिद्धे च। पूर्वत्रासि-द्धे च न स्थानिवदिति वक्तव्यम्॥.... pag. 682. तस्य दोषः संयोगादिलोपलत्वणत्वेषु॥ ....लत्वम्। निगार्यते निगाल्यते। अचि विभाषा [८.२.२१] इति लत्वं न प्राप्नोति॥

3. The optional substitution of ऌ would be *antaranga* because caused by the causal इ, the elision of इ *bahiranga*, (and consequently *asiddha*) because caused by the following य.

4. Kaiyaṭa observes at the end of his commentary on P. VIII., 3, 15:

language which have to be formed or to be accounted for by Pâṇini's rules), maintain that the Antaranga-paribhâshâ, although (its existence is merely) inferred (from the word ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132), supersedes the rule पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् which is distinctly given (by Pâṇini, and who therefore employ that Paribhâshâ also in the case of such *antaranga* operations as are taught in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar), need not be considered by those who are guided solely by (Pâṇini's) rules. This is the point (of view from which we have to look on the whole question).

(Above[1] it was stated that a *bahiranga* rule or operation which applies simultaneously with an *antaranga* rule or operation, is likewise by the present Paribhâshâ *asiddha*). Only because such *is* the case, (is) the word अङ् in P. VI., 1, 95 (necessary and) serves a purpose. For[2] that (आङ्) is meant to

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यदा तु लक्ष्यदर्शनवशाद्बहिरङ्गपरिभाषाश्रीयते यथा चक्रकेऽभिहितो व्यवस्था तदा युक्त एव परिहारो न वा बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वादिति. With reference to this statement of Kaiyaṭa's Nâgojibhaṭṭa remarks: 'The views of those who'..Those who are guided solely by Pâṇini's rules must maintain that the rule VIII. 2, 1 पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् supersedes the Antaranga-paribhâshâ and they cannot therefore employ this Paribhâshâ in the case of *antaranga* rules that may occur in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's work.

1. See pag. 234.

2. In the case of खट्वा+आ-ऊढा two operations apply simultaneously, the substitution of Guṇa ओ for अ+ऊ, and the substitution of आ for आ+आ; the former is *antaranga* because the causes of it, अ+ऊ, present themselves first, *viz.* because अ and ऊढा are combined first, the latter *bahiranga* because its causes present themselves afterwards *i. e.* because खट्वा is combined with आ-ऊढा afterwards. As then in this case the *bahiranga* substitution of आ for आ+आ is by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ *asiddha* in regard to the substitution of Guṇa ओ for अ+ऊ, we first have to

show that (in the case of खट्वा+औढा for खट्वा+आ-ऊढा) the subsequent (vowel औ) takes the place (of the आ of खट्वा and the औ of औढा), while (by P. VI., 1, 88) the Vriddhi vowel (औ) should have been substituted (for आ+औ. This question however, whether औ or ओ should be substituted for आ+ओ, can only arise) when in the case of खट्वा+आ-ऊढा (the substitution by P. VI., 1, 87 of) Guṇa (for आ+ऊ), on account of its being *antaranga*, has superseded (the substitution of) the homogeneous long vowel (आ for the आ of खट्वा and the preposition आ), notwithstanding that the latter is (taught in the) subsequent[1] (rule P. VI., 1, 101), and when (the substitution of) Guṇa (for आ+ऊ) has in consequence actually taken place. The substitution of) Guṇa (for आ+ऊ in खट्वा+आ-ऊढा) is, as appears from the Bhâshya[2] on P. VI., 1, 108, *antaranga*, because after the addition (to the root वह्) of the affix (क्त) which denotes that which causes[3] (the action expressed by the root वह्, in the present

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substitute ओढा for आ+ऊढा, and subsequently, by P. VI, 1, 95, खड्ढौढा for खड्ढा+ओढा. If, on the other hand, the substitution of आ for आ+आ were not *asiddha*, we should be obliged to let it take effect first *i. e.* we should substitute खड्ढा for खड्ढा+आ, and subsequently खड्ढौढा for खड्ढा+ऊढा by P. VI., 1, 87; in this case P. VI., 1, 95, or at any rate the term आङ् in that rule, would be superfluous.

1. परमपि; Râghavendrâchârya: अपवादो यद्यन्यत्र चरितार्थ इति न्यायादिति भावः. See Par. LXV.

2. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 108: किं पुनरिहान्तरङ्गं किं बहिरङ्गं यावता द्वे पदे आश्रित्य सवर्णदीर्घत्वमपि भवत्याद्गुणोऽपि। धातूपसर्गयोर्यत्कार्यं तदन्तरङ्गम्। कुत एतत्। पूर्वं उपसर्गस्य हि धातुना योगो भवति नाद्यशब्देन (*viz.* in अद्य+आ-ऊढा)। किमर्थं तर्ह्यद्यशब्दः प्रयुज्यते। अथाद्यशब्दस्यापि तु समुदायेन योगो भवति॥

3. The affix which is added to a root denotes that which causes or brings about (साधयति) the action expressed by the root; *e. g.* ति in

instance, its object,) first the preposition (आ) is joined to the root, while the word खट्वा is joined with the combined (preposition and root *i. e.* with आ-ऊढा) afterwards.—(Now one might object that, irrespectively of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ, आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95 is necessary, to show that ए has to be substituted for the अ of शिव and the ए of एहि in शिव एहि, when एहि is the imitative name of the Imperat. एहि *i. e.* आ+इहि, which imitative name by Par. XXXVI. has to be regarded as commencing with आ just as the original Imperat. एहि commences with आ).[1] But (this objection would be futile; for P. VI., 1, 95) is not applicable when the imitative name एहि is combined with words like शिव (in शिव एहि etc.), because on the authority of the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 108 according to which (आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95) indicates (that the Antaranga-paribhâshâ concerns also *antaranga* and *bahiranga* operations which apply simultaneously), that (rule VI., 1, 95) does not[2] apply to (forms like the imitative name एहि) which (do not really commence with आ but) are (only) regarded as (commencing) with आ by Par. XXXVI.,

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वहति 'he carries' denotes the agent of the action of carrying; ते in उह्यते 'he is carried' or त in ऊढ 'carried' its object, which likewise may be regarded as one of its causes.

1. Here namely the Antaranga-paribhâshâ would not be applicable because, in the imitative name एहि, ए would not be regarded as the *antaranga* result of the union of the preposition आ with the root इ; (Chitprabhâ: तत्र धातूपसर्गनिमित्तककार्याभावेनान्तरङ्गपरिभाषाया असंचारात्).

2. Also by the maxim अभिव्यक्तपदार्था ये etc. (See note 1 on pag. 94) would the rule P. VI., 1, 95 only apply to the original एहि but not to the imitative name एहि.—See P.: अभिव्यक्तपदार्था य इति न्यायोऽप्यत्र बोध्यः। वस्तुतस्त्वाङ्त्वस्य तत्रैकदेशनिष्ठत्वेऽपि समुदायनिष्ठत्वेन प्रकृत्यधर्मत्वात्पररूपस्याङ्मात्रकार्यत्वाच्चात्रातिदेशस्यैवासंभव इति भाष्यं यथाश्रुतं सम्यगेव। अत एवाभिव्यक्तेति न्यायस्याप्यविषयः फलाभावात्। एवं चेदं प्राचामनुरोधेनेति बोध्यम्॥

(a Paribhâshâ)[1] which (moreover, on the authority of the same Bhâshya), is not (even) invariably valid.

(Above it was stated that in the formation of ओढ the preposition आ is prefixed to the root वह् after the addition to the latter of the affix त). To object, that a root is combined first with a preposition[2] *i. e.* with a word termed 'preposition,' afterwards with that which causes[3] (the action expressed by the root) *i. e.* with an affix which denotes what causes (that action), and to maintain this to be the reason why *e. g.* in अनुभूयते 'it is experienced' the letter ल् (for which ते etc. are substituted) may denote, as it actually does, the object (of the action, *i. e.* why passives like अनुभूयते may be formed), *viz.* because (भू after its combination with the preposition अनु) has become transitive,—is untenable. For as we understand action to be something that is to be accomplished, and as that which is to be accomplished requires (for its accomplishment) something which does accomplish it, we are sure of the actual (existence of an) action only when (the affix which denotes) that (which causes the accomplishment of the action) has been combined (with a root); and it is therefore proper that what is termed 'preposition' (the very existence of) which depends on its being united to (a root

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1. See Par. XXXVI., translation.

2. If a root were combined first with a preposition, we ought first to form आवह्, and subsequently by the addition of the affix त, ओढ. Were we afterwards to combine खट्वा with ओढ, आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95 would be *necessary* to present the substitution of Vriddhi for आ+औ, and would consequently not be *Jnâpaka*.

3. P. साधनशब्दस्य करणमात्रपरत्वभ्रमनिरासाय आह कारेति । तावताप्यर्थसिद्धेराह तदिति । प्रत्ययेनेत्यर्थः ॥ अत एवेति । तयोः पूर्वापरीभावनियमादेवेत्यर्थः । सुखमिति शेषः । आदिनोपास्यते गुरुरित्यादिपरिग्रहः ॥

denoting) an action,[1] should be combined (with the root) not until after the affix (without which the action would not exist) has taken its place. (The author of the Bhâshya[2] on P. VI., 1, 135 rejects therefore the statement which had previously been made, *viz.* 'that a root is first combined with a preposition,' as incorrect, maintaining at the same time 'that a root is combined first with an affix, afterwards with a preposition,' and subsequently, in the words 'for (that which is denoted by) the affix brings about the action,' he shows by the above reasoning that only the latter (of the two views) is tenable.

In the abovementioned (passive forms अनुभूयते etc.) the letter ल् etc. could be added to the root to denote the object, because the root conveys by itself the (transitive) meaning ('to experience'), the meaning, to indicate which is the aim of the preposition (अनु), being inherent (in the root). After (ल् has been added to भू), the preposition which indicates (the presence of that sense in भू) is combined (with the root) in order that the hearer may understand (the special sense in which the speaker wishes the root भू to be taken).[3] When we have then (*e. g.* in

1. भू etc. are termed 'roots' when they denote an action (P. I., 3, 1), and प्र etc. are termed 'prepositions' when they are united to (a root that denotes) an action (P. I., 4, 59).

2. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 135:

किमन्तरङ्गं किं बहिरङ्गमिति । धात्वर्थयोः कार्यं यच्चदन्तरङ्गम् । कुत एतत् । पूर्वं धातूपसर्गेण युज्यते पश्चात्साधनेनेति । नैतत्सारम् । पूर्वं धातुः साधनेन युज्यते पश्चादुपसर्गेण । साधनं हि क्रियां निर्वर्तयति । तामुपसर्गो विशिनष्टि । अभिनिर्वृत्तस्य चार्थस्योपसर्गेण विशेषः शक्यो वक्तुम् । सत्यमेतत् । यस्त्वसौ धात्वर्थयोरभिसंबन्धस्तमभ्यन्तरं कृत्वा धतुः साधनेन युज्यते । अयमिदं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम् । यो हि मन्यते पूर्वं धातुः साधनेन युज्यते पश्चादुपसर्गेणेति तस्यास्यते गुरुणेत्यकर्मक उपास्यते गुरोरिति केन सकर्मकः स्यात् । एवं च कृत्वा मुख्यसंप्रत्योऽन्तरङ्गतरो भवति कालपूर्वग्रहणं चापि शक्यमकर्तुम् ॥

3. First the speaker has in his mind the special meaning of the root

the formation of the Redupl. Perfect of the root कृ preceded by the preposition सम्) proceeded as far as सं कृ ति (where two operations apply, *viz.* the addition to कृ of the augment सुट् taught by P. VI., 1, 137 etc., and the reduplication of कृ taught by P. VI., 1, 8, the addition of the augment) सुट् takes, in accordance with what has just been stated, place before the reduplication etc., and reduplication etc. take place afterwards, because (the former) depends on the preposition the meaning of which, (being inherent in the root itself which exists before the affix ति), is still more *antaranga* (than the termination ति which causes the reduplication. Accordingly the words कृञ्चूर्वः of P. VI., 1, 135 have in the Bhâshya been rejected as superfluous).

(Because then affixes are added to roots before words termed 'prepositions' are prefixed to them) therefore (the substitution of) ण् (for the न् of the preposition नि) in प्रणिदापयति etc. has been established in the Bhâshya[1] by means of Par. XI., (whereas, if the prepositions प्र and नि had been prefixed to दा previously

(*i. e.* that meaning of it which afterwards for the sake of clearness is indicated to the hearer by the preposition;) in accordance with this meaning he adds the affix; and finally (in order to show to the hearer what particular meaning is expressed by the root) he places the preposition before the root. In the above passage from the Bhâshya the first part पूर्वं धातुरुपसर्गेण means accordingly that the speaker first connects in his mind the *meaning* of the root with that of the preposition; the following means that he afterwards adds the affix, and the rest पश्चादुपसर्गेण means that the *word* termed 'preposition' is combined with the root after the addition of the affix. From this it follows clearly that an operation which depends on the *meaning* of the preposition is *antaranga* in regard to an operation which depends on the affix; and that, on the other hand, an operation which depends on the affix is *antaranga* in regard to an operation which depends on the *letters* of the preposition. (For examples see below).

1. See above pag. 54.

to the addition of the causal affix इ and the consequent addition to दा of the augment नुँ, no doubt could have arisen regarding the change of न् to ण्, or at any rate all doubts of that kind would have been removed by means of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ and not by means of Par. XI.) For the same reason is it possible to form (from प्रति+इ etc.) प्रत्येति, प्रत्यय, and similar forms, which otherwise could not have been formed, because, (if the preposition प्रति had been prefixed to इ before the addition of the affixes ति, अ etc), the homogeneous long vowel (ई) would, because (its substitution would have been) *antaranga*, have taken the place (of इ+इ before the substitution of Guṇa for the radical इ, and would have made the latter impossible).

When an operation that is caused by a preposition, depends on the meaning of that preposition, then it is *antaranga*, because the meaning which that preposition indicates is inherent (in the root, and because that operation is therefore really caused by the root which exists before the affix); but where such is not the case, (*i. e.* where the operation depends on the letters of the preposition), there the operation which is caused by the affix is *antaranga*, because (the affix) is placed near the root before (the word which is termed 'preposition' is placed near it). It has on this account been stated in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 4 that in the case of प्रेङ्ख (from प्र+इङ्ख, the substitution of) Guṇa (ए for अ+इ) is *bahiranga* (in regard to the prohibition of Guṇa which is caused by the affix क्त).[1]

1. In the case of प्र+इङ्ख two rules apply simultaneously, *viz.* P. VI., 1, 87 which teaches the substitution of Guṇa ए for अ+इ, and P. I., 1, 5 which forbids the substitution of Guṇa for इ before the affix क्त; the latter rule is *antaranga* and the former *bahiranga*, because the affix is added first, the preposition afterwards.

Moreover, it appears from the Bhâshya on P. II, 2, 19 that if the preposition were combined (with the root) previously (to the addition of the affix), the root and preposition would form a compound[1] and in that case both should (as Kaiyaṭa observes) have only one accent etc.[2]

An affix[3] which denotes a state likewise takes its place (after a root) before (a preposition is prefixed to the latter); only for this reason is (the word अध्ययन) which occurs in P. VII., 2, 26,

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See Mahâbhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne pag. 289: बहिरङ्गो गुणोऽन्तरङ्गः प्रतिषेधः ॥

Kaiyaṭa: यदा पूर्वं प्रत्ययः पश्चादुपसर्गयोगस्तदा प्रतिषेधोऽन्तरङ्गो गुणो बहिरङ्गः । यदा तु पूर्वमुपसर्गयोगस्तदा गुणोऽन्तरङ्गः पश्चात्प्रत्ययोत्पत्तौ निषेधो बहिरङ्गः । सर्वथा बहिरङ्गस्यासिद्धत्वादिष्टसिद्धिः ॥

1. P. समासे । सहेति योगविभागेन कुगतीति वा ॥ *i. e.* by the word सह in P. II., 1, 4 taken as a separate rule, or by the rule P. II., 2, 18.

2. P. ऐकस्वर्यादि । आदिनैकपद्यपरिग्रहः ॥

See Bhâshya on P. II., 2, 19: एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदतिङिति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽनयोर्योगयोर्निवृत्तं सुप्सुपेति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासो भवति प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः [प० ७५] इत्येषा परिभाषा न कर्तव्या भवति । यद्येतज्ज्ञाप्यते केनेदानीं समासो भविष्यति । समर्थेन । यद्येवं धातूपसर्गयोरपि समासः प्राप्नोति । पूर्वं धातुरुपसर्गेण युज्यते पश्चात्साधनेनेति । नैतदस्ति । पूर्वं धातुः साधनेन युज्यते पश्चादुपसर्गेण साधनं हि क्रियां निर्वर्तयति तामुपसर्गो विशिनष्टि । अभिनिर्वृत्तस्य चार्थस्योपसर्गेण विशेषः शक्यो वक्तुम् ॥

Kaiyaṭa: यद्येवमिति । ततश्चैकस्वर्यादिप्रसङ्गः शाकलप्रतिषेधप्रसङ्गश्च ॥ पूर्वं धातुरुपसर्गेणेति । ततस्तयोः सामर्थ्यमस्त्युपसर्गार्थविशिष्टायाः क्रियायाः साधनेन योगात् ॥ पूर्वं धातुः साधनेनेति । ततश्च पूर्वं साधनाभिधायिप्रत्ययोत्पत्तिः पश्चात्साधनसंसृष्ट एव धातुरुपसर्गेण युज्यते न केवल इति धातूपसर्गयोः समासाभावः । तत्र कृदन्तेन समासो भवत्येव तिङन्तेन त्वतिङिति निषेधान्न भवति । यत्र तु तिङन्तेन समास इष्यते स विषयो दर्शित उदात्तवतेति ॥ अभिनिर्वृत्तस्येति । अनिष्पन्नस्य विशेषाकाङ्क्षाया अभावात् । अनुभूयते सुखमुपास्यते गुरुरित्यादौ धातुरेव सकर्मिका क्रियां वक्तुमुपसर्गस्तु द्योतक इति नास्ति कश्चिदस्मिन्पक्षे दोषः ॥

3. P. नन्वेवमप्यध्ययनमित्याद्यसिद्धिस्तत्र साधनप्रयुक्तप्रत्ययाभावात् । अत आह । भावार्थेति । तदर्थककृतोऽपीत्यर्थः ॥

formed correctly.[1] And this (word अध्ययन in P. VII., 2, 26 indicates generally (not merely that Kṛit-affixes like अन, when they denote a state, are added to the root before a preposition is prefixed to the latter, but also) that a तिङ् *i. e.* a personal termination which denotes a state, likewise takes its place (after the root) before (a preposition is prefixed to it). If it were otherwise, (root and preposition) would in such cases form a compound (which would be incorrect); on the other hand, after the addition of the personal termination, no (such) incorrectness can arise because (the formation of a compound) would be forbidden by the expression अतिङ् (in P. II., 2, 19. These remarks are necessary) provided that a verbal form in which the personal termination denotes a state be (ever) combined with a preposition.[2] So much (on this question).

(Some grammarians)[3] say: 'That which depends on something general is *antaranga* in regard to that which depends on something special, because anything depending on something special is caused by the special nature (of the latter) *in addition* (to being caused by what may be its general nature). *E. g.*[4] in the

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1. If अधि had been prefixed to the root इ before the addition of the affix अन, ई would have been substituted for the इ of अधि and for the radical इ, and in that case the formation of अध्ययन would have been impossible. But as the affix is first added to इ, the substitution of Guna for the radical इ takes place first, and subsequently the इ of अधि is changed to य्.

2. Chitprabhâ: वस्तुतस्तु तस्य विशेषापेक्षज्ञापकत्वेऽपि न दोष इत्यत आह यदीति। यदित्यनेन भावतिङ्गुपसर्गे एव नास्तीति ध्वनिते दोषाभावोऽपि ध्वनित एवेति बोध्यम्॥

3. Such as Bhaṭṭojîdîkshita, Si. Kau. II., pag. 123.

4. When रुद्+लिङ् has been changed to रुद्+त्, the following rules apply simultaneously: P. III., 4, 103 which teaches the addition to the affix त etc. of यासुट् after a root, and P. VII., 2, 76, VII., 3, 98 and 99

case of (the addition of the augment इट् taught in) P. VII., 2, 76, (the causes[1] on which that addition depends are) "the being one of रुद् etc." and "the being a Sârvadhâtuka;" here, in order to form the conception of "being a Sârvadhâtuka" we must necessarily know that the base (रुद् etc.) has the nature of a root, and we must also know that the termination (त् etc.) has the nature of an affix; accordingly (the addition of) यासुट् (taught in P. III., 4, 103) is *antaranga* (in regard to the addition of the augments इट्, ईट्, and अट्, taught in P. VII., 2, 76; VII., 3, 98 and 99; and supersedes the latter).[2] The above proves Kaiyaṭa's[3] statement on P. I., 3, 12, "that (the substitutes) तिप् etc. are *antaranga*, because (their substitution) depends on ल् only, whereas श्य etc. are *bahiranga*, because (their addition) depends on a special letter ल् (*i. e.* on ल् specified by ऋ etc.)" to be incorrect, *viz.* because, although (श्य etc.) depend on something special, not being caused (also) by the general nature (of the latter), they cannot be shown to be *bahiranga*. Moreover (Kaiyaṭa's statement is incorrect,) because श्य etc. are *bahiranga* on account of their being caused by something following.'

However, all this is untenable; for, although the general nature (of something special) may be inferred to be present (when the latter presents itself) from the fact that that which is special possesses that general nature, yet there is no proof for its being a cause (of an operation which depends on that

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which teach the addition to the Sârvadhâtuka affix त् etc. of इट्, ईट्, or अट्, after the roots रुद् etc.; according to Bhaṭṭojidîkshita, the former rule is *antaranga*, while the latter are *bahiranga*.

1. सर्वधातुकत्वं च; P. निमित्तमिति शेषः.

2. P. तथा च यत्सामान्यधर्मापेक्षशास्त्रापेक्षया कश्चिद्विशेषधर्मोऽधिको निमित्तकोटौ यत्र विशेषापेक्षशास्त्रेऽस्ति तत्ततो बहिरङ्गमिति फलितम् ॥

3. See above pag. 204.

which is special), and it cannot therefore be said with propriety that (such an operation) is caused by that (general) nature in addition (to its being caused by the special nature of that on which it depends);[1] moreover such a meaning of (the terms) *antaranga* and *bahiranga* (as would be expressed by the words *sâmânyâpeksha* and *vis'eshâpeksha*) has nowhere in the Bhâshya been ascribed to them.

However[2] (one may object that in the Bhâshya on P. V., 2, 94 such a meaning *has* been ascribed to the terms *antaranga* and *bahiranga*). In the Bhâshya on that rule which enjoins (the addition of the affix) मतुप्, it has been remarked that (in accordance with P. V., 2, 94) one ought to add मतुप् also when forming (the compound) पञ्चगु (from पञ्चन् and गो) in the sense of 'one who possesses five cows.' (The author of the Bhâshya, in) stating the true and final view (of the case, refutes this) by saying that (मतुप् cannot be added) to each (of the words पञ्चन् and गो) because the (individual) meaning (of each of these two words) is not connected (with the sense expressed by मतुप्); that (मतुप् cannot be added) to the whole (पञ्च गावः) because this is no crude form; and that (it cannot be added) to the compound (पञ्चगु) because (the meaning of मतुप्) is expressed (already) by the compound.

The first disputant[3] thereupon maintains that the last (argu-

1. P. In the case af रूप्यात्, यासुट् has been prefixed to त् because it is *nitya*; अडोटौ तु यासुटि कृतेऽनपृक्तत्वेनाप्राप्त्यानित्यौ.

2. The sentence beginning with यत्तु ends on pag. 48. l. 11, कैयट इति.

3. *Pûrvapakshin*: पञ्चगु is a Dvigu.

Siddhântin: पञ्चनावितिं etc. are Dvigu-compounds, but पञ्चगु is a Bahuvrîhi (*paratvât*, P. II., I, 51, and II., 2, 24).

Pûrvapakshin: पञ्चगु is a Dvigu (*apavâdatvât*);

अन्यपदार्थे सुबन्तमात्रस्य .... Bahuvrîhi (cf. P. II., 2, 24);

ment) does not hold good, because *e. g.* in पञ्चनापिति[1] a Taddhita-affix has been added to a Dvigu-compound, notwithstanding that the meaning of (that) affix is expressed (already by the compound).—Kaiyaṭa explains this to mean: The fact that (Pâṇini) IV., 1, 88 teaches the elision (of an affix which had been added to a Dvigu-compound) shows[2] that Taddhita-affixes are added to Dvigu-compounds which were formed to express a meaning such as is denoted by a Taddhita-affix; and (therefore the affix मतुप् should have been added to) the word पञ्चगु, (for this) is a Dvigu-compound.—[3]

(The author of the Bhâshya), stating the true view of the case, thereupon rejoins, 'this (पञ्चगु) is no Dvigu-compound; if you ask what it is, (I reply, that it is) a Bahuvrîhi-compound,' intimating thereby that the (formation, by P. II., 1, 51, of a) Dvigu-compound, which has taken place[4] *e. g.* in द्वैमातुर, पञ्चनापिति, or (which takes place when one wishes to form a compound) to denote (the sense) 'prepared in five dishes', is in the instance under discussion (*viz.* in the case of पञ्चगु) superseded by the (formation of a) Bahuvrîhi-compound, because the latter is (taught in the)subsequent (rule P. II., 2, 24).

तद्धितार्थे संख्यायाः.... Dvigu (cf. P. II., 1, 51).

Siddhântyekades'in: पञ्चगु is a Bahuvrîhi (*antarangatvât*);

अन्यपदार्थे..... Bahuvrîhi;

विशिष्टेऽन्यपदार्थे *i. e.* तद्धितार्थे.. Dvigu.

1. P. पञ्चानां नापितानामपत्यमिति तद्धितार्थद्विगोरपत्य इञ्यनपत्य इति निषेधान्न लुक्. See P. IV., 1, 95 and 88. Really तद्धितार्थे in P. II., 1, 51 means तद्धितार्थविषये, but the Pûrvapakshin assigns to it the meaning तद्धितार्थे वाच्ये.

2. लुग्विधानात्, *scil.* ज्ञापकात्. P.

3. P. समासान्तस्यनित्यत्वान्न । द्विगोर्लुगिति मतोर्लुगिति तु न । अप्राग्दीव्यतीयत्वात्. See P. IV., 1, 88.

4. P. सावकाशेति । तत्राप्रथमान्तत्वेन बहुव्रीह्यप्राप्तेः.

The former disputant, not aware that (P. II., 1, 51) does apply in those (instances द्वैमातुर etc.), replies that (in the case of पञ्चगु) a Dvigu-compound should be formed because (the rule II., 1, 51) is an *Apavâda* (of II., 2, 24).—Kaiyaṭa explains this thus: The (formation of a) Bahuvrîhi-compound which (according to P. II., 2, 24) is to take place when (several) nouns (of any description whatsoever) are employed to denote the same thing as another word, should (in the present case) be superseded by the (formation of a) Dvigu-compound which (according to P. II., 1, 51) is to take place when a numeral (and another noun) are employed to denote the same as (a word which ends with) a Taddhita-affix, because the latter has to take place in special (cases which, otherwise, would all have fallen under the general rule P. II., 2. 24).—

Hereupon one who is only partly acquainted with the true state of the case,[1] remarks: (पञ्चगु is) a Bahuvrîhi because (the formation of such a compound is in this case) *antaranga* (compared with that of a Dvigu-compound); it is *antaranga* because (as) a Bahuvrîhi (पञ्चगु) conveys the meaning of another word (*viz.* that of अस्य), while, (as) a Dvigu, it conveys a special meaning of another word (*viz.* that of अस्यास्ति), for (in the rule P. V., 2, 94 which enjoins the addition of the Taddhita-affix मतुप्), the sense of which the Dvigu-compound would denote in the present instance, the word अस्ति has been put down (by Pâṇini).—[2] Kaiyaṭa comments on this: The Dvigu is *bahiranga* because it is caused by the sense of (the affix) मतुप् (the addition of) which depends on the presence of the sense (expressed by) अस्ति in

1. *Siddhântyekades'in* is one who is partly right and partly wrong; पञ्चगु *is* a Bahuvrîhi, but its formation is *not antaranga*.

2. P. अस्य द्विगोरर्थद्वारा निमित्तभूते तस्मिंस्तद्धिते मतुब्विधायकेऽस्तिग्रहणं क्रियते.

addition to (that of अस्य. In other words, पञ्चगु as Bahuvrîhi expresses the meaning denoted by पञ्च गावोऽस्य, सः, while as Dvigu it would express the meaning denoted by पञ्च गावोऽस्य सन्ति, सः).—

(Here then one might say that the author of the Bhâshya has evidently considered the term *bahiranga* as equivalent to *vis'eshâpeksha*. But to maintain this would be wrong, for) this statement (that the Bahuvrîhi is *antaranga* and the Dvigu *bahiranga*) has not been made by him who knows the true and final view of the matter because, even (were the formation of a Dvigu in this case *bahiranga*, it would) not on that account cease to be (taught in a rule which is) an *Apavâda* (and would therefore still supersede the formation of the Bahuvrîhi-compound, although the latter were *antaranga*), just as we see that (the substitution by P. VI., 1, 77 of) यण्, which depends on (the presence of) any vowel whatsoever, is superseded by (the substitution, by P. VI., 1, 101, of) a long vowel, which depends on (the presence of) a particular *i. e.* (in this case) a homogeneous vowel, (*viz.* because P. VI., 1, 101 is an *Apavâda* of P. VI., 1, 77). And (if one denies that the rule which teaches the formation of the Dvigu-compound is an *Apavâda* of P. II., 2, 24), then the fact that (the formation of the Bahuvrîhi) supersedes (that of the Dvigu) is already, in the manner stated above, established by its being (taught in a rule) which follows (upon that rule in which the formation of the Bahuvrîhi is taught, and it is superfluous to have recourse to the Antaranga-paribhâshâ). Besides (in the passage quoted the formation of) the Dvigu is (considered) *bahiranga* only because it depends on something additional,[1] and

1. And it has been shown before that *Adhikanimittatva* does not make an operation *bahiranga*.

is) not (considered so) because[1] it depends solely on something special; consequently that (passage of the) Bhâshya does not authorize the statement that, what is dependent on something special, is *bahiranga*. For this reason has it not been stated in the Bhâshya that the (formation of a) Bahuvrîhi depends on (the words to be compounded being) nouns of any description whatever, whereas the (formation of a) Dvigu depends on (the words to be compounded being nouns) of a particular (description). Nor can one object that that (sense which by Kaiyaṭa has been assigned to the words विशिष्टेऽन्यपदार्थे, *viz.* अधिकास्त्यर्थापेक्ष°) cannot be (their) true (sense), because (dependence on) meaning is not admitted to make (an operation) *bahiranga*;[2] for as that statement (विशिष्टेऽन्यपदार्थे) has been made by one who is only partly acquainted with the truth, no blame (can attach to the commentator for his assigning to it a meaning which may be contrary to what is otherwise established as correct. Because the statement अन्यपदार्थे बहुव्रीहि° etc. has been made by one who is only partly acquainted with the truth), therefore he who knows the true state of the case shows (in the sequel) that the word अस्ति (in P. V., 2, 94) is not intended to specify[3] (अस्य or अस्मिन् in that rule), but has been put down (by Pâṇini) in order that मतुप् may be added (also) to अस्ति,[4] and that consequently the (formation of the) Dvigu can likewise not be regarded as *bahiranga* in the manner

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1. केवल°=अधिकापेक्षत्वशून्य°. P.

2. See above pag. 224.

3. *Viz.* because, also without अस्ति in the rule, the meaning expressed by अस्ति would be understood, just as it is understood in the rule which teaches the formation of a Bahuvrihi-compound.

4. To form अस्तिमत्.

proposed by the Siddhântyekades'in;[1] and having shown this, he says that (the formation of) this (word पञ्चगु, as a Bahuvrîhi, and therefore without the affix मतुप्,) results[2] from the (separate additional) rule, that it is forbidden to form a Dvigu-compound to express the sense denoted by (the Taddhita-affix) मतु.

It is only because (the Antaranga-paribhâshâ does not convey the meaning assigned to it by Bhaṭṭojidîkshita and others), that the word अनन्त्ययोः in the rule P. VII., 2, 106 serves a purpose (or, in other words, is absolutely necessary. Did the Antaranga-paribhâshâ), on the other hand, (convey that meaning), the (word अनन्त्ययोः) would clearly be superfluous, for अ which, depending on (the sequence of) any affix whatsoever, would be *antaranga*, would (by P. VII., 2, 102) be substituted for the final (द्), (and the final द् having thus disappeared), it would follow that स् could be substituted only for the non-final (त् or द्).[3] Be-

1. स्वदभिमतं=सिद्धान्त्येकदेश्यभिमतम्; because namely both the Bahuvrîhi and the Dvigu would be equal.

2. सिद्धान्तिना *i. e.* तत्त्वेन तवाभिमतेनैकदेशिना. In reality a separate additional rule is not necessary, because according to the *Paramasiddhântin* पञ्चगु is Bahuvrîhi *paratvât*. See also Râghavendrâchârya: अन्तरङ्गत्वाद्बहुव्रीहिरिति वदन्तमपेक्ष्यैष सिद्धान्ती । परमसिद्धान्ती तु नैष द्विगुः कस्तर्हि बहुव्रीहिरिति वदन्नेवेति बोध्यम् ॥. See Vârtt. 4 on P. II., 1, 51.

3. *E. g.* स्यः from त्यद्. In the case of त्यद्+सु two rules are applicable, *viz.* P. VII., 2, 102 which teaches the substitution of अ for द् before *any* case-affix, and P. VII., 2, 106 which teaches the substitution of स् for त् or द् before the Nominative case-affix सु. If *antaranga* and *bahiranga* were equivalent to *sâmânyâpeksha* and *vis'eshâpeksha*, the substitution of अ for द् would be *antaranga*, and that of स् for त् or द् *bahiranga*. Accordingly the former substitution would take effect first, and the final द् having by it disappeared, स् would be substituted for the initial त्, even if Pânini had not said अनन्त्ययोः in VII., 2, 106. The fact that Pânini has thought it necessary to say अनन्त्ययोः shows, that *antaranga* and *bahiranga* are not equivalent to *sâmânyâpeksha* and *vis'eshâpeksha*.

sides the Bhâshya[1] also and Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 130 suggest that 'being *antaranga*' never has the (sense 'being dependent on what is general'); this the learned should consider.—

Now one might maintain that (if then the term *antaranga* were) thus (employed strictly in what has above been considered to be its proper sense, it ought) in (the formation of) the Aorist Par. (असुलुवत्)[2] of लु, (where the question arises whether for

1. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 130: अरुदिताम् अरुदितम् अरुदितेति । इटि कृते तांतंतामादेशाः प्राप्नुवन्ति (See P. III., 4, 101)। निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति [प°१२] इति न दोषो भवति ॥ इदमिह संप्रधार्यम् । इट् क्रियतां तांतंताम इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वादिडागमः । अन्तरङ्गास्तांतंताम: ॥ (See P. VII., 2, 76).

Kaiyaṭa: अन्तरङ्गा इति । प्राग्लादेशेभ्यो धात्वधिकारात्तामादयोऽन्तरङ्गाः ॥

ताम् etc. are *antaranga* because धातोः of P. III., 1, 91 is no longer valid in P. III., 4, 101, *i. e.* because ताम् etc. are caused only by तस् etc. whereas इट् is caused by रुद् etc. and the following Sârvadhâtuka; had *antaranga* and *bahiranga* been regarded as equivalent to *sâmânyâpeksha* and *vis'eshâpeksha*, ताम् etc. would have been *antaranga*, even if धातोः had been considered as valid in P. III., 4, 101, *viz.* because ताम् etc., are substituted for तस् etc. after *all* roots whereas इट् is prefixed to the Sârvadhâtuka तस् etc. only after रुद् etc.

Cf. also Chitprabhâ: तथा हि । इदं भाष्यं प्राग्लादेशेभ्यो धात्वधिकार इति पक्षमादाय प्रवृत्तम् । अन्यथा निर्दिश्यमानस्येत्युक्तेऽपि धातोरित्यवध्युपादानादिटो व्यवधानेन तामादय एव न स्युः । तथा च रुदादिभ्यः सार्वधातुक इत्यस्य तामादिनिमित्तसमुदायवद्भिन्नरुदादिनिमित्तकत्वेन बहिरङ्गत्वात्तामादय एव भवन्तीति सूचनात्सामान्यापेक्षमन्तरङ्गं विशेषापेक्षं बहिरङ्गमिति नास्त्येवेति सूचितम् ॥ कैयटेन च प्राग्लादेशेभ्य इत्युक्त्यैव सूचितम् । अन्यथा लादेशादीनां तदधिकारत्वेऽप्युक्तान्तरङ्गत्वसंभवात्तदुक्तिरयुक्ता स्यात् ॥

2. In the formation of the Aor. Par. of लु from असुलु+च्लि+त्, अ being by P. III., 1, 48 substituted for च्लि before त्, we obtain असुलु+अ+त्. Now there arises the doubt whether for the radical उ उव् should by P. VI., 4, 77 be substituted before अ, or Guna by P. VII., 3, 86 before त्. If the substitution of उव् were *antaranga*, and that of Guna *bahiranga*, उव् would have to be substituted in preference to Guna,

the radical उ उव् should by P. VI.. 4, 77 be substituted before अ, or Guṇa by P. VII., 3, 86 before त्., not to be applied to the substitution of उव्), because here (the substitution of) उव् has not (even) fewer causes than (that of) Guṇa for the prosodially short penultimate, (and not being *antaranga*) उव् ought not to be substituted (for उ). But this would be untenable ; for the (substitution of उव्) *is antaranga, viz. antaranga* in the sense which is expressed by the word *antaḥkârya* ; and by *antaḥkârya* we mean that the cause (अ of the substitution of उव्, in the order of the pronunciation of the letters,) precedes (the cause त् of the substitution of Guṇa) ;[1] for the word अङ्ग is equivalent to निमित्त *i. e.* 'cause'.

That this (kind of) *Antarangatva* is established by a maxim of common life, appears from the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 57 where

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but it is questionable whether the substitution of उव् *is antaranga*. In the case of विश्वैः (see pag. 236) the substitution of Guṇa was *antaranga*, because its causes lay *within* the sum of the causes of the (*bahiranga*) substitution of Samprasâraṇa ; in the case of खट्वौदा (see pag. 244) the substitution of Guṇa for आ+ऊ was *antaranga* because, in the order of the formation of खट्वौदा, this operation presented itself first, *i. e.* because आ+ऊदा were joined together first, and खट्वा+औदा afterwards. Neither is the case with the substitution of उव् for उ in असुस्रु+अ+न्; on the contrary one might say, that *the substitution of Guṇa* for उ ought to be regarded as *antaranga* because, in the formation of the Aor. of स्रु, the cause त् of Guṇa presents itself sooner than the cause अ of उव्, for अ is substituted for च्लि only when त् follows. Some grammarians have maintained (see pag. 228) that that which has fewer causes is *antaranga* in regard to that which has more causes ; but not even, if their opinion is adopted, can the substitution of उव् be regarded as *antaranga* compared with that of Guṇa, for the latter has only one cause, *viz.* त्, just as the former has only one cause, *viz.* अ.

1. पूर्वोपस्थितनिमित्तकत्वं—लौकिकप्रयोगीयोच्चारणक्रमेण पूर्वश्रुतिनिमित्तकत्वम्. P.

we read the following : 'when a man has risen in the morning, he does (first) whatever concerns his own person, afterwards (what concerns) his friends, afterwards (what concerns) his relatives ; (in accordance with this practice of common life) Pâṇini has assumed that similarly, whatever is expressed (by a word), *viz.* a genus, a (particular) individual, gender, number, and a (particular) case-relation, is apprehended in that order (one after the other), that the several portions of a word which denote the (genus etc.) arise (one after the other) in the same order, and that the operations which concern each (of those portions) take effect therefore in the very same order; in (the formation of) पट्व्या etc. therefore (from पटु+ई+आ etc.), the substitution of a semivowel for the first vowel (उ), being *antaranga*,[1] takes place first, because the substitution of a semivowel for the second vowel (ई) is *bahiranga* and therefore (regarded as) not existing.' The (being *antaranga* in this sense)[2] only determines that, when (two operations) apply simultaneously, (the *antaranga* operation) shall take effect first, as is the case in पट्व्या when this word is dissolved (into its constituent parts)[3] and (its formation out of those parts) accounted for (by the rules of grammar), but it does not cause a *bahiranga* (operation), which has (already) taken effect, (to be considered as) not having taken effect in regard to such an *antaranga* (operation); for this follows, as appears from Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 133, likewise from the maxim of common life mentioned above.[4] In the case of

1. अन्तरङ्गत्वात्=पूर्वोपस्थितनिमित्तकत्वात्; बहिरङ्गनयासिद्धत्वात्=पश्चादुपस्थितनिमित्तकत्वेन प्राप्तप्राप्तेः. P.

2. तदपि *i. e.* तत्र भाष्ये स्पष्टमुक्तमन्तरङ्गत्वमपि. P.

3. *I. e.* into पटु+ई+आ.

4. *Viz.* because that maxim refers to things that offer themselves at the same time. If the *bahiranga* operation is applicable after the *anta-*

वाय्वोः etc, (where य् should have been elided before व् by P. VI., 1, 66), the elision (of य्) has therefore by the author of the Bhâshya been prevented by (the assumption that) the semivowel (व्, which has been substituted for उ,) is like the original (उ; to assume this would have been unnecessary, if the *bahiranga* substitution of व् had by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ been *asiddha* in regard to the *antaranga* elision of य्). [1] If, on the other hand, in accounting for the formation of a word, (one makes each expressive portion of it arise) one after the other, (*i. e.* if one *e. g.* first adds ई to पट्, and afterwards आ to पट्ई), then the *Antarangatva* (of the substitution of a semivowel for the first vowel उ) in the above example (पट्व्या) must be taken to mean 'its taking place first,' and the *Asiddhatva* of the *bahiranga* (substitution of a semivowel for the second vowel ई) can only mean 'that it does not (yet) apply, because its cause (आ) is (as yet) absent.'[2]

The statement however, that in this manner (an operation) is likewise *antaranga* (in regard to another operation) when it

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ranga operation has taken effect, then it takes effect; otherwise not. P.

See Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 132: ननु नैतज्ज्ञापकसाध्यं लोकतः सिद्धत्वात् । प्रत्यङ्गवर्ती हि लोकः । नैतदस्ति । यत्र युगपदन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गयोः प्राप्तिस्तत्र लौकिकन्यायाश्रयणाद्भवत्यन्तरङ्गः । इह तु बहिरङ्गनिमित्तमन्तरङ्गमिति लौकिकन्यायानवतारः ॥

1. In वाय्वोः the substitution of व् for उ has taken place before P. VI., 1, 66 becomes applicable. The prohibition of Sthânivattva P. I., 1, 58 न पदान्त° does not apply, because it is again restricted by Vârtt. 1. स्वरदीर्घयलोपेषु लोपाजादेशो न स्थानिवत्. See Si. Kau. I. pag. 35, note.

2. See Nâgojibhaṭṭa on the Bhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne, pag. 655: येन क्रमेण शब्दोपस्थितिस्तेनैव क्रमेण कार्यमिति पूर्वमीकारनिमित्तको यण्णाति भावः ॥ तत्र पदस्यैव विभक्त्यन्वाख्याने सर्वेषां युगपत्प्राप्तावनया व्यवस्था । क्रमेणान्वाख्याने तु पूर्वप्रवृत्तिकत्वरूपमन्तरङ्गत्वं पूर्ववर्णादेशस्य परवर्णादेशस्य बहिरङ्गत्वं तु निमित्ताभावादप्राप्तिरूपं बोध्यम् ॥

affects a part (of a word) which precedes (that portion of the word which is affected by the other (operation), should be regarded with suspicion. (If it were correct), the trouble which the author of the Bhâshya,—when he rejects what were supposed to be the objects of the rule P. VI., 4, 163, —has taken to show why after the elision by P. V., 3, 65 of विन् or मत् in (the formation of) स्रजिष्ट etc. (from स्रग्विन्+इष्ट etc.) the भज् etc. (of स्रज् etc.) is not elided (by P. VI., 4, 155), *viz.* because the rule P. V., 3, 65 is an *Apavâda* (of P. VI., 4, 155) and[1] supersedes this rule altogether (so that P. VI., 4, 155 cannot even take effect after the elision of विन्),—all this trouble would have been taken in vain; for the elision of विन् or मत्, (affecting, as it does, a later portion of the word स्रग्विन् than that which would be affected by the elision of भज्), would in the manner stated above be *bahiranga* and therefore (be regarded as) not having taken place (in regard to the *antaranga* elision of भज्); it could consequently have been shown without any trouble whatsoever[2] that the latter ought not to take effect. Moreover (the above statement is proved to be incorrect) by the circumstance that (an operation which would be) *bahiranga* after the above manner, has nowhere in the Bhâshya been regarded as *asiddha*; and further by the fact that the word भङ्ग in this Paribhâshâ is equivalent to निमित्त 'cause.'[3]

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1. One might say that in स्रग्विन्+इष्ट P. V., 3, 65 does supersede P. VI., 4, 155, but that it cannot supersede the latter rule in स्रज्+इष्ट, when विन् has been dropped by P. V., 3, 65. To refute this the author of the Bhâshya has recourse to the *Jâtipaksha*; P. V., 3, 65 supersedes VI., 4, 155 so often as this rule presents itself. See Par. LVII.

2. *I. e.* without having recourse to the *Jâtipaksha*.

3. And not equivalent to स्थानिन्.

The statement which occurs in the Bhâshya[1] on P. VI., 3, 68 *viz.* 'that this (Antaranga-paribhâshâ) does not cause a *bahiranga* (operation) which is taught (in that portion of Pâṇini's grammar) where उत्तरपदे is valid (from P. VI., 3, 1, *i. e.* in P. VI., 3), to be regarded as *asiddha*,' has been made by the *Pûrvapakshin*, and need therefore not be taken notice of. In the case of परंतप[2] etc. (the addition by P. VI., 3, 67 of the augment) मुम् (to पर) is not (regarded as) *asiddha* with reference to (the substitution of) Anusvâra (for म् taught in P. VIII., 3, 23), because this (Paribhâshâ) has no concern (with *antaranga* operations taught) in the three last chapters (of Pâṇini's grammar). Also when one adopts the view of modern (grammarians,[3] that the Antaranga-paribhâshâ only on the Yathoddes'apaksha[4] has no concern with *antaranga* operations which are taught in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar), the above (statement) must necessarily be (considered to have been made) by the (Pûrvapakshin) because the example (परंतप) which is given for it, is (even) without it formed correctly, *viz.* by the adoption of that very view that (at any rate) on the Yathoddes'apaksha (the Paribhâshâ does not concern *antaranga* operations taught in the

1. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 3, 68: नैषा परिभाषेहोत्तरपदाधिकारे शक्या विज्ञातुम् । इह हि दोषः स्यात् । द्विषंतपः परंतप इति । संयोगान्तलोपो न स्यात् ॥

Kaiyaṭa: द्विषंतप इति । संयोगान्तलोपो न स्यादिति केचिदाहुः । एतन्तु द्वयोरेकस्य वा नकारस्य श्रुतौ विशेषानवधारणादन्येऽसाधु मन्यमाना अनुस्वाराप्राप्तिलक्षणं दोषमाहुः । एवं च परंतप इत्यपि समर्थितं भवति ॥

2. पर+ताप्, by P. III., 2, 39 पर+ताप्+खच्; P. VI., 4, 94 पर+तप; here पर becomes परम् before तप by P. VI., 3, 67; and afterwards Anusvâra is by P. VIII., 3, 23 substituted for the म् of परम् before त्; thus we obtain परंतप.

3. P. *i. e.* of Bhaṭṭojidikshita and others.

4. See above pag. 240.

three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar). This is the opinion (of those who know the truth of the matter).[1]

From the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 22 it appears that when an *antaranga* (operation) taught in P. VI., 4, 22-175 (is to take effect), a *bahiranga* (operation) which is taught in the same portion of Pâṇini's grammar, is not by this (Paribhâshâ) *asiddha*, because (all that is taught in that portion of Pâṇini's grammar, and therefore also the Paribhâshâ itself, the existence of which is indicated by P. VI., 4, 132, is) *asiddha* (by P. VI., 4, 22).—[2]

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1. आहुः *scil.* भाष्यसिद्धान्तानुयायिनः. P.

2. *E. g.* पपुषः from पपा+वस्+अस्; by P. VI., 4, 131 Samprasâraṇa is substituted for व because अस् follows, and we obtain thus पपा+उष्+अः; here आ is elided before उष् by P. VI., 4, 64, = पपुषः. The substitution of उ is here *bahiranga*, the elision of आ *antaranga*, and the latter ought therefor not to take place because the substitution of उ would by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ be *asiddha*. In reality however such is not the case, because the Antaranga-paribhâshâ is itself by P. VI., 4, 22 *asiddha* in regard to the *antaranga* elision of आ, for it is likewise *âbhîya* i. e. taught in P. VI., 4, 22-175, *viz.* indicated by P. VI., 4, 132, and also *samânâs'raya*, because it aims at the same letters on which the *antaranga* elision of आ depends.—See Chitprabhâ: ननु पपुषः चिच्युषः लुलुवुष इत्यादावनया परिभाषया संप्रसारणस्य बहिरङ्गत्वेनासिद्धत्वाद्भाक्लोपादीनि न स्युरित्यत आह। आभीयेऽन्तरङ्ग इति। आभीयेष्वाक्लोपादिष्वन्तरङ्गेषु कर्तव्येष्वाभीयाया असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमिति परिभाषाया असिद्धवदित्यसिद्धत्वान्न तेष्वन्तरङ्गेषु प्रवर्तत इति भावः॥ न चासिद्धं बहिरङ्गमिति परिभाषाया भाक्लोपादीनां च समानाश्रयत्वाभावादसिद्धवदिति न प्रवर्तत इति वाच्यम्। संप्रसारणे कृते ह्यजाद्याश्रयेणाक्लोपादीनि प्रवर्तन्ते कर्तव्येषु च तेषु संप्रसारणस्यासिद्धत्वाय तद्विषये बहिरङ्गपरिभाषापि प्रवर्तत इति तेषां समानाश्रयत्वेन तत्प्रवृत्तेर्दुर्वारित्वात्॥

I now consider the reading of MS. C. which omits the word समानाश्रयस्य in l. 13, to be the right reading, although Pâyaguṇḍa does give that word; for in the instances पपुषः etc. the *bahiranga* substitution of Samprasâraṇa and the *antaranga* elision of आ etc. are *not* समानाश्रय. Cf. Pâya-

We see likewise from the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 3,[1] that (an operation, such as the substitution of Guṇa taught in P. VII., 3, 84,) is not *antaranga*[2] (in regard to the substitution of Vṛiddhi taught in P. VII., 2, 1 etc.) before सिच् ; this (statement) is based on the circumstance that P. VII., 2, 1 supersedes, in accordance with Paribhâshâ LVII., the *antaranga* (rule P. VII., 3, 84 because it is an *Apaváda* of it).[3]

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guṇda: भाष्य इति । तत्र हि वसुसंप्रसारणमङ्गिवधौ सिद्धं वाच्यमन्यथाभीयासिद्धत्वाद्बहिरङ्गासिद्धत्वाच्चाल्लोपादीनि पपुषश्चिच्युषो लुलुवुष इत्यादौ न स्युरित्युक्त्वा समानाश्रयत्वेनाद्यं संखण्ड्य बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गमिति च प्रतिद्वन्द्विभावितावेतावर्थावित्यादिनान्त्यमपि खण्डितम् ॥ If the substitution of *bahiranga* Samprasârana and the *antaranga* elision of आ etc. were *samânâs'raya*, the former *would* be *asiddha* by P. VI., 4, 22.—See also Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 22: असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्ग इत्येषा परिभाषा वाह ऊडिदम्विधौ ज्ञापितेत्याभाच्छास्त्रीयाथवा विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यमित्यत्रोपसंख्यातापि संज्ञापरिभाषाणां कार्यकालत्वाद्वसुसंप्रसारणदेशस्थत्वादाभाच्छास्त्रीयाभाच्छास्त्रीयेष्वाल्लोपादिषु कर्तव्येष्वसिद्धेति न प्रवर्तते । तदप्रवृत्तौ चाल्लोपादीनि भवन्तीति वाक्यार्थः ॥ ....वसुसंप्रसारणं चैकं परिभाषाया आल्लोपादीनां चाश्रय इति समानाश्रयत्वाद्बलवत्त्वसिद्धत्वं परिभाषायाः ॥

1 . Ed. Ballantyne pag. 281.

2. P. तस्य तत्त्वं च संख्यया घटकत्वेन चाल्पनिमित्तकत्वेन बोध्यम्, *i. e.* Guṇa is caused by following Sârvadhâtuka or Ârdhadhâtuka, Vṛiddhi by following सिच् when this is followed by a Parasmaipada-termination.

3. P. Jnâpaka is here अत् in P. VII., 2, 7 and the prohibition णिश्रि in P. VII., 2, 5. If the *antaranga* Guṇa were substituted, we should have it *e. g.* in अक्रौषीत्, and the rule VII., 2, 7 would (even without अत्) not apply to this, because औ is not *laghu*. Similarly we should have Guṇa and the substitution of अय् in अश्रयीत् and this would already by the य् in P. VII., 2, 5 be forbidden to take Vṛiddhi.—In the formation of the Aor. of श्रि two rules apply, *viz.* P. VII., 3, 84 which teaches the sub-

PARIBHÂSHÂ LI.

Now one might say that (if the Antaranga-paribhâshâ were) then (valid in all but the three exceptional cases mentioned above[1]), the *bahiranga* (substitution, by P. VI., 4, 19, of) उङ् (for the द् of दिव्) in (the formation of) अक्षऊ[2] (from अक्ष-दिव्+क्विप्) etc. would have to be considered as *asiddha* (in regard to the *antaranga* substitution, by P. VI., 1, 77, of य् for इ before इ), and in that case the *antaranga* (substitution of the) semivowel य् (for इ) would not take place. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. LI : (Provided that an operation, which by the above would be *bahiranga*, has taken effect, it is contrary to the above) not regarded as *bahiranga* (and consequently not regarded as *asiddha*, when an *antaranga* operation is to take effect)

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stitution of Guna for इ, and P. VII., 2, 1 which teaches that of Vṛiddhi for इ; if the former were *antaranga* in regard to the latter, it would take place first (=अश्वयीत्) and subsequently the substitution of the *bahiranga* Vṛiddhi for अ would be forbidden by the य् in P. VII., 2, 5; सि in VII., 2, 5 would thus be superfluous. Because, however, the substitution of Guna is not *antaranga* in regard to the substitution of Vṛiddhi taught in VII., 2, 1, the *latter* would take effect first, if it were not forbidden by सि in P. VII., 2, 5; for in the latter case it would not be forbidden by य् in VII., 2, 5, because सिच् would not be preceded by य्.

1. See the text pag. 44, 3, इयं च त्रिपाद्यां न प्रवर्तते ; p. 50, 13 आभीये ; and l. 14. एवं सिचि etc. Above pag. 235, 265 and 266.

2. अक्ष-दिव्+क्विप्=अक्ष-दिऊ=अक्षऊ ; ऊ for व् before क्विप् is *bahiranga*, य् for इ before ऊ *antaranga*.

which depends on the immediate sequence of a vowel (and something else).[1]

The word तुक् in P. VI., 1, 86 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ); else that (तुक्, by which Pâṇini intends to show that in the formation of अधीत्य etc. the substitution of ई etc. for the इ of अधि etc. and the radical इ is *asiddha* in regard to the addition, by P. VI., 1, 71, of the augment तुक् to the root इ), would evidently be useless. In (the formation of) अधीत्य, प्रेत्य etc. (from अधि+इत्वा, प्र+इत्वा etc., the substitution by P. VII., 1, 37 of) ल्यप् (for क्त्वा) takes place after (अधि or प्र) have been compounded (with इत्वा); that composition therefore takes place before (ल्यप् is substituted. Now) as in a compound (the final letter of a preceding member) must invariably be joined (with the initial letter of a following member,[2] the final letter of अधि or प्र and the following radical इ) cannot remain unjoined even until ल्यप् takes the place (of क्त्वा); the substitution of one (vowel for the final of अधि or प्र and the following radical इ) precedes therefore (the substitution of) ल्यप्. (Were the Antaranga-paribhâshâ here applicable), the substitution of the one (vowel ई or ए, for इ+इ, or अ+इ,) dependent as it is on two letters of two words, would be *bahiranga* and would consequently (already by

1. The substitution of ऊ for the व् of दिव् which has taken effect before P. VI., 1, 77, which teaches the substitution of य् for इ before ऊ, becomes applicable, is therefore not regarded as *bahiranga*, or in other words, is not *asiddha*, *viz.* because the *antaranga* substitution of य् for इ depends on the circumstance that the vowel इ is followed immediately by ऊ. Accordingly the substitute ऊ for व् is *siddha* and causes the substitution of य् for इ.

2. Cf. the Kârikâ: संहितैकपदे नित्या नित्या धातूपसर्गयोः ।
नित्या समासे वाक्ये तु सा विवक्षामपेक्षते ॥

the Antaranga-paribhâshâ) be considered *asiddha* in regard to (the addition of the augment) तुक् (to the root इ,[1] and the special statement in P. VI., 1, 86 regarding the addition of the augment तुक् would be superfluous; but the Antaranga-paribhâshâ does not apply in this case and तुक् in P. VI., 1, 86 is therefore absolutely necessary). That (an operation) which depends on two letters of two words is *bahiranga*, appears from the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 1, 4, where we read that in the case of मेद्र etc. the (substitution of the) Guṇa (vowel ए for the अ of म and the इ of इद्र) is *bahiranga*,[2] and also from the Bhâshya[3] on the rule P. VIII., 2, 23.

But[4] it is wrong to maintain that (not merely तुक्, but) also the word षत्व (in P. VI., 1, 86) indicates (the existence of this Paribhâshâ), and to support this statement by saying that that (word षत्व) would be useless if the present Paribhâshâ did not

1. The addition of त् to the short इ would be *antaranga* because it depends on the immediate sequence of ल्यप्. See P. VI., 1, 71.

2. See above pag 249 and note on pag. 250.

3. See Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 23: संयोगान्तलोपे यणः प्रतिषेधः। संयोगान्तस्य लोपे यणः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः। दध्यत्र मध्वत्रेति ॥ .....बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वाद्। अथवा बहिरङ्गो यणादेशोऽन्तरङ्गो लोपः। असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ॥

Kaiyaṭa: अन्तरङ्ग इति। एकपदाश्रयत्वात् ॥

In दध्यत्र (for दधि+अत्र) the substitution of य् for इ depends on the two letters इ and अ of the two words दधि and अत्र; whereas the elision of य् depends only on the letters ध्य् of the one word दध्य्.

P. Although it is not stated in the Bhâshya that that which is पदद्वयाश्रय is *bahiranga*, nevertheless in the example दध्यत्र the substitution of य does depend on two words. The Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 108 is of the same opinion: किं पुनरिहान्तरङ्गं किं बहिरङ्गं यावता द्वे पदे आश्रित्य सवर्णदीर्घत्वमपि भवत्याङ्गेणापि. See note 2 on pag. 244.

4. P. He now censures Kaiyaṭa, Bhaṭṭojidikshiṭa etc.

exist, because in कोऽसिचत् etc. the substitution (by P. VI., 1, 109[1]) of the one (vowel ओ for ओ+अ), being *bahiranga* (on account of its dependence on two letters of two words, would (already by Par. L.) be *asiddha* (in regard to the substitution, by P. VIII., 3, 59, of ष् for the स् of सिचत्), and because (that substitution of) ष् would consequently (even without the special statement in P. VI., 1, 86) not take place.

(This is wrong) because the (substitution of) ष् depends likewise on two letters of two words, (the vowel ओ which is contained in the Pratyâhâra) इण् (of P. VIII., 3, 59) forming part of the preceding word (को), and because both (the substitution of ओ and that of ष्) are therefore alike (in this respect. Nor can one say that षत्व in P. VI., 1, 86 is *altogether* superfluous, *viz.* because सिचत् is a Pada and because the substitution of ष् for the initial स् is therefore prevented by P. VIII., 3, 111; for) as the one substitute (ओ for ओ+अ) is (by P. VI., 1, 85) regarded as the initial of the subsequent word, the (combination of letters) ओसिचत् is a Pada, and (the letter स्) not being therefore the initial letter of a Pada, (the substitution of ष् for it) is not prevented by P. VIII., 3, 111.—(The above statement according to which षत्व in P. VI., 1, 86 likewise indicates the existence of this Paribhâshâ, is) moreover (untenable), because, as was shown above,[1] Par. L. does even on the Kâryakâlapaksha not concern an *antaranga* (operation) taught in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar, (and because consequently it can have no concern with the substitution of ष्[2] which is taught in P. VIII., 3, 59, even should the latter be really *antaranga*.)

1. See pag. 241.

2. *Scil.* and cannot make the substitution of ओ for ओ+अ *asiddha* in regard to it.

The meaning of the Paribhâshâ is this, that a *bahiranga* (operation) which has taken effect, is not regarded as *bahiranga*, when an *antaranga* (operation) is to take effect which is caused by the immediate sequence of a vowel and something else.[1] The word बहिः is equivalent to *bahiranga*, and 'the state of that' (which is *bahih*, *viz. bahishtva*,) means *bahirangatva*. ('Not regarded as *bahiranga*' means, 'contrary to Par. L., by which a *bahiranga* operation) should be regarded as *asiddha*, not regarded (as *asiddha*.' The Paribhâshâ must be explained thus)[2] because the remark of the (author of the) Bhâshya,[3] 'after having said असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे I shall say नाजानन्तर्ये,' shows that (the word) अन्तरङ्गे of the previous (Paribhâshâ) is valid (also in this Paribhâshâ). Because of this (interpretation of the Paribhâshâ) there is nothing incorrect in (its not applying in the case of) पचावेदम् etc. *viz.* because the *antaranga* substitution of ऐ for the vowel (ए, taught in P. III., 4, 93,) is not caused by the immediate sequence of (the vowel ए and) something else.[4]

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1. Chitprabhâ: अचोऽन्यानन्तर्यनिमित्तक इति । अनेन परिभाषास्थाजानन्तर्यपदे अचोऽन्यानन्तर्यमित्येकवचनान्तेन समासोऽजानन्तर्यपदस्य . तन्निमित्तके लक्षणा चेत्युभयं सूचितम् ॥

2. *Viz.* by अचोऽन्यानन्तर्यनिमित्तकेऽन्तरङ्गे कर्तव्ये.

3. On P. I., 4, 2.

4. पचाव+इदम्=पचावेदम्. When for the final अ of पचाव and the initial इ of इदम् the Guna-vowel ए has been substituted by P. VI., 1, 87, the question arises whether for this ए ऐ should be substituted by P. III., 4, 93. This question must be answered in the negative, for the substitution of ए for अ+इ is *bahiranga* and therefore by Par. L. *asiddha* in regard to the substitution of ऐ for ए which is *antaranga*. Here our present Par. LI. is not applicable, because the *antaranga* substitution of ऐ for ए is not caused by the immediate sequence of the vowel ए and something else, but depends on the presence of ए alone.

As we have stated that (only) a *bahiranga* (operation) which *has* taken effect (is not regarded as *bahiranga*, this Paribhâshâ does not apply in the formation of अयजे इन्द्रम्, धियति etc.[1] from अयज-इ+इन्द्रम्, धि+अ+ति etc. and) the *bahiranga* (substitution of) long (ई for इ+इ) and (of the) Guṇa (vowel ए for the इ of धि)[2] etc. is therefore in the case of अयजे इन्द्रम्, धियति etc. (in accordance with Par. L.) justly regarded as *asiddha*. The remark (made in the Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 2) *viz.* 'that (the substitution by P. VI., 1, 87 of Guṇa for अ and (the vowel इ of the terminations) इट्, ङि, and शि, (in instances like अयज-इ+इन्द्रम्, वन-इ+इह, सर्व-इ+इह etc., because it is *antaranga*,) supersedes the (substitution of a) homogeneous long vowel (for इ+इ)',—and the remark (in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 5)[3] *viz.* 'that (in धि+अ+ति, अदुद्रु+अ+त् etc. the substitution by P. VI., 4, 77 of इय् and उव् for the radical vowels इ and उ, dependent as it is on the अ of the affixes) श and चङ् with which (धि+अ and अदुद्रु+अ end), on account of its being *antaranga*, (supersedes the substitution of Guṇa for the same radical vowels which is taught in P. VII., 3, 86)',[4]—these and similar remarks are for the same reason quite correct. It is for the same reason that the word आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95 serves a purpose;[5] for आङ् is meant to show that, when in the case of शिव आ इहि the Guṇa (vowel ए) has been substituted by P. VI., 1, 87 (for आ+इ), the (substitution by P. VI., 1, 88 of the Vṛiddhi (vowel ऐ for the अ of शिव and the ए of एहि) is superseded (by the

1. *Viz.* because here the *bahiranga* operation applies simultaneously with the *antaranga* operation.

2. See below.

3. शचङन्तस्यान्तरङ्गलक्षणत्वात् । अन्तरङ्गलक्षणत्वादत्रेयङुवङोः कृतयोरनुपधात्वाद्गुणो न भविष्यति ॥

4. See pag. 259.

5. See pag. 243.

substitution of the Guṇa vowel ए for अ+ए. The substitution of) Guṇa (for आ+इ) supersedes here, because it is an operation which concerns the root (इ) and its preposition (आ), and because it is on that account *antaranga*, the substitution of the homogeneous long vowel (आ for the अ of शिव and the preposition आ), in spite of the latter being (taught in the) subsequent (rule P. VI., 1, 101. Were, however, Par. LI. applicable in a case like this, then the substitution of आ for the अ of शिव and the preposition आ would not by Par. L. be superseded by the substitution of ए for the preposition आ and the radical इ; we should form first शिव इहि, and afterwards by P. VI., 1, 87 शिवेहि, which shows that the word आङ् of P. VI., 1, 95 would in that case be altogether superfluous.)

One should not say that when in (the formation of) अक्षण्वू (from अक्ष-दिव्+क्विप्) the semivowel य् has been substituted (for the इ of दिव्, this य्) ought to be elided by P. VI., 1, 66, because (the substitution of) ऊ (for the व् of दिव्) would (by Par. L.) be *asiddha* (in regard to the elision of य्.[1] This would be wrong) because the present (Paribhâshâ) conveys the meaning that (a *bahiranga* operation which has taken effect) is not regarded as *asiddha*, when an *antaranga* (operation) is to take

1. *I. e.* The substitution of ऊ for व् would be *bahiranga* not only in regard to the substitution of य् for इ, but also, when य् has been substituted for इ, in regard to the elision of य् which is taught in P. VI., 1, 66. And although it is by the present Paribhâshâ not *bahiranga i. e.* not *asiddha* in regard to the substitution of य् for इ, *viz.* because this substitution is caused by the immediate sequence of the vowel इ and of ऊ, it ought certainly to be *bahiranga*, and therefore by Par. L. *asiddha*, in regard to the elision of य् before व्, for this elision is not caused by the immediate sequence of a vowel and something else. य् should therefore be elided.

effect which is caused by the immediate sequence of a vowel and something else, and also when any other *antaranga* (operation) is to take effect, that may apply after the taking effect of that (first *antaranga* operation).—[1] When however the (elision of य्) is guarded against by (the assumption) that Par. L. is not universally valid (and need therefore not be applied in this case), then Paribhâshâ LI. is (here) superfluous, because (the non-elision of य्) may be accounted for simply by the (fact that Par. L. is not universally valid).

It is only for (the existence of) this Paribhâshâ that the words कृति तुक् in P. VIII., 2, 2 serve a purpose; otherwise they would evidently be useless;[2] for in (the case of) वृत्रहभ्याम् etc. the elision of the न् (of वृत्रहन् etc.)—being *bahiranga* on account of its dependence on the fact that (वृत्रहन् etc.) is a *Pada*, and that it is termed so only because (it is followed by the termination) भ्याम् which stands beyond (the affix क्विप्, the cause of the addition of the augment तुक्),—would (by Par. L.) be considered *asiddha* (in regard to the addition of तुक्), and (such being the case, the object of the words कृति तुक् in P. VIII., 2, 2) would be accomplished (by Par. L.). But according to my

1. The substitution of ऊ for व् is therefore not *asiddha* in regard to the elision of य्, and the latter cannot take place because य् is not followed by व्.

2. See Par. L. pag. 232. There it was stated that Par. L. does not apply in the case of वृत्रहभ्याम् etc. because the fact that न् is elided because वृत्रहन् is termed a *Pada* before भ्याम्, does not make its elision *bahiranga*. Here, on the contrary, it is maintained that the elision of न् would be *bahiranga* and therefore *asiddha* by Par. L., if this were not prevented by Par. LI. Further on we shall see that in reality नाजानन्तर्ये बहिरङ्गप्रकृतिः is no Paribhâshâ at all, and that what has been said in this place regarding वृत्रहभ्याम् etc. is therefore incorrect.

(view those words कृति तुक् in P. VIII., 2, 2) are quite appropriate (for in my opinion Par. LI. does exist and applies in the case of वृत्रहभ्याम् etc.) because (the *antaranga* addition of) तुक् is dependent on the immediate sequence of a vowel (and something else.[1] The elision of न् cannot therefore be considered *asiddha* by Par. L., and Pâṇini was obliged to state that it *is asiddha*).

And one ought not to say that, in case this (Paribhâshâ LI. were admitted to exist), the Bhâshya on the rule P. VI., 1, 71 would be incorrect. There namely the question has been raised whether after the substitution by P. VI., 3, 61 of short (इ for the final of ग्रामणी) in ग्रामणिपुत्र the augment तुक् (should be added[2] to the final इ of ग्रामणि by P. VI., 1, 71); subsequently this (question) has been (answered in the negative and the non-addition of तुक्) been accounted for by the fact that (the substitution of) the short (इ for the ई of ग्रामणी)[3] is *bahiranga* and therefore *asiddha*.[4] (Here then one might maintain that) if Par. LI. did really exist, (the substitution of इ) in that (word ग्रामणिपुत्र) would not be (*bahiranga*), and that consequently (the Bhâshya in which it *is* considered *bahiranga*) would clearly be incorrect. (But to maintain this would be wrong) because that (passage of the) Bhâshya shows that this (Par. LI.) is unnecessary; (and this is the correct view of the matter) because it is simpler that (the word तुक् in P. VI., 1, 86), which (has been assumed) to indicate

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1. See P. VI., 1, 71.
2. तुकमाशङ्क्य, *scil.* प्रत्ययलक्षणेन क्विपमाश्रित्य. P. (ग्रामणी-क्विप्+पुत्र).
3. *Scil.* which is caused by पुत्र.
4. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 71: इह तर्हि ग्रामणिपुत्रः सेनानिपुत्रः। ह्रस्वत्वे कृते तुक् प्राप्नोति। ग्रामणिपुत्रादिषु वाप्राप्तिः। ग्रामणिपुत्रादिषु वाप्राप्तिः। किं कारणम्। बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वादेव॥

(the existence of) this (Par. LI.), should merely teach us that Par. L. is not universally valid, (than that it should indicate the existence of a new Paribhâshâ).

Because then this (Par. LI. is rejected as unnecessary), the substitution of a semivowel for the first (vowel उ) in पटु+ई+आ has in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 57 been accounted for by the fact that the substitution of a semivowel for the subsequent (vowel ई) is by Par. L. *asiddha*, (which could not have been done had Par. LI. been adopted by the author of the Bhâshya).[1] For the same reason has this (Par. LI.) not been mentioned in the Bhâshya anywhere except (in the one passage on) P. I., 4, 2. The[2] author of the Bhâshya) has for the same reason stated in the Bhâshya[3] on P. VI., 1, 108, after having started (in his discussion) from the Antaranga-paribhâshâ, that in (the Bhâshya on) P. I., 4, 2 many objects of that (Paribhâshâ) have been (enumerated) for the sake of which it must be adopted, (but) that it should not be applied whenever any wrong forms would

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1. Now one might say that, even if Par. LI. did exist, it would not be applicable in the case of पट्वा because here the *bahiranga* substitution of य् for ई does not take effect before the *antaranga* substitution of व् for उ. Nâgojibhaṭṭa says therefore: 'For the same reason.....' See Par. L. pag. 261.

2. Now one might object that, if Par. LI. has been mentioned once in the Bhâshya, this is a sufficient authority. Nâgojibhaṭṭa says therefore: 'The author of the Bhâshya.....

3. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 108: इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् । वृक्षा अत्र । प्लक्षा अत्र । पूर्वसवर्णश्च प्राप्नोति बहिरङ्गलक्षणश्च वर्णविकारः (*viz.* in वृक्ष-अस्+अत्र) । अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते [६.१.११३] इत्युत्वम् । पूर्वसवर्णो भवत्यन्तरङ्गः । न चावश्यमिदमेव प्रयोजनम् । भाव्ये योगे बहूनि प्रयोजनानि सन्ति तदर्थमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या प्रतिविधेयं दोषेषु ॥

result (from its application ;)[1] and (the same passage) suggests that 'it should not be applied' can only mean that it should not be regarded as universally valid, (or, in other words, should not be regarded as valid) in *all* cases where it is applicable.[2] Sapienti sat.[3]

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1. P. Now one might say that this does not prove the non-existence of Par. LI. because the latter may be regarded as one of the *Pratividhânas* of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ. Therefore Nâgojibhaṭṭa goes on to say: प्रतिविधानं च···.

2. P. The expression प्रतिविधेयं दोषेषु shows that *one* Pratividhâna (*viz.* अनित्यम्) must be resorted to in all cases where wrong forms would result from the application of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ, and that this Pratividhâna must be different from the Pratividhânas that are given in the Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 2; otherwise Patanjali would have said दोषेषु प्रतिविधानान्युक्तानि, or, if he had approved of the Pratividhânas given on P. I., 4, 2, he would not have said anything on P. VI., 1, 108. The Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 2 is therefore *Ekades'yukti*.

3. In अक्षण् therefore the substitution of ऊ for व्, although it is *bahiranga* in regard to the substitution of य् for इ, is not *asiddha*, because the Antaranga-paribhâshâ is not applied in this case.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LII.

Now one might say that (if) then (Par. L. were valid in all except the particular cases stated above, it ought to be applied) *e. g.* in (the formation of) गोमत्प्रियः[1] (from गोमत्-सु+प्रिय-सु, and

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1. गोमत्प्रिय is a Bahuvrîhi-compound, गोमान्प्रियो यस्य सः. The substitution by P. VI., 1, 68 of Lopa for the Nomin. termination सु in गोमत्-सु is *antaranga* because it is not caused by anything following; that of लुक् for सु by P. II., 4, 71 is *bahiranga*. If सु did disappear by the substitution of Lopa, all the operations dependent on सु would by P. I., 1,

in that case the substitution of) Lopa (for the सु of गोमत्-सु, which is taught in P. VI., 1, 68,) ought, being *antaranga*, to supersede the *bahiranga* (substitution of) लुक् (for the same सु, which is taught in P. II., 4, 71. The latter substitution is *bahiranga*) because it is dependent on the circumstance that (गोमत्प्रिय) is a compound (base and as such) made up of two words (*viz.* of गोमत् and प्रिय, and because it therefore indirectly[1] depends on two words. If Lopa were accordingly substituted for the सु of गोमत्-सु, गोमत् ought by P. I., 1, 62 and VII., 1, 70 etc.) to receive (the augment) नुम् etc. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. LII : A *bahiranga* (substitution of) लुक् supersedes even *antaranga* rules.[2]

The rule P. VII., 2, 98 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ). It indicates this (Paribhâshâ) because it would be useless (if the Paribhâshâ did not exist); for (in that case the substitution of त्व and म for युष्म and अस्म) in (the formation of such forms as) त्वत्कृत etc. (from युष्मद्-टा+कृत etc.) would result (already) from (the operation taught in) P. VII., 2, 97 which is caused by the termination (टा) and therefore *antaranga* in regard to (the substitution of) लुक् (for टा, which depends on the composition of the two words युष्मद् and कृत).[3]

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62 nevertheless take place, *i. e.* गोमत्-सु would even in the compound become गोमान् ; but when सु disappears by the substitution of लुक्, those operations do in accordance with P. I., 1, 63 not take effect, or, in other words, गोमत्-सु becomes गोमत् in the compound.

1. P. परंपरया तत्त्वस्य क्वचिदङ्गीकारात्. See pag. 231, note 1.

2. Accordingly in the case of गोमत्-सु+प्रिय-सु, लुक् (not Lopa) is substituted for the सु of गोमत्-सु.

3. *I. e.* In accordance with Par. L. त्व would be substituted for युष्म

If one objects that (even without this Paribhâshâ) the rule (P. VII., 2, 98) is necessary because it is meant to teach that in त्वयुक 'thy son' etc.[1] (the substitutes त्व and म) supersede तव and मम etc., (which, had the rule VII., 2, 98 not been given, would in these instances have been substituted for युष्मद् and अस्मद् by P. VII., 2, 96 etc.), then, the author of the Bhâshya (on P. VII., 2, 98) remarks, the validity of the word मपर्यन्तस्य 'for that (portion of युष्मद् and अस्मद्) which ends with म' in that (rule VII., 2, 98) indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ).[2]

(In case the *whole* rule P. VII., 2, 98 is nevertheless regarded as the Jnâpaka of the present Paribhâshâ, one might further object that the word प्रत्यय in that rule at any rate does not indicate the existence of this Paribhâshâ, because it is necessary when the affixes क्विप् etc. are added to the crude forms युष्मद् etc.). However (this objection would be futile; for the affix) क्विप् (which is added to other crude forms to denote the sense) 'to behave like (that which is denoted by the crude form)',[3] is not added to युष्मद् etc. because the Bhâshya makes the whole rule

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by P. VII., 2, 97, and लुक् for the termination टा afterwards by P. II., 4, 71. But when by the present Paribhâshâ लुक् has first been substituted for the termination टा, P. VII., 2, 97 ceases to be applicable and we want the rule P. VII., 2, 98 to teach us that त्व is substituted for युष्म. (In the commentary of the Calcutta and of Boethlingk's Edition on P. VII., 2, 98 the words लुकोऽन्तरङ्गत्वात् are incorrect; they ought either to be changed to लुको बहिरङ्गत्वात् or the word लुक् ought to be dropped.)

1. If P. VII, 2., 98 did not exist, we should be obliged in the case of युष्मद्-ङस्+पुत्र: to substitute तव for युष्म by P. VII., 2, 96; or in the case of तुभ्यं हितम्, त्वद्धितम्, to substitute तुभ्य for युष्म by P. VII., 2, 95; similarly तव for युष्म in the case of तवायम्, त्वदीय: etc.

2. See below.

3. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 224.

indicate (this Paribhâshâ), and because on the authority of the Bhâshya on the rule P. VII. 1, 54, which teaches (the addition of the augment) नुट्, that (affix) क्विन् is not added to (crude forms) that end in a consonant.[1] (And) one ought (further) to know that for exactly the same reason[2] (the affix) णिच् also, which is added to (other) crude forms,[3] is never employed after the crude forms (युष्मद् and अस्मद्) when they denote only one (person). This proves the futility of (the objection) that the employment of the word प्रत्यय (in P. VII., 2, 98) serves a purpose (even when this Paribhâshâ does not exist), *viz.* (the purpose) of showing that (त्व and म) are (by P. VII., 2, 98) substituted (for युष्म and अस्म) when (the affixes क्विन् and णिच् are added to युष्मद् and अस्मद्).[4]

Now[5] one might raise the following objection : 'The validity of मपर्यन्तस्य (in P. VII., 2, 98) serves likewise a purpose (even if the present Paribhâshâ be not adopted, *viz.* that) of preventing

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1. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 54: इत्कार्यभावादल (in आम् P. III., 1, 35) इत्संज्ञा न भविष्यति । इदमस्तीत्कार्यं मिदचोऽन्त्यात्परः [१.१.४७] इत्यचामन्त्यात्परो यथा स्यात् । प्रत्ययान्तादयं विधीयते । तत्र नास्ति विशेषो मिदचोऽन्त्यात्पर इति वा परस्ते प्रत्ययः पर इति वा ॥

Kaiyaṭa: प्रत्ययान्तादिति । ते चाजन्ताः । ननु हलन्तेभ्य आचारक्विबन्तेभ्य आमस्त्वेव । नैतदस्ति । एकीयमतमेतत् । तत्रापि हलन्तेभ्योऽनभिधानादाचारक्विबभावः ॥

2. *Viz.* because the whole rule P. VII., 2, 98 has in the Bhâshya been regarded as Jnâpaka of the present Paribhâshâ.

3. See Si. Kau. II., p. 185.

4. See Chitprabhâ: वस्तुतस्त्वनभिधानेऽत्र प्रमाणं चिन्त्यं संपूर्णसूत्रज्ञापकपरभाष्यस्य तु यदयं षत्वतुकोरसिद्ध इत्याहेतिवदप्युपपत्तेः प्रमाणशैथिल्यान्मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तेर्ज्ञापकत्वमुक्तं तदेवेदानीमुपपादयितुमाशङ्क्ते नन्विति ।

5. If the present Paribhâshâ did not exist we might reason thus: In the formation of त्वत्पुत्र from युष्मद्-ङस्+पुत्र two rules apply simultaneously, P. VII., 2, 96 which teaches the substitution of तव for युष्म, and P. II., 4, 71 which teaches the substitution of लुक् for ङस्; the former

the substitution (of त्व and म) for the whole[1] (of युष्मद् and अस्मद्); nor is it possible to say that the validity of that (word मपर्यन्तस्य) is of no use because by the maxim "whatever is taught in an *Apavâda* or special rule takes the same place as that which is taught in the general rule", (a maxim which is) approved of in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 22, the substitutes (त्व and म taught in P. VII., 2, 98) can be substituted only for that (portion of युष्मद् and अस्मद्) which ends with म (just as तव and मम etc. of P. VII., 2, 96 etc. are substituted only for that portion); for that (maxim) is set aside in the case of श्नम्[2] (P. III., 1, 78), of अकच् (in P. V., 3, 71) etc., (and is therefore not universally valid'.)

This (objection, however,) is (likewise) futile; for although in the case of श्नम् that (maxim) is rendered invalid by the fact that श्नम् is distinguished by an indicatory म्, and in

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of these rules being *antaranga*, it ought by Par. L. to take effect first, and we ought accordingly to substitute तव for युष्म. But now we are taught by the *Apavâda* or special rule P. VII., 2, 98 that in a case like the present one त्व shall be substituted instead of the तव which should have been substituted by the general rule VII., 2, 96; here it is unnecessary to state *for what* त्व shall be substituted, because we know from the maxim 'whatever is taught in an *Apavâda* or special rule takes the same place as that which is taught in the general rule,' that त्व must be substituted, for the same portion of युष्मद् for which तव would have been substituted, *i. e.* for युष्म. In case therefore the present Paribhâshâ does not exist, the word मपर्यन्तस्य need not be valid in P. VII., 2, 98; and if it *is* valid, its validity proves the existence of the present Paribhâshâ. See below.

1. See P. I., 1, 55.

2. श्नम् is placed after the root, its *Apavâda* श्नम् after the (last) vowel of the root. P. III., 1, 68; 78; I., 1, 47.—Affixes are added to the end, but अकच् before the last vowel, and बहुच् at the beginning.

the case of बहुच् (in P. V., 3, 68) by the employment of the word पुरस्तात् (in that rule), and in the case of अकच् by the words प्राक् टेः (in P. V., 3, 71), yet there is nothing to show why (the maxim) 'whatever is taught in an *Apavâda*'[1] should be abandoned in the case under discussion (*i. e.* in the case of the substitution of त्व and म by P. VII., 2, 98. Moreover we have actual proof for its universal validity. Pâṇini, namely,) teaches by the rule IV., 3, 2 that युष्माक etc. are substituted (for युष्मद् etc.; and) his doing so has a sense only because (that maxim is universally valid); if it were otherwise, (Pâṇini) would have taught simply the substitution of अकङ् (for the final[2] of युष्मद् etc.[3] But) because, had अकङ् been (substituted for the final of युष्मद् etc.), the substitutes तवक etc. (which are taught in the rule P. IV., 3, 3 which is an) *Apavâda* (of P. IV., 3, 2,) would by the said maxim have been substituted (likewise only) for the final (of युष्मद् etc.), therefore (Pâṇini) teaches (in IV., 3, 2 the substitution of) युष्माक etc., and the very fact of his doing so indicates (the universal validity of) that (maxim).—Although[4] (one might say that) the above maxim (ought to be regarded as valid)[5] when the view of (the author of) the Vârttikas is adopted that (an *Apavâda* or special rule) supersedes (a general rule) when both (if they were to take

1. उत्सर्गस्य; बाधाभावे सर्वत्र प्रवर्तमानस्योत्सर्गेति न्यायस्य. P.

2. See P. I., 1, 53.

3. तवक etc. would nevertheless have been substituted for the whole of युष्मद् etc., because they contain more letters than one.

4. See Kaiyaṭa on P. II., 3, 1: विरोधो बाधकारणं न विशेषविधानमेव | वार्त्तिककारस्य चेदं दर्शनम् | भाष्यकारस्तु विरोधाभावेऽपि विशेषविधानमात्रेणैव बाधकत्वमन्यत्रावोचत् || See Par. LVII.

5. P. विरोधोऽप्यपवादत्वेन बाधे कारणं न विशेषविधानमेव स च समानदेशत्वे सत्येव घटते नान्यथेति तन्मते तस्यावश्यकत्वमिति भावः |

effect together) would come into conflict (with one another), whereas it need not be (considered as) necessarily valid (when the opinion of) the author of the Bhâshya (is adhered to) who, as is shown by Kaiyaṭa on P. II., 3, 1, demands that, contrary (to the view of the author of the Vârttikas, an *Apavâda*) shall supersede (a general rule) also in the absence of any conflict, (*i. e.*) even when (both the *Apavâda* and the general rule) might take effect (together),—nevertheless (the maxim) 'whatever is taught in an *Apavâda*' *is* adopted because (its validity is) indicated by the fact that (Pâṇini in IV., 3, 2) teaches the substitution of युष्माक etc., and we are consequently not wrong (when we apply it) in the case under discussion; the Bhâshya on P. VII., 2, 98[1] moreover authorises us to accept it as valid.

(We have) then (to say that) the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य (in P. VII., 2, 98) is meant to inform us that in (the case of) त्वत्कृत etc. (त्व and म) are substituted for that (portion of युष्मद् and अस्मद् which ends with म; as this however (in the absence of the present Paribhâshâ) would result already from P. VII. 2., 97, because (the substitution of त्व and म, being dependent on the case-termination,) is *antaranga* (in regard to the substitution of लुक् for the same case-termination), that (validity of मपर्यन्तस्य) would (without the present Paribhâshâ) serve no purpose, and it indicates for that reason (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ). But when (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ) has once been indicated, (the substitution of) तव etc. (which is taught in P. VII., 2, 96 etc.) has no concern (with युष्मद् and अस्मद्) in instances that fall under the rule P. VII., 2, 98 (*viz.* because in accordance with the present Paribhâshâ the case-termination of युष्मद् etc.

1. *Viz.* which makes the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98 indicate the existence of the present Paribhâshâ.

has disappeared by the substitution of लुक्, the latter rule) can therefore no longer be an *Apavâda* (of P. VII., 2, 96 etc.) and, (the maxim 'whatever is taught in an *Apavâda*' being) consequently (inapplicable), the (validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98) serves a purpose, *viz.* that of showing that (त्व and म of P. VII., 2, 98) are substituted only for that (portion of युष्मद् and अस्मद्) which ends with म. This is the sense of that (passage of the Bhâshya which was quoted above).[1]

When Haradatta, however, maintains that the validity of that (word मपर्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98) would serve no purpose, if (in the absence of the present Paribhâshâ) the *antaranga* (substitutions of तव etc. which are taught in P. VII., 2, 96 etc.) were to take place (first), because (in that case) a following affix or a second member (of a compound) could not possibly be preceded by something ending with म, and that (the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य) indicates for *that* reason (the existence of the present Paribhâshâ),—he is wrong, because even *antaranga* rules are superseded by *Apavâdas*,[2] and because accordingly the (operations that are taught in P. VII., 2, 96 etc.) could never take place in instances that fall under P. VII., 2, 98 (which *is* an *Apavâda* of P. VII., 2, 96 etc.).

(Some) say that in reality the (validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98) indicates (the existence of the present Paribhâshâ) only when the view of the (author of the) Vârttikas[3] is adopted, whereas, in case the view of the (author of the) Bhâshya be accepted, the information conveyed by this (Paribhâshâ) must be regarded as an independent statement.

1. तदाशयः *i. e.* भाष्याशयः P. See above pag. 279.
2. See Par. LVII.
3. See above pag. 282.

Some say that this (Paribhâshâ) concerns only that (substitution of) लुक् which is taught in P. II., 4, 71; (but) on the authority of the Bhâshya (and Kaiyaṭa) on P. VI., 1, 69 and on P. VII., 3, 45 it concerns every (substitution of) लुक् whatsoever. In the former passage it has been stated in the Bhâshya that in (the Vocative) हे त्रपु etc. लुक् is—in accordance with this Paribhâshâ—(substituted by P. VII., 1, 23 for the termination सु), in preference to the Lopa[1] (which might have been substi-

1. Vocative त्रपु+सु; P. VI, 1, 69 Lopa for सु;
P. VII., 1, 23 लुक् for सु;

लुक् is substituted in accordance with the present Paribhâshâ; if Lopa had been substituted, त्रपु would by P. I., 1, 62 and VII., 3, 108 have formed त्रपो in the Vocative. (See Si. Kau. I., p, 142; M. Muller's Skr. Gr. 2nd Ed. pag. 110, note; and the Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 73 quoted below by Kaiyaṭa).—It does not matter that Lopa and लुक् are here not *antaranga* and *bahiranga*, for the Paribhâshâ teaches that लुक् (like an *Apavâda*) supersedes not only *antaranga*, but also *pûrva*, *para*, and *nitya* rules; for the same reason the Vipratishedha-rule P. I., 4, 2 is not applicable in the present instance.

See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 69:

अपृक्तसंबुद्धिलोपाभ्यां लुग्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । अपृक्तलोपस्यावकाशः । गोमान् यवमान् । लुकोऽवकाशः । त्रपु जतु । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति । तद्ब्राह्मणकुलं यद्ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥ संबुद्धिलोपस्यावकाशः । अग्ने वायो । लुकः । स एव । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति । हे त्रपु हे जतु । लुग्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ॥ स तर्हि विप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । न वक्तव्यः । न वा लोपलुकोर्लुगवधारणाद्यथानडुह्मन इति । न वार्थो विप्रतिषेधेन । किं कारणम् । लोपलुकोर्लुगवधारणात् । लोपलुकोर्हि लुगवधार्यते । लुग्लोपयणयवायावेकादेशेभ्यो यथानडुह्मन इति । तद्यथा । अनड्वानिवाचरत्यनडुह्मन इत्यत्र लोपलुकोर्लुगवधार्यते ॥

Kaiyaṭa: हे त्रप्विति । लुकि कृते प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधात्संबुद्धिगुणाभावः । इकोऽचि विभक्तौ [७.१.७३] इत्यत्र त्वङ्ग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनं वक्ष्यत इह किंचित्त्रपो इति । ततो गुणेन भाव्यम् ॥ न वक्तव्य इति । न व्याख्यातव्यः ॥ कस्मादित्याह । न वेति । अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन्बाधमानो लुग्बलवानित्यतुल्यबलेन लोपेन स्पर्द्धां नार्हतीति विप्रतिषेधो नोपन्यसनीयः ॥ अनडुह्मन इति । सुलोपे सति प्रत्ययलक्षणेन नुमामौ स्यातां लुकि प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधान्न भवतः ॥

tuted for सु by P. VI., 1, 69). In the latter passage Kaiyaṭa has made the following statement: 'Not[1] merely the (substitution of) लुक् for a case-termination, but every (substitution of) लुक् whatsoever supersedes even *antaranga* rules. For this reason is the (radical) nasal in सनीखंस etc. not elided.[2] In (the formation of) पञ्चखट्व "bartered for five beds" (from पञ्चन्+खट्व-टाप्+ठक्)[3] etc. लुक् is (for the same reason by P. I., 2, 49) substituted for (the feminine affix) टाप् already before the one (vowel आ) is substituted (for the final अ of खट्व and the fem. affix आ); had लुक् on the other hand been substituted after the substitution of the one (आ for अ+आ), then (the compound) would not have ended in the letter अ.'

Kaiyaṭa's statement on P. II., 4, 62 must, because it is contrary to the above, be regarded as an (incorrect) conceit of his own. (The author of) the Bhâshya (namely on P. II., 4, 62) assumes that, after (the substitution of) लुक् for the case-termination (शस्) in the formation of अत्यङ्ग 'surpassing the Anga kings' (from अति+अङ्ग-अण्-शस्),[4] लुक् would on account of the absence of

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1. See Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 3, 45: अन्तरङ्गांश्च विधीन्बहिरङ्गो लुग्बाधते न सुब्लुगेव । तथा च सनीखंस....पञ्चखट्व इत्यादौ टापा सहैकादेशो न भवति । अन्यथैकादेशस्यादिवद्भावाद्दाब्ग्रहणेन ग्रहणाल्लुकि कृतेऽकारस्य श्रवणं न स्यात् ॥

2. सनीखंस्-यङ्-अ; P. VI. 4, 24, Lopa for the penult. nasal before यङ्; P. II., 4, 74, लुक् for यङ्; by the present Paribhâshâ लुक् is substituted first for यङ्, and afterwards the substitution of Lopa for the penult. nasal is prevented by P. I., 1, 63.—P. अन्यथा यङन्तादचि पूर्वोपस्थितनिमित्तकृत्वेनान्तरङ्गत्वाद्यङोऽचि [२.४.७४] इति लुकः प्रागचः प्रागेव वानिदिताम् [६.४.२४] इति स्यादिति भावः ॥

3. For ठक् लुक् is substituted by P. IV., 1, 88.

4. 'A king of the अङ्ग' = अङ्ग-अण्, P. IV., 1, 170; 'surpassing the kings of the Angas' = अति+अङ्ग-अण्-शस्; लुक् for the Tadrâja affix अण् by P. II., 4, 62; लुक् for the case-termination शस् by P. II., 4, 71.

the plural termination after (अङ्-अण्) not be (substituted) for the Taddhâja (affix अण्); Kaiyaṭa, when commenting hereon raises first the question whether the (substitution of) लुक् (for the Taddhâja affix अण्) would by the present Paribhâshâ supersede the (substitution of) लुक् for the case-termination (शस्), and subsequently (he answers this question in the negative and) states that this (Paribhâshâ) assigns greater force only to the (substitution of) लुक् for a case-termination (which is taught in P. II., 4, 71.[1] Herein Kaiyaṭa is wrong); he should have answered the question (as to the superior force of the substitution of लुक् for the Taddhâja affix) in the negative by stating (that that substitution cannot supersede the substitution of लुक् for the case-termination), because one (substitution of) लुक् cannot possibly be said to possess greater force than another (substitution of) लुक्.

We[2] learn from this Paribhâshâ that any (substitution of) लुक् which makes the causes of a (*para, nitya,* or) *antaranga* (operation) disappear, and likewise the composition[3] etc. that gives rise to such (a substitution of लुक्), possesses greater force

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1. See Kaiyaṭa on P. II., 4, 62: अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन्सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः [२.४.७१] इत्यय लुक् प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च [७.२.९०] इति ज्ञापकादस्यैवाल संभवाद्बाधत इति भावः।

2. P. Although the लुक् of the present Paribhâshâ denotes every लुक्, nevertheless the Bhâshya on P. II., 4, 62 shows that *only that* लुक्, which destroys the cause of another operation, is stronger than that operation, because such is the case in the instances स्वत्कृत etc. that are formed by the Jnâpaka-rule P. VII., 2, 98. To indicate this Nâgojibhaṭṭa adds: 'We learn....'

3. P. 'or the addition of a Taddhita-affix etc.'

(than that *para*, *nitya*, or *antaranga* operation) ;[1] more of this elsewhere.[2]

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1. गोमत् - सु is therefore compounded with प्रिय - सु before गोमत् receives the augment नुम् etc ; subsequently लुक् is substituted for सु, and afterwards नुम् etc. cannot be added.

2. P. The present Paribhâshâ is not universally valid because its existance is established by a Jnâpaka. (See Par. CXVI).

अत एव न यासयोः [७.३.४५] इति सूत्रस्थप्रागुक्तभाष्यसंगतिस्तत्रत्यप्रागुक्तकैयटस्तु चिन्त्य एवेत्यादि स्पष्टमुद्द्योतादौ । तदाहेत्यन्यत्रेति ॥

Extract from the Bhâshya[1] on P. VII., 2, 98 :

प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च ॥ किमर्थमिदमुच्यते न त्वमावेकवचने [७.२.९७] इत्येव सिद्धम् । न सिध्यति । किं कारणम् । एकवचनाभावात् । एकवचन इत्युच्यते न चात्रैकवचनं पश्यामः । प्रत्ययलक्षणेन । न लुमताङ्गस्य [१.१.६३] इति प्रत्ययलक्षणस्य प्रतिषेधः । एवं तर्हीदमिह संप्रधार्यं लुक् क्रियतामादेशा इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वादादेशाः । नित्यो लुक् कृतेष्वप्यादेशेषु प्राप्नोत्यकृतेष्वपि । अन्तरङ्गा आदेशाः । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यत्प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोस्त्वमौ शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन्बाधित्वा बहिरङ्गो लुग्भवतीति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । गोमान्प्रियो यस्य **गोमत्प्रियो** यवमत्प्रियो गोमानिवाचरति गोमत्यते यवमत्यतेऽन्तरङ्गानपि नुमादीन्बहिरङ्गो लुग्बाधत इति । नैतदस्ति ज्ञा-

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1. Kaiyaṭa : प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च ॥ अन्तरङ्गानिति । नित्यादप्यन्तरङ्गो बलीयांस्तथा चोक्तं परनित्यान्तरङ्गप्रतिपदविधयो विरोधिसंनिपाते तेषां मिथःप्रसङ्गे परबलीयस्त्वमिति ॥ गोमत्प्रिय इति । अत्रान्तरङ्गा एकपदाश्रयत्वात्सुलोपादयः स्युः पदद्वयाश्रयत्वाद्बहिरङ्गो लुगिति गोमान्प्रिय इति स्यात् । अस्मिंस्तु ज्ञापके सत्यन्तरङ्गाण्यपि कार्याणि बाधित्वा लुग्भवति ततो न लुमताङ्गस्येति प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधान्नुंदीर्घाभावे गोमत्प्रिय इति सिध्यति ॥ सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः [२.४.७१] इत्यस्यैव बाधकत्वमनेन ज्ञाप्यते तस्यैवेह संभवात् । केचित्तु सामान्यापेक्षया

पकम् । अस्त्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम् । किम् । येऽन्य एकवचनादेशाः प्राप्नुवन्ति तद्बाधनार्थमेतत्स्यात् । तद्यथा तव पुत्रस्त्वत्पुत्रो मम पुत्रो मत्पुत्रस्तुभ्यं हितं त्वद्धितं मह्यं हितं मद्धितमिति । यत्तर्हि मपर्यन्तग्रहणमनुवर्तयति । यद्यत्रान्य एकवचनादेशाः स्युर्मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तिरनर्थिका स्यात् ॥

ज्ञापकत्वाश्रयाल्लुङ्ग्रहणस्य बलवत्त्वाश्रयेण व्यवहारदर्शनाल्लुङ्ग्रहणं बाधकं ज्ञाप्यत इत्याहुः ॥ येऽन्य इति । एकवचनाधिकारादेकवचननिमित्तानामादेशान्तराणां त्वमौ बाधकौ स्यातां न तु ज्ञापकावित्यर्थः ॥ यत्तर्हीति । केचिद्व्याचक्षते । यद्यादेशान्तराणां त्वमौ बाधकौ स्यातां तदा मपर्यन्तग्रहणानुवृत्तिमन्तरेणोत्सर्गसमानदेशत्वादपवादानां मपर्यन्तस्य त्वमौ सिद्धाविति किं तदनुवृत्त्या । अनुवृत्त्या तु ज्ञाप्यते प्रागेव लुकि कृते विभक्त्यभावादसत्स्वादेशान्तरेषु त्वमौ विधीयेते इति । एतच्चायुक्तम् । नायं नियोग उत्सर्गसमानदेशोऽपवाद इति श्नंबहुजकचां भिन्नदेशानामप्यपवाददर्शनात् । ततश्चासत्यां मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तावादेशान्तराणामपि बाधकौ त्वमौ सर्वादेशौ स्यातामनेकाल्त्वादिति सप्रयोजना मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तिः । तस्मादन्यथा व्याख्यायते । तवममादय आदेशाः स्थानिप्रक्लृप्त्यर्थमिहानुवर्तन्ते तत्र तवादीनां प्रसङ्गे सिद्धयोस्त्वमयोर्मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तिस्त्वया कृतं त्वत्कृतमित्याद्यर्था भवन्ती लुको बाधकत्वं ज्ञापयति । ततश्च तवाद्यनुवृत्तिसहिता मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तिर्ज्ञापनाय भवति केवला हि मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तिर्लाघवाय स्यात् । गरीयसी हि तवाद्यनुवृत्त्या स्थानिप्रतीतिः । ततो ज्ञापनाय न प्रभवेत् । तस्मात्तवाद्यनुवृत्तिसहिता मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तिर्यथोक्तप्रकारेण यथोक्तार्थज्ञापनायालम् ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LIII.

Now one might say that (if) then (Par. L. were valid in all except the particular cases stated above), the Guṇa (vowel ए) ought in (the formation of) सौमेन्द्र (from सोम-इन्द्र+अण्) to be substituted (for the अ of सोम and the इ of इन्द्र), because (its substitution) is *antaranga* (when compared with the substitution by P. VII., 3, 21 of Vṛiddhi for the first vowels of सोम and इन्द्र; and that after the substitution of Guṇa) the prohibition of (the

substitution of) Vṛiddhi (for the इ of इन्द्र) which is contained in the rule P. VII., 3, 22 would serve no purpose, because the first member (of the compound) would (after the substitution of Guṇa) no longer be followed by the word इन्द्र.[1]

(Nor would it be correct to object[2] that even after the substitution of Guṇa इन्द्र would still, though changed to एन्द्र, follow upon the first member of the compound ; for) it is forbidden to regard (any single substitute like ए) both as the final (of what precedes) and at the same time as the initial (of what follows).[3]

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1. सोम - इन्द्र+अण् (P. IV., 2, 24); here Vṛiddhi would by P. VII., 3, 21 be substituted for the first vowel of सोम and also for the first vowel of इन्द्र, if P. VII., 3, 22 did not forbid the substitution of Vṛiddhi for the इ of इन्द्र, when the latter is the second member of a Devatâ-dvandva. Accordingly Vṛiddhi is substituted only for the ओ of सोम, and subsequently सौम-इन्द्र are combined in सौमेन्द्र. Now however the objection is raised that the substitution of ए for the final of सोम and the initial of इन्द्र is *antaranga* when compared with the substitution of Vṛiddhi for the ओ of सोम and the इ of इन्द्र, and that accordingly it ought by Par. L. to take effect first; that when इन्द्र has thus disappeared, P. VII., 3, 21 can no longer teach the substitution of Vṛiddhi for its first vowel, and that consequently the rule P. VII., 3, 22, which is meant to prevent that substitution of Vṛiddhi, serves no purpose and is superfluous.

2. One might object that the substitute ए in सोमेन्द्र may by P. VI., 1, 85 be regarded both as the final of the first member and as the initial of the second member, that P. VII., 3, 21 would therefore apply even after the substitution of ए, and that consequently P. VII., 3, 22, in preventing the substitution of Vṛiddhi for the first vowel of the second member, *would* serve a purpose. This objection is refuted by the statement that ए cannot be regarded both as the final of the first member and also as the initial of the second member.

3. See Bhâshya on P. VI. 1, 85: तत्र यस्यान्तादिवत्तान्निर्देशः । तत्र यस्यान्तादिवद्भाव इष्यते तन्निर्देशः कर्तव्यः । अस्यान्तवद्भवतीत्यस्यादिवद्भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । सिद्धं

Moreover[1], though that portion (of सोमेन्द्र) which ends with the substitute (ए), may be the first member (of the compound), because, even if (the substitute ए) cannot be regarded both as the final (of what precedes) and as the initial (of what follows), it may (at any rate) be regarded as the final of what precedes,—and though in that case the (remaining) portion न्द्र might by Par. XXXVII., or[2], provided that it is *not* (forbidden) to regard

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तु पूर्वपराधिकारात् । सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । पूर्वपराधिकारात् । पूर्वपरयोरिति वर्तते । पूर्वस्य कार्यं प्रत्यन्तवद्भवति परस्य कार्यं प्रत्यादिवद्भवति । अथ यत्रोभयमाश्रीयते किं तत्र पूर्वस्यान्तवद्भवत्याहोस्विदपरस्यादिवद्भवति । उभयत आश्रये नान्तादिवत् । किं वक्तव्यमेतत् । न हि । कथमनुच्यमानं गम्यते । लौकिकोऽयं दृष्टान्तः । तद्यथा लोके यो द्वयोरत्यबलयोरेकः प्रेष्यो भवति स तयोः पर्यायेण कार्यं करोति यदा तु तमुभौ युगपत्प्रेषयतो नानादिक्षु च कार्यं भवतस्तत्र यद्यसावविरोधार्थी भवत्युभयोर्न करोति । किं पुनः कारणमुभयोर्न करोति । यौगपद्यासंभवात् । नास्ति यौगपद्येन संभवः । .....

1. The four objections which are refuted in the following are these: *a*) ए may by P. VI., 1, 85 be regarded as the final of the first member, and the remaining न्द्र as equivalent to इन्द्र by Par. XXXVII; *b*) notwithstanding what has been said above ए *may* be considered both as the final of the first member and at the same time as the initial of the second member which in this case would be एन्द्र; *c*) ए may by P. VI., 1, 85 be regarded as the initial of the second member, *i. e.* एन्द्र as equivalent to इन्द्र, and the preceding सोम् as equivalent to सोम by Par. XXXVII; *d*) सोम् may be regarded as equivalent to सोम by Par. XXXVII., and एन्द्र as equivalent to इन्द्र by the same Paribhâshâ. By each of these objections the objector tries to prove that P. VII., 3, 21 would apply even after the substitution of ए, and that P. VII., 3, 22 in preventing the taking effect of that rule does serve a purpose.

2. P. ननूभयत आश्रय इति निर्मूलं वनिघटितद्यात्स्वस्याहार्यारोपबोधकत्वेन तस्य च विरुद्धद्वयविषयकत्वस्याप्रि युगपत्संभवेन लौकिकन्यायेनोक्तेनास्य सिद्धत्वाभावादन्तादिवत्त्वेऽपि व्यवर्णभावेनोपसर्गात्परत्वस्थैण्यभावेनाभीयादित्यादिसिद्धेश्च । उपसर्गस्यायतौ [८.२.१९] अन्तादिवच्च [६.१.८५] न पदान्त [१.१.५८] गोस्त्रियोः [१.२.४८] इत्यादिसूलभाष्ये तदुल्लेखस्त्वेकदेशिन इति स्पष्टमुद्द्योतादावन आहोभयेति ॥

(any single substitute by P. VI., 1, 85) both as the final (of what precedes) and at the same time as the initial (of what follows, the portion एन्द्र) by that (very rule P. VI., 1, 85) be (regarded as) the second member (of the compound),— still the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi (taught in P. VII., 3, 21) would have no concern with this (second member) because the latter does not contain any vowel,[1] one (of its vowels) having disappeared by the substitution of the one (vowel ए for अ+इ) and the other by the elision taught in P. VI., 4, 148 which is *nitya*.[2]

Nor is it correct to propose that (the substitute ए) should (by P. VI., 1, 85) be regarded as the initial of what follows, and that (portion of the compound) which (in this case) would begin with the substitute ए, as the second member (of the compound,— and to say that, if this proposal were carried out), the (substitution of Vṛiddhi which is taught in P. VII., 3, 21) *would* concern (the second member of the compound); for, as the Vṛiddhi (taught in P. VII., 3, 21) has to take the place of the first vowel of the second member (*e. g.* of the इ of इन्द्र), it can on account of the absence of that (vowel इ) have no concern (with एन्द्र), because (a single substitute for two vowels) cannot (by P. VI., 1, 85) be regarded as uniform (with either of the two vowels for which it has been substituted).[3] If it were otherwise, ऐस् should, as appears from the Bhâshya, have been substituted for भिस् also in the Instr. Plur. of खट्वा etc., because (the one substitute आ for the अ of खट्वा and the Femin.

1. एन्द्र does contain a vowel but not that vowel इ for which alone Vṛiddhi would be substituted by P. VII., 3, 21; see below.

2. *Scil.* and possesses on that account greater force than the subsequent rule P. VII., 3, 21 which teaches the substitution of Vṛiddhi.

3. P. पृथगवस्थिताभ्यामाद्यन्तघटिताभ्यां ये व्यवहाराः प्रत्ययत्वप्रातिपदिकत्वसुबन्तत्वादयस्ते कृत्स्नैकादेशस्यापीत्यर्थ इति भावः ॥

affix आ), as it is regarded as the final of what precedes, (would also have been considered as equivalent to short अ), and because (in that case the word खट्वा) would have ended in short अ (and would accordingly have fallen under the rule P. VII., 1, 9).[1] For the same reason has it been stated (in the Bhâshya) that in the case of पूर्वेषुकामशम[2] the (substitution of) Vriddhi (for the इ of इषुकामशमी which is taught in P. VII., 3, 14) would not take place if (the substitution of) Guṇa for the अ (of पूर्व and the इ of इषुकामशमी), on account of its being *antaranga*, were to take place (first).[3] Moreover (ऐन्द्र cannot be regarded as equivalent to इन्द्र by Par. XXXVII.), because the change (which इन्द्र under-

1. *I. e.* The Instr. Plur. of खट्वा would have been खट्वैः; just as if खट्वा had ended in short अ. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 85:

वर्णाश्रयविधौ च । वर्णाश्रयविधौ च नान्तादिवद्भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । खट्वाभिः.... । इह खट्वाभिर्मालाभिरिति भिस ऐस्भवतीत्यैस्भावः प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । तपरकरणसामर्थ्यान्न भविष्यति । अस्त्यन्यत्तपरकरणे प्रयोजनम् । किम् । कीलालयाभिः शुभयाभिः । .... न वाताद्रूप्यातिदेशात् । न वा वक्तव्यम् । किं कारणम् । अवाताद्रूप्यातिदेशात् । न हि तादृप्यमतिदिश्यते । रूपाश्रया वा एते विधयोऽतादृप्यान्न भविष्यन्ति ॥

2. पूर्व-इषुकामशमी+अण्; Guṇa ए for अ+इ *antaranga*; Vriddhi for इ *bahiranga*.

3. *Viz.* because the substitute ए for अ+इ would not be uniform with the initial इ of इषुकामशमी. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 85:

उत्तरपदवृद्धिश्चैकादेशात् । उत्तरपदवृद्धिश्चैकादेशाद्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । उत्तरपदवृद्धेरवकाशः । पूर्वेवेगर्नकः । एकादेशस्यावकाशः । दण्डाग्रम् क्षुराग्रम् । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति । पूर्वेषुकामशमः अपरेषुकामशमः । उत्तरपदवृद्धिर्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । एकादेशप्रसङ्गस्त्वन्तरङ्गबलीयस्त्वात् । एकादेशस्तु प्राप्नोति । किं कारणम् । अन्तरङ्गबलीयस्त्वात् । अन्तरङ्गं बलीयो भवति । तत्र को दोषः । तत्र वृद्धिविधानम् । तत्र वृद्धिर्विधेया । नैष दोषः आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति पूर्वपदोत्तरपदयोस्तावत्कार्यं भवति नैकादेश इति यदयं नेन्द्रस्य परस्य प्रतिषेधं शास्ति । कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् । इन्द्रे द्वावचौ तत्रैको यस्येति लोपेन ह्रियतेऽपर एकादेशेन । अनच्क इन्द्रः संपन्नः । तत्र को वृद्धेः प्रसङ्गः । पश्यति त्वाचार्यः पूर्वपदोत्तरपदयोस्तावत्कार्यं भवति नैकादेश इति ततो नेन्द्रस्य परस्येति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ॥

goes in becoming एन्द्र) is not a change of one part of it only (but is the result of the combination of the final अ of सोम and the initial इ of इन्द्र).

All this[1] (the author of) the Bhâshya expresses (in the words): 'Both the vowels of इन्द्र have disappeared, one by the elision taught in P. VI., 4, 148, the other by the substitution of one (vowel for its initial इ and the final vowel of a preceding member); in this manner इन्द्र has become vowelless; how can then (the substitution of) Vṛiddhi take place (in it)?'

When[2] इन्द्र forms a Dvandva-compound with words like मरुत्, इन्द्र itself must be placed first (in the compound,[3] and the prohibition contained in P. VII., 3, 22 can consequently also in that case not serve any purpose).

(The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LIII: The substitution of one (vowel for the final of the first and the initial of the second member of a compound) does, even when it is *antaranga*, not (take place) previously to an operation which concerns[4] the first or the second member (of the compound).

The very prohibition P. VII., 3, 22 indicates, as appears from

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1. P. तदुक्तं *i. e.* तदेतत्सर्वमभिप्रेत्योक्तं भाष्ये, *viz.* on P. VI., 1. 85 and I., 4, 2.

2. Now one might say that in the case of such Dvandva-compounds as मरुदिन्द्र in which the इ of इन्द्र does not disappear by the substitution of another vowel for itself and a final vowel preceding it, P. VII., 3, 22 *does* serve a purpose. Nâgojibhaṭṭa says therefore: 'When इन्द्र...'

3. P. II., 2, 33.

4. °निमित्तेति बहुव्रीहिः। निमित्तत्वं च यथाकथंचित्। P.

the Bhâshya on the rules P. VI., 1, 85 and I., 4, 2, (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ).[1]

1. See Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 2:

तस्य दोषः पूर्वोत्तरपदयोर्वृद्धिस्वरावेकादेशात् । तस्यैतस्य लक्षणस्य दोषः पूर्वोत्तरपदयोर्वृद्धिस्वरावेकादेशादन्तरङ्गतोऽभिनिर्वृत्तान्न प्राप्नुतः । पूर्वेषुकामशमः । गुडोदकं तिलोदकम् । उदकेऽकेवले [६.२.९६] इति पूर्वोत्तरपदयोर्व्यपवर्गाभावात्स्वरो न स्यात् । नैष दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति पूर्वोत्तरपदयोस्तावत्कार्यं भवति नैकादेश इति यदयमित्यादि ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LIV.

Now one might say that even thus[1] ल्यप् ought in (the formation of) the Gerund of प्र-धा, प्र-स्था etc. (from प्र+धा-क्त्वा, प्र+स्था-क्त्वा, etc.) to be (substituted for क्त्वा) after the substitution (by P. VII.) 4, 42 etc.) of हि etc. (for धा etc.), because (these latter substitutions are *antaranga*.[2] (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LIV: A *bahiranga* (substitution of) ल्यप् supersedes even[3] *antaranga* rules.[4]

1. *I. e.* even when the application of Par. L. has been restricted by Paribhâshâs LI., LII., and LIII.

2. In the formation of the Gerund of प्र-धा from प्र+धा-क्त्वा two rules are applicable, P. VII., 4, 42 which teaches the substitution of हि for धा before क्त्वा, and P. VII., 1, 37 which teaches the substitution of ल्यप *i. e.* य for क्त्वा *i. e.* त्वा; as the former rule is *antaranga* and the latter *bahiranga*, the former would by Par. L. take effect first, and when हि would have been substituted by it for धा, ल्यप् would be substituted for क्त्वा; the result would be प्र-हि-य, and not प्रधाय.

P. अन्तरङ्गत्वात् । अनेकपदाश्रयसमासनिमित्तकल्यबपेक्षयैकपदीयप्रकृतिप्रत्ययापेक्षत्वेन घटकत्वेन तत्त्वात् ॥

3. *I. e.* in addition to its superseding *para* and *nitya* rules.

4. In the case of प्र+धा-क्त्वा ल्यप् is therefore first substituted for क्त्वा,

The employment of ल्यप् in the rule P. II., 4, 36 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ), because, (in case this Paribhâshâ did not exist, the substitution of जग्ध् for अद् before ल्यप् which is taught in P. II., 4, 36) would follow already from the word क्ङिति 'before that which is distinguished by an indicatory क्' (in the same rule; *i. e.* जग्ध् would by Par. L. first be substituted for अद् before क्त्वा, and ल्यप् afterwards for क्त्वा).[1] This appears from the Bhâshya[2] on P. II., 4, 36.

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and subsequently P. VII., 4, 42 is no longer applicable; we obtain thus प्रधाय.

1. As soon as the present Paribhâshâ is adopted, ल्यप् in P. II., 4, 36 becomes necessary, for, when ल्यप् has been substituted for क्त्वा *e. g.* in प्र+अद्-क्त्वा, जग्ध् cannot be substituted for अद् if P. II., 4, 36 does not contain the word ल्यप्.

2. P. ननु स्थानिवत्सूत्रेऽनित्यौ स्थानिवत्त्वाभावज्ञापकमिदमुक्तं भाष्य इति तयोर्मिथो विरोध इति चेन्न । यावता विना यदनुपपन्नं तस्य सर्वस्य ज्ञाप्यत्वं न त्वेकेनैकमिति नियम इति कैयटेनैवोक्तत्वात् ॥

Bhâshya[1] on P. II., 4, 36 :

ल्यब्ग्रहणं किमर्थम् । न ति कितीत्येव सिद्धम् । ल्यपि कृते न प्राप्नोति । इदमिह संप्रधार्यं ल्यप् क्रियतामादेश इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वाल्ल्यप् । अन्तरङ्ग आदेशः । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यल्ल्यब्ग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन्बहिरङ्गो ल्यब्बाधत इति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । ल्यबादेश उपदेशिवद्वचनमनादिष्टार्थं बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वादिति वक्ष्यति । तन्न वक्तव्यं भवति ।

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1. Kaiyata: अन्तरङ्ग आदेश इति । तकारादिप्रत्ययमात्रापेक्षत्वात् । ल्यबादेशस्तु पूर्ववदापेक्षसमासाश्रयत्वाद्बहिरङ्गः ॥ अनादिष्टार्थमिति । प्रधाय प्रस्थायेत्यादौ हित्वादिष्वकृतेष्वेव ल्यब्यथा स्यादित्यर्थः । कथं न प्राप्नोतीत्याह । बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वादिति ॥ अयमेवार्थो

जग्धिविधिर्ल्यपि यत्तदकस्मात्
सिद्धमदस्ति कितीति विधानात् ।
हिम्रभृतींस्तु सदा बहिरङ्गो
ल्यङ्भरतीति कृतं तदु विद्धि ॥
एष एवार्थः ।
जग्धौ सिद्धेऽन्तरङ्गत्वात्ति कितीति ल्यबुच्यते ।
ज्ञापयत्यन्तरङ्गाणां ल्यपा भवति बाधनमिति ॥

व्याघ्रभूतिनाप्युक्त इत्याह । जग्धिविधिरिति ॥ अकस्मादिति । निष्प्रयोजनमित्यर्थः ॥ सिद्धमद इति । जग्धिविधानं सिद्धमित्यर्थः । ज्ञापनार्थं ल्यपि जग्धिविधानमित्याह । हिम्रभृतीनिति ॥ ल्यङ्भरतीति । ल्यबादेशो हरत्यपनयति बाधन इत्यर्थः ॥ तदु इति । उशब्दो निपातो अवधारणार्थः । तद्विद्धयेवेत्यर्थः ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LV.

Now one might say that even thus in (the formation of) the Redupl. Perf. of इ etc. (from इ+अ etc.), when (the root इ etc.) has been reduplicated (*i. e.* in इ+इ+अ etc.), the substitution (by P. VI., 1, 101) of the homogeneous long vowel (ई for इ+इ) ought, because it is *antaranga*,[1] (by Par. L.)to take place (before the substitution of Vṛiddhi taught in P. VII., 2, 115), and that in that

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1. इ+इ+अ; substitution of ई for इ+इ by P. VI , 1, 101, *antaranga*; substitution of Vṛiddhi for the radical इ before अ, by P. VII., 2, 115, *bahiranga*. By P. I., 1, 59 the reduplication takes place *before* the substitution of Vṛiddhi; or, if Vṛiddhi is substituted first, it must so far as regards the reduplication be considered as uniform with the original इ.

case the (forms इयाय etc.) would not result (from Pâṇini's rules.[1] The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. LV: (An operation) which is taught in the Angâdhikâra (P. VI., 4,—VII., 4, and affects the *anga* or base,) possesses greater force than (an operation) which concerns (a combination of) letters, (or in other words, is taught in a Sandhi-rule.)[2]

Hereby the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi (for the radical इ) supersedes and (takes place in preference to the substitution of) the homogeneous long vowel (ई for इ+इ), notwithstanding that the latter is *antaranga*; and consequently the (forms इयाय etc.) do result (from Pâṇini's rules). The word असवर्णे 'not when an homogeneous vowel follows' in the rule P. VI., 4, 78, which teaches (the substitution of) इयङ् (etc. for the vowel इ etc. of a reduplicative syllable), indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ). For that (word has been employed in P. VI., 4, 78) in order to prevent (the substitution of) इयङ् etc. in such forms as ईषतुः (from इ+इषतुः); but if the present Paribhâshâ did not exist, the (word असवर्णे) would be superfluous, because (in that case the substitution of इयङ् etc. for the reduplicative इ etc. would in the case of इ+इषतुः etc.) be superseded (already) by the *antaranga* (substitution of the) homogeneous long vowel (ई for इ+इ etc., the substitution of) इयङ् and उवङ् being *bahiranga* because it de-

1. We should form इ+इ+अ=ई+अ, and afterwards by P. VII., 2, 115 ऐ+अ=आय.

2. Accordingly इ+इ+अ becomes इ+ऐ+अ *i. e.* इ+आय by P. VII., 2, 115, and this इयाय by P. VI, 4, 78.

pends on the condition that (the vowels इ and उ for which they are substituted) stand in the reduplicative syllable. Nor is (the rule P. VI., 4, 78 which teaches the substitution of) इयङ् etc., an *Apavâda*[1] (of the rule P. VI., 1, 101 which teaches the substitution of a homogeneous long vowel, and on that account stronger than the latter), for it is clear from Par. LVII. that (P. VI, 4, 78) can only be regarded as an *Apavâda* of (the rule P. VI., 1, 77 which teaches the substitution of) यण् (*i. e.* a semivowel), because (only) the latter rule would be applicable in the case of इयर्ति and of all other forms (that fall under P. VI., 4, 78). Such is the opinion of the ancient (grammarians).[2]

Others however (and their view is correct) say that if this Paribhâshâ did not exist, the whole rule P. VI., 4, 78 would be superfluous. It would serve no purpose in (the formation of) इयेष, इयाय etc., for (here) the Guṇa (ए) which previously has taken the place (of the इ of इष्+अ), and the Vṛiddhi (ऐ) which previously has taken the place (of the इ of इ+अ), disappear (in the first instance again when the roots have to be reduplicated), because by P. I., 1, 59 (एष्+अ and ऐ+अ, so long as the reduplication has still to take place,) are regarded as uniform with (इष्+अ and इ+अ); and when then (subsequently) the reduplication has taken place, (*i. e.* when इष्+अ and इ+अ have become इ+इष्+अ and इ+इ+अ), and there is again occasion for (the substitution of) Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, the (substitution of the) homogeneous long vowel (ई for इ+इ) would, because it is *antaranga*, take place in pre-

1. If P. VI., 4, 78 were an *Apavâda* of P. VI., 1, 101, इयङ् would have to be substituted in इ-इषन्: in preference to ई, in case P. VI., 4, 78 did not contain the word असवर्णे. But as P. VI., 1, 101 is not applicable in *all* instances that fall under P. VI., 4, 78, the latter rule cannot be regarded as an *Apavâda* of the former.

2. P. *i. e.* of Siradeva and others.

ference to (the substitution of Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, and Guṇa and Vṛiddhi not having been substituted for the radical vowel, P. VI., 4, 78 would) also in these (forms not be applicable).

Nor is the (rule P. VI., 4, 78) necessary for (the formation of) इयर्ति, (इयूनः), etc; if (the substitution of इयङ् in इयर्ति etc.,) were the sole object of (P. VI., 4, 78, Pâṇini, instead of saying अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे) would merely have said 'उः.' Here यीः *i. e.* 'for इ and उ' would be valid (from VI., 4, 77; and ऋ) would, both because it would stand near P. VI., 4, 81 (where इण् denotes the *root* इ),[2] and because it would be explained thus, denote only the *root* ऋ; the meaning (of उः would therefore be): 'इयङ् (is substituted) for the letter इ of the root ऋ.' (To form the rule) अभ्यासस्यार्तौ 'for the reduplicative syllable before the root ऋ,' or अभ्यासस्यार्तेः 'for the red. syllable of the root ऋ,' would on account of the cumbrousness (of those expressions) be improper.[3] Nor can one say that the rule (P. VI., 4, 78) is necessary for the sake (of the substitution) of इयङ् etc. in the Perfect of (nominal verbs) derived by means of the affix क्विप्, in the sense of 'to behave like,' from the words ए, ऐ, ओ, औ; and also for the sake (of the substitution of उवङ् etc.) in forms like उवोगकीयिषति, the Desiderative of a nominal verb derived by means of the affix क्यच्, in the sense of 'to wish for,' from (ओगक, a noun) formed by the affix ण्वुल् from the root ओग्. For on the authority of the Bhâshya on the last (rule) of the first Âhnika of the sixth Adhyâya[4]

1. *I. e.* We should form *e. g.* इष्+अ, =एष्+अ, = इष्+अ, =इ+इष्+अ, =ईष ; इ+अ,= ऐ+अ, = इ+अ, = इ+इ+अ, = ई+अ, = ऐ+अ =आय. See below.

2. See Par. CIII.

3. See Par. CXXII.

4. *Scil.* which Bhâshya makes the rule P. VI., 4, 78 indicate the existence of this Paribhâshâ. If there existed nominal verbs derived from

(nominal verbs derived by means of क्विप् from ए, ऐ, etc.) are not in use; and as regards the last (instance उवोणकीयिषति) which was mentioned, its very formation is impossible because (in the Desid. of ओणकीय) the *second* (and not the first) syllable is reduplicated.[1] It follows then that it is correct to say that the whole rule (P. VI., 4, 78) indicates (the present Paribhâshâ).

Although the words in the Bhâshya (on P. VI., 1, 12) 'by the fact that (Pâṇini) employs the word असवर्णे in VI, 4, 78' convey the meaning that only the word असवर्णे indicates (the existence of this Paribhâshâ), nevertheless the words 'for the reduplicative syllable is never followed by any other heterogeneous vowel than a Guṇa or Vṛiddhi (vowel)', which make it clear how (the existence of the Paribhâshâ is indicated), show that the *whole* rule (VI., 4, 78) indicates (the Paribhâshâ). In the sequel also, *viz.* by the remark 'this does not indicate (the Paribhâshâ), it may be (given) for the sake of the root ऋ', the attempt is made to show that the rule (VI., 4, 78) serves a purpose (even when the Paribhâshâ does not exist), whereas, if only the word असवर्णे did indicate (the Paribhâshâ), it would have been attempted to show that the word असवर्णे would serve a purpose (even if the Paribhâshâ did not exist), *viz.* by adducing an instance which would be debarred (from the substitution of इयङ् etc. taught in P. VI., 4, 78) by the (word असवर्णे).

Nor is it correct to say that it can easily be proved that Par. LVI. is applicable[2] in (the formation of) इयेष etc., *viz.* by the

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ए, ऐ etc. to which P. VI., 4, 78 were applicable, the latter rule would serve a purpose even if it did not indicate the present Paribhâshâ, and the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 12 would be incorrect.

1. See Si. Kau. II., p. 239. यथेष्टं नामधातुषु । आद्यानां त्रयाणामन्यतमस्य द्वित्वमित्यर्थः । अजादेस्त्वाद्येतरस्य ॥

2. If Par. LVI. were applicable, the *bahiranga* substitution of Guṇa

possibility of the reasoning that 'if the long (vowel ई) were not (substituted for इ+इ of इ+इष्+अ), Guṇa would be (substituted for the radical इ[1])',—that by that Par. LVI. the (substitution of a) long vowel (for इ+इ) is inadmissible (in those forms), and that it is therefore (difficult to see) how the whole rule (VI., 4, 78) can indicate (the present Paribhâshâ). For Par. LVI. is not (adopted); or, should it be (adopted), it is by the authority of the Bhâshya (on P. VI., 1, 12) which was quoted above[2] allowed to apply only where the *bahiranga* rule which destroys the causes of (an *antaranga* operation) applies subsequently to the time at which that *antaranga* operation should take place, (whereas in the present instance the *antaranga* and *bahiranga* operations apply simultaneously).

Nor is it correct to say that, even (if the present Paribhâshâ did not exist and) if in (the formation of) the 3. Sing. Par. of the Red. Perf. of इ etc. the long (vowel ई), because (its substitution is) *antaranga*, (were substituted for इ+इ), the rule (P. VI., 4, 78) would (still) serve a purpose, *viz.*, this, to teach (the substitution of) इयङ् (for the ई of ई+अ etc. Such a case as that of ई+अ would fall under P. VI., 4, 78) because (the substitute ई for इ+इ), being regarded as the final of what precedes,[3] would be the reduplicative syllable, and because it besides is

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or Vṛiddhi in इ+इष्+अ, इ+इ+अ etc. would by it supersede the *antaranga* substitution of ई for इ+इ, *i. e.* we should first have to form इ+एष्+अ, इ+ऐ+अ; and as P. VI., 4, 78 would here be applicable, it could not indicate the existence of the present Paribhâshâ.

1. *Scil.* and by that substitution of Guṇa the cause of the substitution of ई would disappear. See below.

2. *Scil.* and which makes the rule P. VI., 4, 78 indicate the existence of the present Paribhâshâ.

3. By P. VI., 1, 85.

an *i*, and is followed by an heterogeneous vowel *viz.* (the अ of the termination) शेते. (And one might say that the result which would here be attained by P. VI., 4, 78) would not have been attained (already) by P. VI., 4, 77, because (P. VI., 4, 78) would be meant to supersede the (substitution by P. VII., 2, 115 of) Vriddhi (for ई, which, had P. VI., 4. 78 not been given, would have superseded the substitution by P. VI., 4, 77 of इयङ् for ई.—This objection is futile) because by (the maxim of) association the word असवर्णे (in P. VI., 4, 78) only denotes an heterogeneous vowel which belongs to that portion (of a verbal form) which follows upon the reduplicative syllable (*i. e.* a radical vowel),[1] and because it is decidedly more proper that (the rule P. VI., 4, 78) should indicate the existence of a Paribhâshâ than that it should be considered (to have been given merely) for the sake of preventing (the application of)the rule (P. VII., 2, 115 in one or two instances).

And this (Paribhâshâ, the existence of which has thus been established, applies), as is proved by (the rule P. VI., 4, 78) which informs us of the (existence of such a maxim as is contained in the present) Paribhâshâ,[2] only when that which undergoes the operation taught in the Angâdhikâra would likewise have to undergo the operation which is taught in the Sandhi-rule.[3] But it is false to say that this (Paribhâshâ applies) only when (both operations) are dependent on, or in other words, have the same causes; for (if such were really

1. अभ्यासोत्तर°, यन्निरूपितपूर्वत्वमाश्रयाभ्यासत्वं तदवच्छिन्नोत्तर°. P.

2. धर्मि°, धर्मी परिभाषा तद्द्वारकं मानमुक्तसूत्रम्. P.

3. *Viz.* because such is the case in इयेष, इयाय etc., where the homogeneous long vowel should by P. VI., 1, 101 be substituted for the same radical इ (and the preceding इ) for which Guna or Vriddhi have to be substituted.

the case) forms like इयाय and इयेष would not result (from Pâṇini's rules)[1] even if (the existence of the Paribhâshâ) were indicated (by P. VI., 4, 78), and besides (this view) would involve the uselessness of the rule (P. VI., 4, 78). In स्योन however (from सि-ऊ-न) the semivowel य् has, because (its substitution is) *antaranga. been* substituted for इ,[2] because (there the present Paribhâshâ) is not applied, it being, as will be shown (presently), not universally valid.

One cannot object that even if (by the present Paribhâshâ Vṛiddhi etc. *were* substituted for the radical vowel) in (the formation of) the 3 Sing. of the Perf. of इ etc. (from इ+इ+अ, *i. e.* even if इ+ऐ+अ were first substituted for इ+इ+अ), it would still be impossible to substitute इयङ् (for the इ of the redupl. syllable), because Vṛiddhi etc. would have to be considered as equivalent to the original (इ etc.) so for as regards the substitution of इयङ्, and because (the substitution of इयङ्) would therefore be forbidden by the word असवर्णे 'not when an homogeneous vowel follows' (in P. VI., 4, 78. This objection is futile) because for the very reason that the rule (P. VI., 4, 78) has been given (Vṛiddhi etc.) cannot be regarded as equivalent to the original (इ etc.).[3] And this (fact that the rule P. VI., 4, 78 has been given)

1. The Paribhâshâ would not be applicable in the formation of इयाय इयेष etc., because the substitution of the homogeneous long vowel and that of Guna or Vṛiddhi have different causes, the one being caused by the radical इ, the other by the termination अ. We should then first have to substitute the homogeneous long vowel and after that substitution P. VI., 4, 78 would not be applicable, or in other words, would be useless.

2. *Scil.* in preference to Guna notwithstanding that the substitution of the latter is taught in the Angâdhikâra. See above pag. 222.

3. *I. e.* If ऐ etc. were regarded as equivalent to the original इ etc., the rule P. VI., 4, 78 would not be applicable anywhere and would thus be superfluous.

teaches[1] us the general (truth) that, whenever there is occasion for an operation which concerns a reduplicative syllable, a substitute which forms part of that portion which follows immediately upon the (reduplicative syllable) is not regarded as equivalent to that for which it has been substituted, when (its being regarded as equivalent to it) would prevent the taking place of the operation (which concerns the reduplicative syllable). This shows that it is wrong to say that 'in (the formation of) आरतिः[2] etc. (from अर्+ऋ+अति, अर्+र्+अति, अ+र्+अतिः[3]) a long vowel ought not by P. VI., 3, 111 to have been substituted (for the अ) of the reduplicative syllable, because the substitute र् (for ऋ) is equivalent to ऋ'; moreover (it is wrong to say so) because (the substitute र् for ऋ) is (by P. I., 1, 58) forbidden to be regarded as equivalent (to ऋ) in regard to a rule (like P. VI., 3, 111) which teaches (the substitution of) a long vowel. In the case of अरिप्रियान्[4] (from अरि+ऋ+यान्, अरि+रि+यान्[5]), on the other hand, (the substitute रि for ऋ) *is* regarded as equivalent (to ऋ) and इयङ् *is* therefore (substituted for इ), because (in this case) the fact that (रि) is regarded as equivalent (to ऋ) does not prevent the operation which concerns the reduplicative syllable.

This (Paribhâshâ) concerns, as appears from the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 6, only such an operation of the Angâdhikâra as takes place in the *Anga* or base; for in that (passage of the Bhâshya) it has been stated[6] that in (the formation of) कुमार्यै etc. (from कुमारि+ए

1. सामान्यापेक्षं *scil.* ज्ञापकम् P.

2. 3. Plur. Pres. of the Frequ. Par. of ऋ. See Siddh. Kau. II., p. 216.

3. P. VIII., 3, 14.

4. 3. Sing. Bened. of the Frequ. Par. of ऋ.

5. P. VII., 4, 28.

6. The author of the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 6 does not state that in the case of कुमारि+ए य is substituted for इ before आ is prefixed to ए,

etc. the augment) आट् (the addition of which is taught in P. VII., 3, 112, is prefixed to the termination ए) *after* (the substitution of) the semi-vowel य् (for ई).

That this (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid, follows from the circumstance that छ् in P. VI., 4, 19 has been put down with the augment तुक् (*i. e.* that Pâṇini has said च्छ् instead of छ्); if the Paribhâshâ were universally valid, this would clearly serve no purpose[1], because the substitution of श् (for छ्) being taught in the Angâdhikâra (VI., 4, 19) would (by this Paribhâ-

but the fact that he considers whether in the case of कुमार्य्+ए ए should first receive the accent that would follow from P. VI., 1, 174 or whether आ should first be prefixed to ए, proves that in his opinion य् is substituted for ई before आ is prefixed to ए. And if then य् is substituted for ई before the addition of आट् to ए, notwithstanding that the latter operation is taught in the Angâdhikâra, this shows that the present Paribhâshâ is not applicable in this case, *viz.* because the addition of आट् to ए, although it is taught in the Angâdhikâra, does not take place in the *Anga* कुमारी but affects the termination ए. (P. यण्उत्तरमाडुक्: *i. e.* तदुत्तरमुदात्तयण इत्युदात्तेन सह संप्रधारणं कृत्वा परत्वादाडुक् इत्यर्थः). See note 1 on pag. 219.

1. If the Paribhâshâ were universally applicable, Pâṇini would have taught in VI., 4, 19 the substitution of श् for छ्, not for च्छ; for in that case we should have reasoned thus: In the formation of प्रश्न from प्रच्छ्+न two rules are applicable, P. VI., 1, 73 which teaches the addition of त् to the radical अ before छ्, and P. VI., 4, 19 which teaches the substitution of श् for छ् before न; although the former rule is *antaranga* and the latter *bahiranga*, the latter has to take effect first because it is taught in the Angâdhikâra, whereas the former is a Sandhi-rule; accordingly श् is substituted for छ् and subsequently P. VI., 1, 73 is no longer applicable. But as the present Paribhâshâ is not applied here, the *antaranga* addition of त् takes place first (*i. e.* प्रच्छ्+न=प्रत्छ्+न=प्रच्छ्+न) and Pâṇini is therefore obliged to teach in VI., 4, 19 the substitution of श् for च्छ्, and not for छ्.

shâ) have taken place before (the addition of) तुक्, and (after the substitution of स्) there would consequently have been no occasion for the addition of तुक्. More elsewhere.[1]

1. अन्यत्र *i. e.* शेखरादौ. P.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LVI.

Now one might say that (if) then (Par. L. were valid in all but the particular cases mentioned above, the augment) इट् ought in (the formation of) सेदुषः etc. (from सेद्-वस्+अस् etc. in accordance with that Paribhâshâ) to be prefixed to वस् because it is *antaranga*, and that (having been prefixed to वस्) इट् would also subsequently, after the substitution of Samprasâraṇa (for व्), remain audible.[1] Under these circumstances some say[2] that

P. LVI: The followers of Pâṇini do not insist (on the taking effect of a rule, when its cause or causes disappear).

(अकृतव्यूह is an attributive compound agreeing with पाणिनीयाः and) means 'one who does not insist on' *scil.* the taking effect of a rule; the words 'when its causes subsequently disappear' have to be supplied. In other words, 'an *antaranga* (operation) does not take place when subsequently, (in case the *bahiranga* operation were to take place), the cause or causes of the *antaranga* (opera-

1. *I. e.* In सेद्-वस् इ ought to be prefixed to वस् by P. VII., 2, 35, and this इ ought to remain when subsequently, after the addition of the case-termination अस्, उ is substituted for व् by P. VI., 4, 131; the result would be सेदुषः.

2. केचित्, connect with आहुः on pag. 62, l. 14 of the text.

tion) would disappear by (the taking effect of) that *bahiranga* (operation)'.[1] The (word) समर्थानाम् 'of the (words) significant' in the rule P. IV., 1. 82 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ); for that (word) is meant to show that the affixes (इञ् etc.) are added to सौत्यित etc. *after* the long (vowel ऊ) has been substituted (for the उ+उ of सु+उत्थित etc.). If the present Paribhâshâ did not exist, समर्थानाम् would clearly be superfluous, for (in that case) an occasion for (the addition of) an affix would arise only when the substitution of the long (vowel for उ+उ), on account of its being *antaranga*, would actually have taken place.[2] (But as the present Paribhâshâ does exist, the word समर्थानाम् is necessary; for the Paribhâshâ prevents the *antaranga* substitution of ऊ), because the (sequence of two) homogeneous vowels (in सु+उत्थित which causes the *antaranga* substitution of ऊ) clearly disappears here by the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi for the first vowel which has to take place subsequently (when the Taddhita-affix has been added). Nor can one object that in this case the cause of the (substitution of ऊ, *viz.* उ+उ,) does not disappear (by the substitution of Vṛiddhi), because, although the substitute (ऊ), after it has taken the place (of उ+उ and after the Taddhita-affix has been added), is liable to undergo the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi, there is no occasion for Vṛiddhi at the time when (ऊ) is being substituted (for उ+उ, *viz.* because at that time the affix is not added as yet. This objection

1. Accordingly, in the formation of सेदुषः from सेद्-वस्+अस्, इ *is* not prefixed to वस्, because the initial व् of वस् by which the addition of इ would be caused, disappears by the substitution of उ for व् caused (indirectly) by the following अस्.

2. *I. e.* We should form सु+उत्थित=सूत्थित, and afterwards सूत्थित+इञ्= सौत्थित.

namely) does not invalidate (what we have said above), because by the very fact (that the substitute ऊ disappears in consequence of the substitution of Vṛiddhi) indirectly the causes of the (substitute ऊ likewise) do disappear. Nor can one object that the causes of the (substitution of ऊ) do not disappear (by the substitution of Vṛiddhi) because (the substitution of) Vṛiddhi in सौत्यिति is *bahiranga* and therefore (by Par. L.) *asiddha*; for the employment of समर्थानाम् (in P. IV., 1, 82) indicates besides that Par. L. is not applicable wherever the present (Paribhâshâ may be applicable.)[1]

To maintain however that the word समर्थानाम् (in P. IV., 1, 82) indicates only that Par. L. is not universally valid, is wrong. For we learn from Par. L. that a *bahiranga* (operation) which applies simultaneously (with an *antaranga* operation), and a *bahiranga* (operation) which has previously taken effect, is regarded as *asiddha* when the *antaranga* (operation) is to take effect, but we do not learn from it that a *bahiranga* operation (which applies) *after* the *antaranga* (operation) has taken effect is (likewise) regarded so, because there is nothing to prove (that Par. L. conveys this meaning), and because (even did it convey that meaning) no result would accrue from it;[2] and this being so, the substitution of the one (vowel ऊ for उ+उ) in सूत्यिन etc. does (really) not result from Par. L., and it is therefore impossible that (समर्थानाम् in P. IV., 1, 82) should indicate that that (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid.

Par. LII. etc. are contained already[3] in this (present Pari-

1. *Viz.* because, if Vṛiddhi were *asiddha* by Par. L., the word समर्थानाम् in P. IV., 1, 82 would be superfluous.

2. फलाभावात्, अनन्यथासिद्धलक्ष्यसिद्धिरूपप्रसिद्धफलाभावात्. P.

3. See below.

bhâshâ. To show this more clearly it must be stated that) moreover (this Paribhâshâ is not only applicable when the cause or causes of an *antaranga* operation actually do disappear by the *bahiranga* operation, but that) the mere consideration that the causes (of the *antaranga* operation) would disappear (if the *bahiranga* operation were to take effect) likewise causes this (Paribhâshâ) to apply. It is for this reason that in (the formation of) गोमद्दण्डी etc. (from गोमत्-सु+दण्डी etc. the termination सु of गोमत्-सु) does not disappear by (the substitution of) Lopa (which is taught in P. VI., 1, 68, but by the substitution of लुक् taught in P. II., 4, 71).[1] On the other hand, (if the above statement were incorrect, the present Paribhâshâ would not apply here) because at the time when Lopa would have to be substituted (for सु, *i. e.* in गोमत्-सु,) there would be no occasion for the substitution of लुक् which takes place when (गोमत् and दण्डिन्) are compounded; nor would there be any occasion (for the substitution of लुक्) subsequently to that (substitution of Lopa), because (at that time the termination सु), to remove which would be the object (of the substitution of लुक्), would no longer be present; it would thus come to pass that Lopa (and not लुक्) would be substituted (for सु, and this would give rise to the formation of a wrong form. But if what we stated above is accepted, then the present Paribhâshâ must apply in the formation of गोमद्दण्डी etc. because) in this case also we do consider that if Lopa were not (substituted for सु), लुक् would be (substituted for it; and if the Paribhâshâ is applied, then लुक् must by it, in preference to Lopa, be substituted for सु, and the form गोमद्दण्डी will be formed correctly).—When (Pâṇini) however in the rule VI., 4, 134 places a त् (after अ्, *i. e.* when he teaches that Lopa is substi-

1. See Par. LII.

tuted only for short अ), his doing so serves a purpose because it indicates that the (present) Paribhâshâ is not universally valid; for that (त् has been placed after अ) in order to prevent the (substitution of) Lopa (for आ) in such forms as आनः etc., (an Acc. Plur. of आन् derived by means of the affix क्विप् from the root अन्.) If the present Paribhâshâ were universally valid, then it ought to have been applied in the case of आनः etc., because we should consider here, that 'if the long vowel आ were not substituted (for the अ of अन् by P. VI., 4, 15), Lopa would be substituted (for अ),' and the long vowel (आ) would in accordance with this Paribhâshâ have never been substituted (for the अ of अन्);[1] consequently that (त् which is placed in P. VI., 4, 134 after the vowel अ) would clearly have been altogether superfluous.

Kaiyaṭa[2] however, on P. IV., 1, 82, when he remarks that the (existence of the) Paribhâshâ अकृतव्यूहाः पाणिनीयाः is indicated by the word समर्थानाम् and that thereby in the case of पपुषः etc. the augment इट्, although it had previously been prefixed (to वस्)

1. The substitution of long आ for the अ of अन् which is caused by the affix क्विप् (P. VI., 4, 15) would never have taken place, and a word like आन् would not have existed.

2. See Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 82: अथैतत्समर्थग्रहणं नैव कर्तव्यम् । कर्तव्यं च । किं प्रयोजनम् । समर्थादुत्पत्तिर्यथा स्यादसमर्थान्मा भूत् । किं पुनः समर्थम् । अर्थाभिधाने यत्समर्थम् । किं पुनस्तत् । कृतवर्णानुपूर्वीकं पदम् । सौत्यिति: वैक्षमाणिरिति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: कृतवर्णानुपूर्वीकमिति । तस्यैव लोकेऽर्थप्रतिपादनाय प्रयोगात्समर्थत्वमिति भावः ॥ सौत्यितिरिति । विभक्त्यन्ताख्याने सु उत्पित इत्यस्मादपि प्रत्ययः स्यात् । ततश्च सावुत्पितिरित्यनिष्टप्रसङ्गो वार्णादाङ्गं बलीय इति वृद्धिप्रसङ्गात् । नन्वन्तरङ्गत्वाद्वर्णेषु कार्येषु कृतेषु प्रत्ययो भविष्यति । एवं तर्ह्येतदनेन समर्थवचनेन ज्ञाप्यते । भवतीयं परिभाषाकृतव्यूहाः पाणिनीया इति । तेन पपुषस्तस्थुष इत्यादि सिद्धं भवति । अवान्तरङ्गत्वात्पूर्वं कृतेऽपीडागम एतत्परिभाषावशान्निवर्तते । तत्र पपा वस् अस् इति स्थिते इट् प्राप्नोति संप्रसारणं च । तत्र संप्रसारणं बलीयः प्रतिपदविधानादिति तत्र कृते बलादित्वाभावादिण् नास्तीति सिद्धं पपुष इति ॥

because (its addition is) *antaranga*, again disappears, understands the meaning (of the word अकृतव्यूहाः to be this) that (the followers of Pâṇini) do not allow (the result of) an operation to remain when the cause that had effected it disappears. In other words (the import of the Paribhâshâ according to Kaiyaṭa is this that), when a cause disappears, that which was caused by it, disappears likewise. (The word) समर्थानाम् (is employed in P. IV., 1, 82) in order to prevent the formation of सावुत्थिनि, from सूत्थित+इञ्, where the long vowel (ऊ) would on the substitution of Vṛiddhi (for the first उ of सु+उत्थित) cease to exist (because its cause उ+उ would disappear by Vṛiddhi, if the word समर्थानाम् had not been employed in P. IV., 1, 82). The meaning (which according to) this (view is conveyed by the present Paribhâshâ) is also established by the practice of ordinary life; for we see that in ordinary life causes are two-fold; (a cause) either causes an effect to remain only so long as it remains itself, or it causes an effect to remain even after it has itself ceased to exist. (A cause) of the former kind is *e. g.* the *Apekshâbuddhi* or comprehending intellect of the Nyâya-system,[1] for it is conceded that when it ceases, the duality (which was caused) by it, (likewise) ceases to exist; it is also well known that according to the Vedânta-doctrine the past deeds (which cause) the projective power (of ignorance called *Vikshepa*) make the latter continue only so long as they themselves continue.[2] (A cause) of the second description is *e. g.* the potter's wheel, for we see that

1. See Bhâshâparichchheda Ed. Roer, 107 etc. Translation pag. 60.

2. When the past deeds are consumed the projective power of ignorance which was caused by them ceases likewise. See Vedântasâra Ed. Ballantyne pag. 24 etc.—P. adds as another instance that a crystal appears red so long as a red object is placed near it, but ceases to appear red when the latter is removed.

even when it ceases to exist, the pot (which was made with it) does not cease to exist (together with it). In grammar the one or the other (view of the nature of a cause) is adopted according as (one or the other view) suits the forms (that have to be made up by the rules of grammar). But there is no maxim (of ordinary life) nor is there even any suitable example (to prove that an effect), because its cause is going to disappear at some future period, should previously (to the actual disappearance of that cause) not be produced. Moreover there is nothing to prove that the word समर्थानाम् (in P. IV., 1, 82) should indicate this latter meaning which is not established by (a maxim of) ordinary life and is altogether without precedent, when a sense may be assigned to it by making it indicate a maxim which is accepted by the world in general. This we have to understand to be the import of Kaiyaṭa's remark on P. IV., 1, 82.

Others however, (and they are right, maintain the following view). It appears from Kaiyaṭa on the rule P. IV., 1, 82, and from Kaiyaṭa[1] on P. VI., 4, 22, that when one attempts to account for the formation of सेदुषः etc. by placing the several parts of which those words are made up side by side,[2] (and by applying subsequently the various rules for which there may be

1. See Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 22: पपुष इति । ननु चान्तरङ्गत्वादिट्टा भाव्यम् । न च संप्रसारणे कृतेऽपीटो निवृत्तिर्निमित्तापाये नैमित्तिकस्याप्यपाय इत्यस्याः परिभाषाया भाष्यकारेणानाश्रयणात्तथा च चावित्यत्रोक्तमिहान्ये चौ प्रत्ययङ्गस्य प्रतिषेधमारभन्ते तदिहापि साध्यमित्यकारस्य निवृत्तावपि यणाद्यादेशानिवर्तनाच्चैतदुक्तम् । तथा च च्छ्वोरित्यत्रोक्तमवश्य-मत्र तुगभावार्थो यत्नः कर्तव्योऽन्तरङ्गत्वाद्धि तुकः प्राप्तिरिति कृतेऽपि शकारे कृतस्य तुकोऽ-निवृत्तिं मत्वा चैतदुक्तम् । एवं तर्हि नित्यशब्ददर्शने प्रविभज्यावयवेषु कल्प्यमानेष्वन्तरङ्ग-बहिरङ्गभावो नास्तीति पपा वसस् इति स्थिते नित्यत्वादिटं बाधित्वा संप्रसारणं भवत्यित्ये-षिणाच्च स्थानिवत्त्वाभावादिटोऽप्रसङ्गः । अथवा संप्रसारणं तदाश्रयं च बलीयो भवतीत्यत्र विषये पूर्वमिट् न प्रवर्तते ॥

2. पदावधिकेऽन्वाख्याने, *i. e.* पदघटकविभक्तिपर्यन्तेऽन्वाख्येयत्वेनादौ संस्थाप्ये=पद-

any occasion), and has in this manner placed (*e. g.*) सेद्+वस्+अस् side by side, in which case there is occasion for the taking place of (two operations, *viz.*) the (addition of the augment) इट् (to वस्) and (the substitution of) Samprasâraṇa (for the व् of वस्,—the substitution of) Samprasâraṇa (for the व् of वस्) is the first to take place because in the rule (VI., 4, 131) which teaches it (the affix वस्) is exhibited in this very form वस्;[1] and (afterwards, when Samprasâraṇa has thus been substituted for व्,) there is no occasion whatever for (the addition of the augment) इट् because (the affix) no longer begins with one of (the letters contained in the Pratyâhâra) वल्; (the augment इट् is) therefore (not added, and the forms सेदुषः etc. for the correct formation of which the Akṛitavyûha-paribhâshâ was said to be necessary) are formed (without that Paribhâshâ). Although[2] the circumstance that in a rule which teaches an operation (regarding a particular word etc.) this word etc. is actually exhibited in its individual form, makes (that rule) supersede (another rule) only[3]

स्य विभागपूर्वकं संस्थापनं कृत्वा; or the words पदावधिके—स्थिते may be explained: पदस्य विभक्त्यन्ताख्यानमिति पक्षे सेद् वस् अस् इति स्थिते. P.

1. See P. VI., 4, 131 वसोः संप्रसारणम्; on the other hand P. VII., 2, 35 teaches generally that इट् shall be prefixed to an Ârdhadhâtuka which begins with one of the letters contained in the Pratyâhâra वल्.

2. P. Nor can one say that although the substitution of Samprasâraṇa would thus take place first, it would by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ be *asiddha*, and that the addition of इट् would therefore take place nevertheless. For the Antaranga-paribhâshâ is *anitya*, and besides it does not apply within the sphere of a Pratipadavidhi. Kaiyaṭa therefore is right when he says (on P. VII., 2, 98): परनिमित्तान्तरङ्गप्रतिपदविधयो विरोधिसंनिपाते तेषां . मिथःप्रसङ्गे परबलीयस्त्वम्. The Pratipadavidhi is therefore like an Apavâda. To indicate this Nâgojîbhaṭṭa says: 'Although'....

3. *Scil.* on the authority of the Bhâshya on P. V., 4, 154. See Par. LXIV.

when (without its doing so) there would be absolutely no occasion for its taking effect, yet (the same circumstance) at any rate causes that rule to take effect first even when there would be an occasion for the taking effect (of it in case it did not supersede the other rule). Such is the import of the above (remarks of Kaiyaṭa); and this has been considered in many places in the S'abdendus'ekhara.

The word समर्थानाम् in the rule P. IV., 1, 82 however merely expresses what we know already from the (Antaranga-) maxim,[1] (and it has been employed) in order to guard against the erroneous notion that, because *e. g.* in (the formation of) विष्णु (from विष्वक्+न) the affix (न) is evidently (added to विषु +अक्)[2] before (these two members) are joined by the rules of Sandhi, the same ought to be done wherever (a Taddhita-affix might have to be added). And this is suggested in the Bhâshya on P. I, 4, 2; for there वैक्षमाणि has been given as an instance for the Antaranga-paribhâshâ.[3] Moreover it appears from Kaiyaṭa on the very rule (P. IV., 1, 82) that when the formation (of सौत्थिति etc.) is accounted for by dissolving (it into all its constituent parts and by applying afterwards the rules of grammar) and when thus (*e. g.*) सु+उत्थित+अस्+इ have been placed side by side, the word समर्थानाम् (in P. IV., 1, 82.) is necessary

1. न्याय° *i. e.* अन्तरङ्गन्याय°. P.

2. See Si. Kau. I. pag. 681 (on P. V., 2, 100) विष्वगित्युत्तरपदलोपेक्षाकृतसंज्ञः, *i. e.* न is added to विष्वक् while at the same time the second member (अक्) of the compound is dropped, but before विषु+अक् have been joined according to the rules of Sandhi.

3. वैक्षमाणि from वि-ईक्षमाण+इ; by P. IV., 1, 82 इ is added after वि-ईक्षमाण have been joined.—अन्तरङ्गपरिभाषा°, P. अन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गयोरन्तरङ्गं बलीय इति परिभाषा°.—See Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 2: वृद्धेरेकादेशः । वैक्षमाणिः सौत्थितिः । वृद्धिश्च प्राप्नोत्येकादेशश्च । परत्वाद्वृद्धिः स्यादेकादेशो भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

to prevent the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi (for the उ of सु) which according to Par. LV. ought to take place (in preference to the substitution of ऊ for the उ of सु and the उ of उत्थित).[1]

Because[2] then such is the case, the remark has been made in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 22, that (Pâṇini) should have stated that the Samprasâraṇa, (substituted) for (the व् of the affix) वसु (by P. VI., 4, 131), ought to be considered as *having* taken effect in respect to a rule concerning a vowel, *viz.* in order that, when *e. g.* in (the formation of) पपुषः (from पपा+वस्+अस्) Samprasâraṇa has taken the place of (the व् of वस्), the आ (of पपा) might be elided (by P. VI., 4, 64). The import of this (remark is this) that the elision of the आ (of पपा) is caused by उस्, because, when the word (पपुषः) in order to explain its formation has been dissolved into its constituent parts (पपा+वस्+अस्), and when then in the manner suggested by Kaiyaṭa and mentioned above the (substitution of) Samprasâraṇa (has taken place) first, there is no occasion for (the addition of the augment) इट्. (If) on the other hand (Kaiyaṭa's view were not adopted, then

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1. *I. e.* If P. IV., 1, 82 did not contain the word समर्थानाम् and if in the present instance Par. LV. did supersede the Antaranga-paribhâshâ, the substitution of Vṛiddhi for the उ of सु of सु-उत्थित+इ would by Par. LV. take place in preference to the substitution of ऊ for उ+उ, because the former is taught in the Angâdhikâra (P. VII., 2, 117) whereas the latter is taught in a Sandhi-rule.—P. And thus, if Par. LV. on account of its *anityatva* is not applied, समर्थानाम् in P. IV., 1, 82 teaches what is taught already by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ; and if Par. LV. is applied, समर्थानाम् prevents the substitution of Vṛiddhi which according to that Paribhâshâ would take place first; in neither case does it indicate the existence of the Akṛitavyûha-paribhâshâ.

2. *I. e.* Because what has been stated in the words परे तु-शब्दम् is the correct view of the whole matter, and because such a Paribhâshâ as अकृतव्यूहाः पाणिनीयाः is not adopted.

the augment) इट् would be added because (its addition) is *antaranga*; in that case (however) the elision of the आ (of पपा) would be caused by that (इट्), and the above (passage from the Bhâshya) would have no sense.[1]

It is for the same reason[2] that the author of the Vârttikas (on P. VI., 3, 138) has stated 'that a *pratyanga i. e. antaranga* (operation) is forbidden (to take effect) before चु (*i. e.* अञ्चु)' and that this statement has not been refuted by the

1. If the Akṛitavyûha-paribhâshâ is adopted, इट् is, in the formation of पपुषः from पपा+वस्+अस्, not prefixed to वस्, because its cause, the initial व् of वस्, disappears by the substitution of Samprasârana for व्; or, if इट् is prefixed to वस्, it disappears again as soon as Samprasârana is substituted for व्. But the Akṛitavyûha-paribhâshâ is not adopted; in the case of पपा+वस्+अस् Samprasârana is substituted for व्, as has been shown by Kaiyaṭa (see above pag. 314), प्रतिपदविधित्वात्, and subsequently there is no longer any occasion for the addition of इट्. Now Samprasârana would by P. VI., 4, 22 be *asiddha* in regard to the elision of the आ of पपा taught in P. VI., 4, 64, and that elision would accordingly not take place, if we did not learn from the Bhâshya that the substitution of Samprasârana must be regarded as *siddha* in regard to rules like P. VI., 4, 64. If we do not adopt Kaiyaṭa's view (प्रतिपदविधित्वात्पूर्वं संप्रसारणे), the Vârttika वसुसंप्रसारणमञ्चौ सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् becomes useless; for in that case we have first to add the augment इट् because it is *antaranga*, and if then Samprasârana is substituted *after* the elision of the आ of पपा, Samprasârana, not being the cause of that elision, cannot be *asiddha* in regard to it; and if Samprasârana is substituted *before* the elision of आ, then, even when Samprasârana is *asiddha*, इट् being there, the elision of आ will be caused by इट्. If the Vârttika is to have any sense, we must adopt Kaiyaṭa's view, which is this that Samprasârana is first substituted for व्, प्रतिपदविधित्वात्, and that afterwards there is no occasion for the addition of इट्.

2. See note 2 on pag. 316.

author of the Bhâshya. If, on the contrary, the (Akṛitavyûha-) paribhâshâ did exist, that (statement) would clearly serve no purpose.[1]

For the same reason has it been said in the Bhâshya on the rule P. VI., 4, 19, that[2] some effort[3] had necessarily to be made to account for the absence of (the augment) तुक् in such (forms as प्रष्टा etc., from प्रच्छ्), because तुक्, being *antaranga*, *has* to be added. On the other hand, did the present (Pari. bhâshâ really exist), then there would be no occasion for (the addition of) तुक्, and in that case it would clearly have no sense to say that some effort had necessarily

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1. In the formation of प्रतीचः from प्रति-अच्+अस् two rules are applicable, P. VI., 1, 77 which teaches the substitution of य् for the इ of प्रति, and P. VI., 4, 138 which teaches the elision of the अ of अच्; the former of these two rules is *antaranga*, and the latter *bahiranga*. Now we are taught by the Vârttika on P. VI., 3, 138 that the *antaranga* substitution of य् for इ shall not take place before अच्; we accordingly form प्रति+च्+अस्, and subsequently by P. VI., 3, 138 प्रतीचः. If the Akṛitavyûha-paribhâshâ did really exist, it would prevent the substitution of य् for इ, because its cause अ disappears by P. VI., 4, 138, and the Vârttika on P. VI., 3, 138 would be superfluous. See Calcutta Ed. of Pânini on P. VI., 3, 138.

2. See note 1 on pag. 306. प्रष्टा from प्रच्छ्+ता; the addition of तुक् *i. e.* त् or च् before छ् is *antaranga*, the substitution of ष् for छ् *bahiranga*. If the present Paribhâshâ did really exist, तुक्, though *antaranga*, would not be added because its cause छ् disappears by the substitution of ष् for छ्. But as the present Paribhâshâ is not adopted, the *antaranga* addition of तुक् before छ् *must* take place, *i. e.* we have first to form प्रच्छ्+ता; and in order that ष् may be substituted for च्छ्, Pânini has to make some effort in P. VI., 4, 19, *i. e.* he has to say there च्छ् (instead of छ्).

3. यत्नः, *viz.* सतुग्निर्देशरूपः. P.

to be made (to account for its absence). Nor can the meaning of the above (passage of the Bhâshya) be this that the (effort which is made to account for the absence of तुक्)[1] is merely intended to indicate that the present (Akṛitavyûha-paribhâshâ) is not universally valid; because, (if such were really the meaning of the above passage), the words अवश्यमत्र 'necessarily in such forms' would happen to be void of their proper force.

Moreover (if the Akṛitavyûha-paribhâshâ were really adopted, then the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in) P. VII., 2, 98 and (the employment of ल्यप् in) P. II., 4, 36 would by the very (fact) of the existence of that Paribhâshâ serve a purpose, and the statement of (the author of) the Bhâshya, according to which (the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98 and ल्यप् in P. II., 4, 36) indicate that (the substitutions of) लुक् and ल्यप् supersede *antaranga* (operations) would thereby be refuted.[2]

Moreover this (Paribhâshâ) is not found in the Bhâshya; this is stated by Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 22 in the words 'because the Paribhâshâ "when a cause disappears that which was caused by it disappears likewise" is not adopted by the author of the Bhâshya.' (Nor can one say that without this Paribhâshâ the final र् of हरिर् in हरिर्गच्छति etc. cannot be accounted for;)[3] on the alternative that a word is formed (without any regard to other

1. तद्, *i. e.* सतुम्निर्देशारूपयन्नावश्यकत्वकथनम्. P.

2. See Par. LII. and LIV. If the Akṛitavyûha-paribhâshâ were adopted, it would prevent the taking effect of the *antaranga* operations in the formation of प्रजग्ध्य, स्वकृत etc. and in that case ल्यप् in P. II., 4, 36 and the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98 would serve a purpose even if Par. LIV. and LII. did not exist.—See above pag. 309.

3. हरि+स्, by P. VIII., 2, 66 हरि+र्, by P. VIII., 3, 15 हरिः. One might say that the Paribhâshâ ought to be adopted in order that one might be able to account for the final र् of हरिर् in हरिर्गच्छति etc.,

words) हरिः गच्छति etc. is perfectly correct, because after the substitution of Visarga (for the final र्) in the case of हरिः etc. (this Visarga remains) when (हरिः) is subsequently joined with (words like) गच्छति etc; or (we may assume that) in cases like this[1] the alternative that a word is formed (without any regard to other words) is not adopted (and that Visarga therefore is not substituted at all.) This is the point of view (from which we have to look at the whole question.)

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where the final Visarjanîya, on the disappearance of the pause (अवसान) by which its substitution had been caused, has likewise disappeared again. This is refuted in the following.

1. तद्विषये, *i. e.* पदान्तरसंबद्धपदसंबन्धिविसर्गविषये. P.

PARIBHÂSHÂS LVII. AND LVIII.

An *Apavâda* possesses greater force even than an *antaranga* (rule).[1] The meaning of the word *Apavâda* herein (the author of the Paribhâshâs) expresses (in the following):

P. LVII: A rule which is given (in reference to a particular case or particular cases, to which, or to all of which,) another (rule) cannot but apply,

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1. That an *Apavâda* possesses greater force even than *para*, *nitya*, and *antaranga* rules, we know already from Par. XXXVIII; but we have still to learn why such is the case; and this we learn from the maxim येन नाप्राप्ते यो विधिरारभ्यते स तस्य बाधको भवति, which teaches us the meaning of the term *Apavâda*. The words of the text अन्तरङ्गादपवादो बलीयान् are merely a repetition of a portion of Par. XXXVIII., and should not have been printed in the text as a separate Paribhâshâ; the new Paribhâshâ introduced by them is contained in the words येन

(or in other words, which all fall already under some other rule), supersedes the latter.[1]

(The affix) त in प्राप्ते denotes a state; the meaning of the words येन नाप्राप्ते is (therefore) 'while another (rule) is *necessari-*

नाप्राप्ते—भवति. (See Chitprabhâ: एतावत्पर्यन्तं नित्यादन्तरङ्गं बलीय इत्यंशप्रपञ्चो वर्णितः । इदानीमवशिष्टस्त्वन्तरङ्गादपवादो बलवानित्यंशः सोऽपि सप्रपञ्चं वर्णयितव्यः । तच्चापवादपदार्थज्ञानमन्तरा न संभवतीत्यतस्तज्ज्ञानाय प्रथमतोऽपवादपदार्थबोधकं वचनान्तरमवतारयितुमुपक्रमतेऽन्तरङ्गादपीति ॥).

1. This Paribhâshâ teaches us the meaning of the term *Apavâda* and in doing so tells us the reason why an *Apavâda* possesses greater force than *antaranga* and other rules. An *Apavâda* is a *special* rule; it is given in reference to particular cases which all fall under some *general* rule (*Utsarga*); as it is not applicable in any case which does *not* fall under the general rule, it must necessarily supersede the latter, because it would otherwise not serve any purpose whatever. *E. g.* By P. VIII., 2, 31 द् has to be substituted for the final ह् of roots; by P. VIII., 2, 32 घ् for the final ह् of roots that begin with द्; the latter rule is not applicable in any case that would not fall under the former rule, and it must accordingly supersede the former rule, because it would otherwise serve no purpose whatever. But one may object that no Paribhâshâ is necessary to teach us this, because the very fact that P. VIII., 2, 32 could not take effect anywhere, if P. VIII., 2, 31 were applied in the case of roots beginning with द्, proves sufficiently that P. VIII., 2, 32 must supersede P. VIII., 2, 31. This objection, it must be admitted, is well founded; there are however other cases where the special rule *might* take effect after the taking effect of the general rule and here we do want the present Paribhâshâ to teach us that even in these cases the general rule is not to take effect but is to be superseded by the special rule. *E. g.* P. VI., 1, 1 teaches that the first syllable of roots is reduplicated, P. VI., 1, 2, that of roots beginning with a vowel the second syllable is reduplicated; in this case P. VI., 1, 2 might well take effect after the taking effect of P. VI., 1, 1; nevertheless we are told by the present Paribhâshâ that even here P. VI., 1, 2 must supersede P. VI., 1, 1, solely because P. VI., 1, 2 is not applicable anywhere where P. VI., would not be applicable.

ly applying,' for the two negatives, (न, and अ in अप्राप्ति), impart more force to the word (प्राप्ति, than this word would possess without them). Accordingly[1] (the meaning is this that) a (general) rule is superseded by a special rule when that, in reference to which (the former rule) teaches something, is determined by general properties which inhere in something which is determined by (certain) special properties (in addition to those general properties, this latter something being that) in reference to which the special rule is given.[2] The reason namely why (a special rule) supersedes (a general rule) is this that it cannot take effect anywhere where the (general rule) would not apply. Moreover we learn from this maxim that (a special rule) supersedes a (general rule) even when there *would* be a possibility of its taking effect after the taking effect of the (general rule). If it were otherwise, the supersession (of the general rule) would result already from the circumstance that there would be no opportunity whatever for the taking effect of the (special rule if it did not supersede the general rule), and such being the case, it would be superfluous to give this (Paribhâshâ) at all, and it would have no sense to quote (in support of it) the maxim of Kaundinya and the buttermilk.[3]

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1. एवं च *i. e.* तथा शब्दार्थे च. P.

2. *E. g.* In the above instances P. VIII., 2, 31 is given with reference to 'roots that end with ह्,' P. VIII., 2, 32 with reference to 'roots that end with ह्, when they begin with द'; P. VI., 1, 1 is given with reference to 'roots,' P. VI., 1, 2 with reference to 'roots that begin with a vowel.'

3. When we give the order 'Let curds be given to the Brâhmans, buttermilk to (the Brâhman) Kaundinya,' we mean to say that Kaundinya shall receive *only* buttermilk. Although it would be quite possible to give to Kaundinya first curds and afterwards buttermilk, nevertheless buttermilk alone shall be given to him in preference to curds. If the

To illustrate the above, (in the case of a root which begins with a vowel) the reduplication of the first (syllable taught in P. VI., 1, 1) is superseded by the reduplication of the second (syllable taught in P. VI., 1, 2), although there *would* be room for the latter subsequently to (the taking effect of) the former. Or, to give another instance, the rule P. I., 1, 52 is (*e. g.* in P. VIII., 4, 61) superseded by P. I., 1, 54, notwithstanding that the latter rule might have taken effect (after the former); for, (although the final of स्था, स्नम् would have been affected by P. I., 1, 52), their initial (to which P. I., 1, 54 refers) would have remained (unaffected by P. I., 1, 54). This is expressed in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 47 where it is stated that (an *Apavâda*) supersedes (a general rule) even when both might take effect (together); if it were otherwise, the supersession of the giving of curds by the giving of buttermilk, (which is intended when we say) 'let curds be given to the Brâhmans, buttermilk to Kaundinya,' would not result (from that phrase) because buttermilk might be given (to Kaundinya) after the curds or before.[1]

It is for the above reason[2] that in the Bhâshya on the rule P. III., 1, 31,—where it had previously been suggested that in (the formation of) गोपायिष्यति etc. (the affixes) स्य etc., because they are (taught in the) subsequent (rule P. III., 1, 33), ought to be added (to the root) in preference to (the affixes) आय etc.,—the fol-

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maxim of Kaundinya and the buttermilk is quoted in support of the present Paribhâshâ, the latter likewise refers to cases where the special rule *might* take effect after the general rule.

1. See Bhâshya Ed. Ballantyne, pag. 552: लोके हि सत्यपि संभवे बाधनं भवति। तद्यथा दधि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दीयतां तक्रं कौण्डिन्यायेति सत्यपि संभवे दधिदानस्य तक्रदानं निवर्तकं भवति.....।

2. अत एव, *i. e.* तथा चरितार्थे एवानेन बाधाङ्गीकारादेव. P.

lowing statement occurs: 'There is no opportunity for the addition of आय etc. (unless they supersede श्य etc; they could not be added) even in (the formation of) गोपायति etc., (because here) शप्, which is one of (the affixes) श्य etc.,[1] ought to be (added to the root). Nor (can one object that) it makes no difference whether शप् is (added) or not; it is quite another thing to say that it makes no difference (whether शप् is added or not); we have spoken before of an opportunity for (the addition of) आय etc. anywhere where श्य etc. would not be (added), and such an opportunity does not exist.' It is the same in the (instance given) above; although (the reduplication of the second syllable) might take place after the (rule which teaches the reduplication of the first syllable) has been applied, (just as आय etc. might be added after the addition of शप्), yet there is no opportunity (for its taking place) anywhere where the (rule which teaches the reduplication of the first syllable) would not be applicable; consequently (both cases are) exactly alike.

Because then (an *Apavâda* or special rule supersedes a general rule even when there would be a possibility of the taking effect of both), therefore an *Apavâda* supersedes (a general rule) also when both affect different (portions of a word etc.). For this reason has it been suggested in the Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 95, that (in the formation of तिसृणाम्[2] etc. from तिसृ+आम् etc.) the (addition of

1. शप्यादिः, *i. e.* श्यादिसमुदायान्तर्गतः शप् P.

2. तिसृ+आम्; P. VII., 1, 54 teaches the addition of नुट् to आम्; P. VII., 2, 100 the substitution of र् for the ऋ of तिसृ before a vowel; the latter rule, being an *Apavâda* of P. VII., 1, 54 etc., would supersede the former (just as in the case of तिस्रः it supersedes the substitution of Guna for ऋ which is taught in P. VII., 3, 110), if we did not learn from P. VI., 4, 4 that नुट् *is* added to आम् and र् *not* substituted for ऋ.

the augment) नुट् (to आम् which is taught in P. VII., 1, 54) ought likewise to be superseded by the substitution of र् (for the ऋ of तिसृ, which is taught) in P. VII., 2, 100, *viz.* because the latter is (taught in) an *Apaváda* or special rule,[1] —(a suggestion) which is disposed of by (the remark that) the rule P. VI., 4, 4 indicates (that the substitution of र् for ऋ does not supersede the addition of नुट् to आम्, because, if it did supersede the latter, the rule P. VI., 4, 4 would have no sense). When some (scholar) says that the (rule P. VI., 4, 4) shows that an *Apaváda* does not supersede (a general rule) when both affect different (portions of a word etc.), he is wrong; for, (if he were correct), then the substitution of लुक् for विन् and मत् (taught in P. V., 3, 65) would not supersede the elision (by P. VI., 4, 155) of the last vowel together with any consonant that may follow it, so often as the latter may present itself.[2]

See Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 95: नुमचिरतृज्झवेभ्यो नुट् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन वक्तव्यः ॥ नुमोऽवकाशः लवूणि जवूनि । नुटोऽवकाशः अग्नीनां वायूनाम् । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति । लवूणां जवूनाम् ॥ अचि रादेशस्यावकाशः । तिस्रस्तिष्ठन्ति चतस्रस्तिष्ठन्ति । नुटः स एव । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति तिसृणां चतसृणाम् ॥ ....नुड् भवति पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन । स तर्हि पूर्वविप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । न वा नुड्विषये रप्रतिषेधात् । न वैतद्विप्रतिषेधेनापि सिध्यति तिसृणां चतसृणामिति । कथं तर्हि सिध्यति । नुड्विषये रप्रतिषेधात् । नुड्विषये रप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । इतरथा हि सर्वापवादः । इतरथा हि सर्वापवादो रादेशः । स यथैव गुणपूर्वसवर्णौ बाधत एवं नुटमपि बाधेत । तस्मान्नुड्विषये रप्रतिषेधः । तस्मान्नुड्विषये रादेशस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । न वक्तव्यः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नाचि रादेशो नुटं बाधत इति यदयं न तिसृचतसृ इति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति नामि दीर्घत्वस्य ॥

Kaiyaṭa: न वेति । नुड्रेफयोर्विप्रतिषेध उक्तः स नेत्यर्थः ॥ स यथेति । मध्येऽपवादा इत्येतदनाश्रित्येतदुक्तम् । तत्र ह्याश्रीयमाणे गुणं न बाधेत । गुणपूर्वसवर्णग्रहणमुपलक्षणमृत उदित्युस्वस्यापि बाधनात्प्रियतिस्रः स्वमित्यादौ ॥ यदयमिति । न हि रादेशे कृते दीर्घस्य प्राप्तिः । अनजन्तत्वान्नुडभावाच्च । एवं च विप्रतिषेधोऽपि न वक्तव्यो ज्ञापकादेव नुड्भावात् ॥

1. Cf. Bhairavamis'ra: अल्पापवादत्वेन नुड्बाधशङ्का न तु येननाप्राप्तिन्यायेन नुटः प्रवृत्त्युत्तरं रादेशाप्रवृत्तेः । विषयभेदेऽपि बाधनं भवतीत्यत्रापरदृष्टान्तता बोध्या ॥

2. *I. e.* In the formation of स्रजिष्ठ etc., from स्रग्विन्+इष्ठ etc., the sub-

The statement, however, made by Kaiyaṭa on the rule P. VII., 4, 9, *viz.* that the substitution of दिगि (which is taught in P. VII., 4, 9) may take effect after the reduplication (of the root दे), is an (incorrect) conceit (of his own); and that such is the case has been suggested by Kaiyaṭa himself in his subsequent remarks.[1]

The view of (the author of) the Vârttikas, on the other hand, according to which (a special rule) supersedes (a general rule) only when there is no possibility (of their taking effect both),

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stitution of लुक् for विन् would supersede the elision of इन्, but it would not supersede the elision of the अज् of स्रज्, after the disappearance of विन्; but as a matter of fact the elision of the अज् of स्रज् *is* superseded by the substitution of लुक् for विन्. See pag. 263.

1. In reality the substitution of दिगि for दे which is taught in P. VII., 4, 9 supersedes the reduplication taught in P. VI., 1, 8, because it cannot take effect anywhere where P. VI., 1, 8 would not be applicable.

See Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 9: इहावदिग्येऽवदिग्याते अवदिग्यिरे दिग्यादेशे कृते द्विर्वचनं प्राप्नोति तत्र साभ्यासस्येति वक्तव्यम् । ननु च द्विर्वचने कृते साभ्यासस्य दिग्यादेशो भविष्यति । न सिध्यति । किं कारणम् । दिग्यादेशस्य परत्वात्साभ्यासस्यादेशवचनम् । दिग्यादेशः क्रियतां द्विर्वचनमिति परत्वाद्दिग्यादेशेन भवितव्यम् । तत्र साभ्यासस्येति वक्तव्यम् । एवं तर्हि दिग्यादेशो द्विर्वचनं बाधिष्यते । पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानाद्द्विर्वचनं प्राप्नोति । पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानादिति चेदमादिभिस्तुल्यम् । पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानादिति चेदमादिभिस्तुल्यमेतद्भवति । तद्यथामादिषु कृतेषु पुनःप्रसङ्गाच्छीलुङ्नुमौ न भवन्त्येवं दिग्यादेशो कृते पुनःप्रसङ्गाद्द्विर्वचनं न भविष्यति ॥ अथवा विप्रतिषेधे पुनःप्रसङ्ग इत्युच्यते । विप्रतिषेधश्च द्वयोः सावकाशयोः । इह पुनरनवकाशो दिग्यादेशो द्विर्वचनं बाधिष्यते ।.....

Kaiyaṭa observes in regard to the first opinion, that the substitution of दिगि would supersede the reduplication, both being *sâvakâs'a*: तत्र द्विर्वचनस्यावकाशः पपाचेति, कृते द्विर्वचने दयतेसद्भावाद्दिग्यादेशस्य, अकृते तु द्विर्वचन उभयप्रसङ्गे परत्वाद्दिग्यादेशः. He assumes therefore that दिगि is not *anavakâs'a* (*i. e.* that it is *charitârtha*).—In regard to the second view of the Bhâshya he however observes: अनवकाशो दिग्यादेशः ॥ पूर्वं सामान्यविशेषभावमनाश्रित्योभयोः सावकाशत्वमुक्तम् । इदानीं तु सामान्यविशेषाश्रयेण नाप्राप्ते द्विर्वचन आरभ्यमाणस्य दिग्यादेशस्यापवादत्वमुच्यते ॥

viz. because the (supersession of the one rule by the other) is caused (solely) by the conflict (of the two),[1] —this view can, because it is censured by the author of the Bhâshya, not be adopted for the formation of words.

The maxim of Kaundinya and the buttermilk concerns likewise only that which cannot take effect anywhere where the (general rule) would not be applicable,[2] and it concerns besides only that which is taught (in a rule);[3] this appears from the

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1. *Scil.* 'but not by the mere fact that the one rule cannot take effect anywhere where the other would not be applicable.'

2. P. VII., 2, 117 can therefore not be regarded as an *Apavâda* of P. VII., 2, 116 because the former rule can and does take effect in cases where P. VII., 2, 116 is not applicable, as *e. g.* in सुश्रुत्, सौश्रुतः.

See Bhâshya on P. VII., 2, 117: तद्धितेष्वचामादिवृद्धावन्त्योपधालक्षणप्रतिषेधः। तद्धितेष्वचामादिवृद्धावन्त्योपधालक्षणाया वृद्धेः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः। क्रौटूः जागत इति। ननु चाचामादिवृद्धिरन्त्योपधालक्षणां वृद्धिं बाधिष्यते। कथमन्यस्योच्यमानान्यस्य बाधिका स्यात्। असति खल्वपि संभवे बाधनं भवति। अस्ति च संभवो यदुभयं स्यात्। लोकविज्ञानात्सिद्धं सत्यपि संभवे बाधनं भवति तद्यथा दधि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दीयतां तक्रं कौण्डिन्यायेति सत्यपि संभवे दधिदानस्य तक्रदानं निवर्तकं भवत्येवमिहापि सत्यपि संभवेऽचामादिवृद्धिरन्त्योपधालक्षणां वृद्धिं बाधिष्यते। विषम उपन्यासः। नाप्राप्ते दधिदाने तक्रदानमारभ्यते तत्प्राप्ते आरभ्यमाणं बाधकं भविष्यति। इह पुनरप्राप्तायामन्त्योपधालक्षणायां वृद्धावचामादिवृद्धिरारभ्यते। सुश्रुत् सौश्रुत इति॥ पुष्करसद्भ्रहणाद्वा। अथवा यदयमनुशातिकादिषु पुष्करसच्छब्दं पठति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽचामादिवृद्धावन्त्योपधालक्षणवृद्धिर्न भवतीति॥

3. *I. e.* Only that which is *taught* in a special rule supersedes that which is taught in a general rule; but one cannot say that by the Takra-Kaundinya-nyâya a special statement (विशेषानुवाद) concerning that which undergoes an operation supersedes another general statement (सामान्यानुवाद). P. III., 1, 22 teaches that the Frequ. affix यङ् is added to monosyllabic roots beginning with a consonant to denote that the sense of repetition or intensity is expressed by the root; P. III., 1, 23, that the same affix is added to roots denoting motion to denote that the idea of crookedness is expressed by the root. Here it would be wrong to maintain that *e. g.* वाव्रज्यते can by the Takra-Kaundinya-nyâya not mean 'he

Bhâshya on the rules P. VII., 2, 117, III., 1, 22[1] etc.

Sometimes however (one rule) supersedes (another) solely because there would be no opportunity whatever[2] for its taking effect (if it did not do so ; in the formation of रामायाम् etc. from रामा+ङि etc. the substitution of) आम् for (the termination) ङि (taught in P. VII., 3, 116) supersedes thus (the addition of) याट् etc. (to ङि, which is taught in P. VII., 3, 113); for after the addition of याट् etc. (the substitution of) आम् for ङि would no longer be possible because (ङि) which is put down (in P. VII., 3, 116 as that for which आम् shall be substituted) would be separated (from the base रामा by याट् etc). Here the supersession

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goes frequently,' and Kaiyata who on P. III., 1, 23 has adduced that Nyâya is therefore incorrect. वाव्रज्यते cannot mean 'he goes frequently' simply because that sense would not be understood from it.

1. The Bhâshya referred to is the Bhâshya on the word नित्यम् in P. III., 1, 23:

नित्यं कौटिल्ये गतौ लुगसदचरजप° । उत्तरयोर्विग्रहेण विशेषासंप्रत्ययान्नित्यग्रहणमनर्थकं न हि कुटिलं क्रामतीति चङ्क्रम्यत इति गम्यते ॥ अर्थेतेभ्यः क्रियासमभिहारे यङा भवितव्यम् । क्रियासमभिहारे च नेतेभ्यः । क्रियासमभिहारे नेतेभ्यो भवितव्यम् । भृशं जपति ब्राह्मणो भृशं समिधो दहतीत्येव ॥

Kaiyata: चङ्क्रम्यत इत्यस्माद्यौऽर्थः प्रतीयते नासौ कुटिलं क्रामतीति वाक्येन शक्यः प्रत्याययितुमिति तदर्थानभिधानादेव वाक्यं न भविष्यति । अर्थान्तरे च कौटिल्यमात्रप्रतिपादने वाक्यं निवारयितुमशक्यमिति नित्यग्रहणमनर्थकमित्यर्थः ॥ क्रियास° । तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्यायेन कौटिल्यभावगर्हाभ्यां यङः क्रियासमभिहाराच्छिद्य स्वीकृतत्वादिति भावः ॥

Cf. Pâyagunda: भानेरेकाच इति । यद्यप्यत्र सूत्रे न किमपि भाष्ये उक्तं तथापि नित्यं कौटिल्ये लुगसदेत्यत्रायैतेभ्यः क्रियासमभिहारे यङा भवितव्यमिति प्रश्ने क्रियासमभिहारे च नैतेभ्य इत्युक्तम् । तत्र पूर्ववार्त्तिकस्य 'विशेषासंप्रत्ययादित्यस्य चकारेणानुकर्षः । तथा च भृशं जपतीत्यत्रार्थविशेषस्य तादृशयङन्तादप्रतीतौ स नेति भावः ॥ यद्यनुवादेऽपि तन्न्यायसंचारः स्यात्तर्हि तथैव वदेत् । यतो नोक्तमतस्तस्य विधेयविषयत्वमेव । तत्रत्यकैयटस्तन्न्यायसंचारपरस्त्वयुक्त एव ॥

2. *I. e.* Not even after the taking effect of the other rule.

(by one rule) of other (rules) consists merely in this that the superseding (rule) takes effect first. When here after the taking effect of the superseding rule the general rule (which was superseded by it still) applies, then that too takes effect; *e. g.* in the very instance which was mentioned above, याट् etc. *are* added (after the substitution of आम् for ङि). But if (after the taking effect of the superseding rule the general rule) does not apply, then (it does) not (take effect); *e. g.* in (the formation of) पचेयुः etc. (from पच+या+उः) the (substitution of a) long vowel (for the final अ of पच which is taught in P. VII., 3, 101) does not take place after the substitution (by P. VII., 2, 80) of इय् (for या)[1] which, because otherwise there would have been no opportunity for the taking effect of it, has superseded the (substitution of) long (आ for the final of पच).

What has been stated last, is (by modern grammarians)[2] expressed thus:

P. LVIII.: Sometimes[3] the general rule takes effect even where the *Apavâda* has been applied.

Here the word *Apavâda*[4] denotes (a rule) which supersedes (another rule because otherwise there would be no opportunity whatever for the taking effect of it).

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1. *I. e.* The final अ of पच is not lengthened by P. VII., 3, 101 because it is no longer followed by a Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with one of the letters contained in the Pratyâhâra यञ्.

2. तदेतत् *i. e.* तदुत्तरप्राप्तिकोत्सर्गकर्तृकं भवनमित्येतदेव; पठ्यते *scil.* आधुनिकैः P.

3. क्वचित् 'in some cases.' *i. e.* when the general rule after the taking effect of the superseding rule is still applicable; in other cases, *viz.* when the general rule after the taking effect of the superseding rule no longer applies, it is entirely superseded.

4. We have learned from Par. LVII. that an *Apavâda* is a rule which cannot apply in any case that would not fall under some other

The above[1] is expressed in the Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 82 in the following passage: '*Apavâdas* do not supersede general rules when both teach changes of a reduplicative syllable. (The formation of) अजीगणत् (offers an instance for this maxim); in (the formation of) this form the (substitution of) ई for the final of the reduplicative syllable of गण् (which is taught in P. VII., 4, 97) does, although (this rule is) an *Apavâda*, not supersede the elision of the consonant ण् (taught in P. VII., 4, 60.[2]—This is incorrect); the (substitution of) ई for (the final of

general rule; and we have seen that such an *Apavâda* may be two-fold; it either cannot take effect at all if it does not supersede the general rule, (*i. e.* it would be *anavakâs'a* if it did not supersede the general rule); or it is such that it might take effect together with or after the general rule. As we do not want any Paribhâshâ to teach us that an *anavakâs'a* rule supersedes another general rule, (see note on pag. 321), it follows that Par. LVII. can only teach us that an *Apavâda* which might take effect together with or after the general rule, supersedes the latter; and it follows moreover, that we are allowed to say 'one rule supersedes another rule *Apavâdatvena i. e.* "because it is an *Apavâda*," only when it is such that it might take effect together with or after the general rule, but that when the latter is not the case, we have to say 'it supersedes another rule *anavakâs'atvena i. e.* because it would not take effect anywhere if it did not supersede another rule.' An *Apavâda* in the narrower sense of the word that results from Par. LVII. supersedes a general rule altogether; an *anavakâs'a* rule, on the other hand, supersedes a general rule only so far that it takes effect before it; and the general rule takes effect subsequently if after the taking effect of the *anavakâs'a* rule it is still applicable.

1. 'The above' *i. e.* that there is a difference between an *Apavâda* which might take effect together with or after a general rule, and an *anavakâs'a Apavâda*. (See Chitprabhâ: नन्वपवादशब्दस्योभयसाधारण्यमेव कुतो न विनिगमनाविरहादित्यतस्तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्यायेन बाधविषय एवापवादशब्दो नोभयसाधारण इत्यत्र सप्तमस्य चतुर्थस्थगुणो यङ्लुकोरिति सूत्रस्थं भाष्यं विनिगमकमाह तदुक्तमिति ||)

2. *I. e.* The ण् of गण् is elided first, and subsequently ई is substituted for the अ of the remaining ग.

the reduplicative syllable of) गण् would not, because it is (taught in) an *Apavâda*, supersede the elision of the consonant ण्. Why then? Because there would be no opportunity whatever for the taking place of it (if it did not supersede the elision of ण्).' The meaning (of P. VII, 4, 97) being this that ई is to be substituted for the final ण् of the reduplicative syllable गण्, there can be no opportunity for the taking effect of that (rule) after (ण्) has disappeared by the elision (taught in P. VII., 4, 60); if, on the other hand, the (substitution of) ई (for ण्) takes place first, then there is no occasion for the (rule VII., 4, 60), because (in that case) the final consonant no longer exists.[1] Subsequently (the formation of अजीगणत्) is (in the Bhâshya) accounted for by (the maxim) that, so far as changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned, rules (which teach those changes) do not supersede one another;[2] and this being (accepted as correct), the elision (of the final ण् of गण्) takes place first, and subsequently ई is substituted for the final of what remains (of the reduplicative syllable, *i. e.* for the अ of ग), because it is only (thus that the formation of the rule P. VII., 4, 97) serves a purpose;[3] thus all is correct. And one cannot say that (the rule P. VII., 4, 97) may also easily be proved to be an *Apavâda* by the maxim expressed in Par. LVII., for it has been stated that a rule is only then considered to be an *Apavâda* (in the sense that results from Par. LVII.), when it might take effect (after the general rule; and such is not the case with P. VII., 4, 97).—This is suggested also in the Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 9; for there it has

1. Accordingly P. VII., 4, 97 cannot be an *Apavâda* of P. VII., 4, 60 in the narrower sense of that term which results from Par. LVII.

2. See Par. LXVI.

3. सामर्थ्यात् *i. e.* ईत्वविधायकसूत्रारम्भसामर्थ्यात् P.

been stated that (in the formation of forms like चिचीषति) the (substitution of a) long vowel (for the radical vowel, which is taught in P. VI., 4, 16, first) supersedes the (substitution by P. VII., 3, 84 of) Guṇa (for the same vowel), because no result would accrue from it after the (substitution of) Guṇa and because there would therefore be no opportunity at all for the taking effect of it, (if it did not supersede the substitution of Guṇa. Now it is asserted that, if the rule P. I., 2, 9 did not exist), then Guṇa would be (substituted) after the substitution of the long vowel, (and that the rule P. VI., 4, 16) which teaches the substitution of the long vowel, would (in this case have only the one) object, to teach the substitution of a long vowel for the इ् of षि, in order that after this substitution (षि) might be denoted by the word षी in P. VII., 4, 54. Under these circumstances, (it is stated, is the desiderative affix of such forms as चिचीषति etc.) by P. I., 2, 9 made (an affix) characterized by the indicatory letter क्, in order to prevent the substitution of Guṇa for which there would be occasion after (the substitution of the long vowel.[1] If), on the other hand, (the maxim expressed in Par. LVII. were applicable also to a rule for the taking effect of which there would be no opportunity whatever if it did not supersede another general rule, then P. VI., 4, 16) would (in the present case) supersede (P. VII., 3, 84) on account of its being an *Apavâda* (in the sense assigned to this term in Par. LVII.; and under these circumstances) the general (Guṇa-) rule (P. VII., 3, 84) could not take effect where (P. VI., 4, 16) takes effect and the (above passage

1. P. VI., 4, 16 first supersedes P. VII., 3, 84 because it would otherwise be *anavakâs'a*; subsequently P. VII., 3, 84 would take effect if this were not prevented by P. I., 2, 9. If, on the other hand, P. VI., 4, 16 did supersede P. VII., 3, 84 by Par. LVII., the latter rule would be *entirely* superseded by P. VI., 4, 16 and P, I., 2, 9 would be superfluous.

from the) Bhâshya (on P. I., 2, 9) and that rule itself would clearly have no sense.

To say however that in the case of काञ्चनी etc. (the affix) अण् (which is taught in the general rule P. IV., 1, 83) has by the maxim 'sometimes the general rule takes effect even where the *Apavâda* has been applied' been added also (to काञ्चन) to which (the affix) मयट् which is taught in the *Apavâda* (P. IV., 3, 44) is added, is untenable, because this is contrary to the Bhâshya on the rule P. III., 3, 12; for there it has been stated that अण् is repeated (in P. III., 3, 12) in order that it may be added also where an *Apavâda* may be applicable[1] as *e. g.* in गोदाया व्रजति etc.[2] In the case of काञ्चनी etc. अण् must be regarded to have been added (to काञ्चन) by P. IV., 2, 92 in the sense of 'made of' gold.

With reference to the above (Par. LVII.) the following must not be lost sight of. When the word येन in येन-नाप्राप्ते 'while *another*—is necessarily applying,' denotes 'anything different from the *Apavâda*,', then, whatever else than the *Apavâda* is applicable where the *Apavâda* applies, all that must be superseded (by the *Apavâda*), because nothing (to which the *Apavâda* might apply) is of such a nature that another rule would not apply to it. This is called the general consideration of what must be superseded (whatever this may be). Provided one can produce any example, one may speak of this also when a supersession is caused by the fact that there would be no op-

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1. This passage of the Bhâshya would have no sense if the maxim 'sometimes the general rule.....' were adopted here.

2. See Bhâshya on P. III., 3, 12: किमर्थमिदमुच्यते । नाविशेषेण कर्मण्यण् [३.२.१] इत्यण् कर्मणि विहितः स क्रियायामुपपदे क्रियार्थायामन्यत्र च भविष्यति अणः पुनर्वचनमपवादविषयेऽनिवृत्त्यर्थम् अणः पुनर्वचनं क्रियतेऽपवादविषयेऽनिवृत्तिर्यथा स्यात् । गोदायो व्रजति कम्बलदायो व्रजतीति ॥

portunity whatever for the taking effect of a rule (if it did not supersede something else), for there is nothing which could restrict (that consideration to an *Apaváda* in the sense which results from Par. LVII.). On the other hand, when the word येन denotes 'a rule' or 'an operation,' then we have to consider specially (what particular rule or operation) should be superseded. Also when a supersession is caused by the fact that there would be no opportunity whatever for the taking effect of a rule (if it did not supersede something else) is this special consideration possible, provided one can produce any example, because one may consider whether (a rule) becomes effective by superseding this or by superseding that (particular rule or operation).

PARIBHÂSHÂ LIX.

When then (the word येन in Par. LVII.) out of its (three possible meanings) denotes 'an operation,' and it has accordingly been ascertained (*e. g.*) that (the substitution of) Vṛiddhi which is taught (in P. VI., 1, 89), while another operation *viz.* the substitution (for two vowels) of the second of them (applies in all instances that would fall under P. VI., 1, 89), supersedes (by Par. LVII.) this (latter operation), one has to consider the particular (rules in which this latter operation is taught) and to ask which of them (is superseded by P. VI., 1, 89. To answer this question the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. LIX.: *Apaváda*s that precede (the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded

by the *Apavâda*-operations), supersede (only) those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent (rules).[1]

The reason for (the validity of) this (maxim) is this: When it is absolutely necessary that, (in order to become effective, a rule) should supersede something else, it does become effective by superseding the nearest (rule) which (being the nearest) presents itself first; and such being the case, there is nothing to prove that it (likewise) supersedes (a rule) which follows upon that (nearest rule) and presents itself (on that account) later, for (after having superseded the nearest rule) it no longer wants (something to be superseded by it), and besides there is nothing to prove why, (when the *Apavâda* by superseding the nearest rule has become *charitârtha*), the rule P. I., 4, 2 (by which of two rules that are both *charitârtha* the subsequent rule possesses greater force than the preceding rule) should not be valid.[2]

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1. *E. g.* P. VI., 1, 89 supersedes P. VI., 1, 94 (*e. g.* उप+एनि=उपैनि by P. VI., 1, 89, *not* उपेनि by P. VI., 1, 94), but not P. VI., 1, 95; and we form therefore अव+एहि (*i. e.* आ-इहि)=अवेहि by the latter rule, and *not* अवैहि by P. VI., 1, 89.

2. *I. e.* Both rules being *charitârtha* (*e. g.* P. VI., 1, 89 in the case of उप+एनि=उपैनि, and P. VI., 1, 95 in the case of अद्य+औदा=अद्यौदा) the subsequent rule 95 must by P. I., 4, 2 supersede the preceding rule 89, when both are applicable in one and the same place (अव+एहि). See Par. XL.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LX.

When it has been ascertained (*e. g.*) that the rule P. IV., 1, 55, so far as the portion commencing with ओष्ठ is concerned, supersedes something else, *viz.* the prohibition of (the addition of) ङीष्, the question arises which (of the rules) that forbid (the addition of ङीष्, is superseded by P. IV., 1, 55. To answer this question the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. LX.: *Apavâdas* that are surrounded (by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *Apavâda*-operations), supersede (only) those rules that precede, not those that follow, them.

Accordingly (P. IV., 1, 55) supersedes, so far as the five words ओष्ठ etc. are concerned, only the prohibition (of ङीष्) contained in the words असंयोगोपधात् 'not having a conjunct for its penultimate' (of P. IV., 1, 54), but not the prohibition (of ङीष) which is contained in the rule P. IV., 1, 57.[1] This is found in the

1. P. IV., 1, 54 teaches that ङीष् is *not* added optionally to Bahuvrîhi etc. compounds which end with nouns denoting a part of the body that have a conjunct for their penultimate.

P. IV., 1, 55 teaches that ङीष् *is* added optionally to Bahuvrîhi etc. compounds which end with ओष्ठ etc.

P. IV., 1, 57 teaches that ङीष् is *not* added to Bahuvrîhi-compounds that begin with सह etc and end with a noun denoting a part of the body.

By Par. LVII. P. IV., 1, 55 is an *Apavâda* of both P. IV., 1, 54 and 57, nevertheless it supersedes by the present Paribhâshâ only the preceding rule 54, not the following rule 57. We do form therefore by P. IV., 1, 55 *e. g.* दीर्घजङ्घा or दीर्घजङ्घी, but we can only form विद्यमानजङ्घा by P. IV., 1 57.

Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 55.[1] The reason for (the validity of) this (Paribhâshâ) is this that (an *Apavâda*, when it has become effective) by superseding (the rule) which presents itself first,[2] no longer wants (to supersede something else).

(The first portion नातिकोदर of P. IV., 1, 55 is an *Apavâda* of P. IV., 1, 56 and 57, but supersedes by Par. LIX. only P. IV., 1, 56).

1. See Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 55: इह तावन्नासिकोदर इति वक्तुरुलक्षणश्च प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति सहनञ्विद्यमानपूर्वलक्षणश्च । पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान्विधीन्बाधन्त इति । एवमियं विभाषा वक्तुरुलक्षणं प्रतिषेधं बाधिष्यते सहनञ्विद्यमानलक्षणं न बाधिष्यते । ओष्ठजद्दादन्तकर्णशृङ्गाच्चेति संयोगोपधलक्षणश्च प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति सहनञ्विद्यमानलक्षणश्च । मध्येऽपवादाः पूर्वान्विधीन्बाधन्त इति । एवमियं विभाषा संयोगोपधलक्षणं प्रतिषेधं बाधिष्यते सहनञ्विद्यमानपूर्वं न बाधिष्यते ॥

2. पूर्वोपस्थित°, पूर्वानुभवजन्यसंस्कारजन्यस्मृतिविषयेत्यर्थः । उत्तरस्य त्वननुभवात्स्मृत्ययोगः ॥ P.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXI.

One might suppose that P. III., 4, 88, just as it teaches that (the substitute हि for सि) is (in the Veda) optionally *apit*, (*i. e.* not characterized by an indicatory प्), which term immediately precedes (the rule III., 4, 88) in P. III., 4, 87, would also teach that (in the Veda) हि is optionally (substituted for सि, the substitution of हि for सि having likewise been taught in P. III., 4, 87); in like manner one might suppose that the prohibition (of Vṛiddhi) in P. VII., 2, 4, as it prohibits the Vṛiddhi that would result from P. VII,, 2, 3, would likewise prohibit the Vṛiddhi taught in P. VII., 2, 1 and VII., 2, 114. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) gives therefore (the following Paribhâshâ) which is altogether based on the maxim stated above :[1]

1. उक्तन्याय°, *i. e.* अनन्तरप्रथमोपस्थितबाधेन साफल्ये व्यवहितपश्चादुपस्थितबाधे मानाभावः P. See Par. LIX.

P. LXI : (A rule, may it enjoin or forbid anything), either enjoins or forbids (only) that which is nearest (to it in some other rule).

It is for this reason that the word ङीष् in P. IV., 1, 26 serves a purpose ; for it (has been employed) in order that (P. IV., 1, 26) may not enjoin (the addition of) ङीष् which is nearest (to P. IV., 1, 26, *viz.* in P. IV., 1, 25, and the addition of which P. IV., 1, 26 would have taught by the present Paribhâshâ, had ङीष् not been employed in the latter rule). And (for the same reason) does the word दीर्घः in the rule P. VI., 4, 39 serve a purpose ; for it (has been employed in P. VI., 4, 39) in order that (P. VI., 4, 39) may not forbid merely what is taught in the nearest rule P. VI., 4, 37 (*viz.* the elision of a nasal, but also the substitution of a long vowel which is taught in P. VI., 4, 15. Had the word दीर्घः not been employed in P. VI., 4, 39, then this rule would by the present Paribhâshâ have prohibited only the elision of a nasal taught in the nearer rule VI., 4, 37, but not the substitution of a long vowel which is taught in the more remote rule P. VI., 4, 15).—Kaiyaṭa on the rule P. VII., 1, 21 remarks that the present maxim possesses greater force than the maxims (expressed in Paribhâshâs) LX. etc.[1]—Another view (concerning the

1. औङः in P VII., 1, 21 is an *Apavâda* of लुक् ; this लुक् is taught in P. II., 4, 71 and P. VII., 1, 22. By Par. LX. P. VII., 1, 21 would supersede P. II., 4, 71, and not P. VII., 1, 22 ; but in reality P. VII., 1, 21 supersedes by the present Paribhâshâ the nearer rule P. VII., 1, 22, and not the remote rule P. II., 4, 71.

See Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 21 : अष्टाभ्य औङः । औङाद्यौ । औङाद्याविति वक्तव्यम् । किमिदमद्याविति । अनुत्तरपद इति । किं प्रयोजनम् । इह मा भूत् अष्टपुत्रः अष्टभार्यः । अस्तु । लुक् तत्र । अस्त्वत्र औङित्वं लुग्भविष्यति । षड्भ्योऽप्येवं प्रसज्येत । इहापि नेदं प्राप्नोति । अष्टौ तिष्ठन्ति । अष्टौ पश्येति । अपवादः । अपवादस्यापवादस्यौङित्वं लुकं

relation that obtains between this and the preceding Paribhâshâs) is this, that the present (Paribhâshâ) is based on (the maxim of) association, and that either this or the preceding Paribhâshâs are had recourse to just as (the adoption of one or the other) suits the (formation of the) forms (which have to be made up by the rules of grammar).—Or it may be that now and then the present maxim is set aside in consequence of the circumstance that a Svarita is assigned[1] to some (portion or other of a rule which is intended to be valid in a subsequent rule). In this manner P. IV., 1, 15 *e. g.* enjoins (the addition of the affix) ङीष्, although ङाप् (in P. IV., 1, 13) intervenes between the (ङीष् in P. IV., 1, 5

वाधिष्यते । इहापि तर्हि बाधेत । अट्पुत्रः अट्भार्यः । यस्य विषये । यस्य लुको विषय औङित्वं तस्यापवादः । यो वा तस्मादनन्तरः । अथवानन्तरस्य लुको बाधकं भविष्यति । कुत एतत् । अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वेति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: औशादयाविति । औशादेशो नाप्राप्ते लुग्यारभ्यमाणो विशेषाभावात्सर्वस्य लुको बाधकः प्राप्नोतीति भावः । इतरो येननाप्राप्तिन्यायेन षड्भ्यो लुगित्यस्यैवायमपवादो न सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोरित्यस्यापीति मत्वाह । अस्त्रियाति । भवत्यौशादेशस्तस्य लुग्भविष्यतीत्यर्थः । एतच्चौशादेशप्रवृत्तिमभ्युपगम्योच्यते । नित्यत्वात्पूर्वमेव लुका भाव्यम् । अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन्बहिरङ्गो लुग्बाधत इति वा । इतरो लुको विशेषमपश्यन्यद्यपवादे प्रवृत्त उत्सर्गः प्रवर्तते तदापिप्रसङ्ग इत्याह । षड्भ्य इति । सूत्रैकदेशानुकरणमेतत् । षड्भ्यो लुगित्ययमप्योशो लुक् प्राप्नोति । अथ विधानसामर्थ्यान्न भवति तदाट्पुत्र इत्यत्रापि न प्राप्नोतीत्यर्थः । इतरो येन नाप्राप्ते तस्य बाधनमित्याश्रित्याह । अपवाद इति । षड्भ्यो लुगिति सर्वत्र प्राप्नोतीति स एवौशा बाध्यते सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोरित्ययं तु क्वचित्प्राप्नोतीति तं प्रत्यस्य बाधकत्वायोगादन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन्बहिरङ्गो लुग्बाधत इति पूर्वमेव लुक् प्रवर्तते ॥ यो वा तस्मादिति । औशः षड्भ्यो लुगित्ययमनन्तरो द्वितीयाध्यायविहितस्तु व्यवहितः । ननु मध्येऽपवाद इति द्वितीयाध्यायविहितस्यैव लुको बाधा प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । यत्र द्वावपि विहितौ पूर्वोत्तरौ तत्र पूर्वानुभवाहितसंस्कारोद्बोधजनितस्मृत्यारूढस्य पूर्वस्य युक्तो बाध इह त्वनेकाध्यायव्यवहितौ द्वितीयाध्यायविहितो लुङ्महता यत्नेन स्मरणीयो ऽनन्तरस्त्वनुभवनीय इति स एव बाध्यते । अथवा सत्यामसत्यां चोपलब्धौ प्रत्यासत्त्यानन्तरस्यैव बाधेन भाव्यम् । एतच्च लुकः समकक्षत्वमभ्युपगम्योक्तं भिन्नकक्षौ त्वेतौ लुकविकस्य सर्वत्र प्राप्त्यारस्य क्वचित्प्राप्त्या ॥

1. See Par. XVIII., XL. Pag. 103, 197.

and P. IV., 1, 15; similarly) the rule P. IV., 1, 10 forbids (the addition of) both टाप् and ङीप् (whereas according to the present Paribhâshâ it would forbid only the addition of the टाप् in P. IV., 1, 9, not that of ङीप् in P. IV., 1, 5).—The present (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 42 &c.[1] More elsewhere.[2]

1. See Ed. Ballantyne pag. 512.
2. उद्द्योतादौ. P.

PARIBHÂSHÂS LXII., LXIII., AND LXIV.

Now one might say that, if *e. g.* in the (formation of the) 3. Plur. Pres. Ind. Par. of भा, अन्त् were, because (its substitution) is *antaranga*[1], substituted (by P. VII., 1, 3 for the झ् of भा+झि), then the substitution of अत् (which is taught in P. VII., 1, 4) would be impossible, for (the substitute अन्त् for झ्) would not be equivalent to the original (झ्), because (the original झ्), with reference to which P. VII., 1, 4 teaches (the substitution of अत्), *is* a letter; accordingly the (rule P. VII., 1, 4) would happen to serve no purpose whatsoever. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXII: *Apavâdas*, it is certain, are considered first (in order to find out where they apply); afterwards the general rules (are made to take effect in all cases to which it has thus been ascertained that the *Apavâdas* do not apply).[2]

1. अन्तरङ्गत्वात्, पूर्वोपस्थितनिमित्तकत्वात्, पूर्वस्थितनिमित्तकत्वात्, अल्पनिमित्तकत्वात्, अपरनिमित्तकत्वाच्च. P.

2. Accordingly अन्त् is never substituted for झ् in the 3. Plur. Pres. Ind. Par. of भा.

The meaning is this that he who is guided solely by the rules (of grammar)[1] first looks about to find out where the *Apavâda* applies, and having thus ascertained that a particular form does not fall under that (*Apavâda*), he employs for its formation the general rule; if it were otherwise, (the general and the special rules) would (in some cases both) be employed alternately.[1] अभिनिविशन्ते means 'they are taken into consideration.' Paribhâshâ LXV., however, does not apply in the case of दधति etc. because (P. VII., 1, 4) cannot take effect anywhere where (P. VII., 1, 3 which teaches) the substitution of अन्त् (for झ्) would not be applicable.[2]

He however who is guided solely by the forms (of the language) employs, even without having considered the *Apavâda* rule, the general rule for the formation of all except those forms that fall under the *Apavâda* rule, because he also acquires religious merit only when he employs the words after due remembrance of their grammatical formation. This (the author of the Paribhâshâs) expresses thus:

P. LXIII: Or (we may say that) first all (forms) which fall under the *Apavâda* are set aside, and that subsequently the general rule is employed (in the formation of the remaining forms).

The word ततः 'subsequently' means 'even before the *Apavâda* rule has been taken into consideration.' प्रकल्प्य means 'after setting aside.'[3]

1. *Viz.* because both are equally authoritative.

2. चरितार्थीभावात्, तस्य युगपत्प्राप्तिविषयत्वाच्चेति बोध्यम्. P.

3. According to Par. LXII. the taking effect of the *Utsarga*, which

It is because (the last Paribhâshâ conveys the meaning here assigned to it, and because consequently Par. LXII. and LXIII. really teach one and the same thing, though in different ways), that in the Bhâshya on P. II., 3, 46, after both the above (Paribhâshâs) have been given, something to this effect has been said, *viz.* that the general rule never takes effect at once, (but) that it waits first for the *Apavâda* rule.[1] Modern (grammarians)[2] give (the following Paribhâshâ) which is entirely based hereon[3] :

P. LXIV: An *Apavâda* supersedes, even though the causes of its (application) are still to present themselves, a general rule the causes (of the application) of which are already present.[4]

When[5] Kaiyaṭa however on P. VI., 1, 5, after having quoted the beginning प्रकल्प्य वा (of Par. LXIII.) proceeds to illustrate (that Paribhâshâ) by saying that *e. g.* on account of the rule P.

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applies everywhere, is in particular cases prevented by the *Apavâda* which is kept in mind. According to Par. LXIII. the *Utsarga* does from the very beginning not apply everywhere.

1. See Bhâshya on P. II., 3, 46: न तावदल कदाचित्तिङादेशो भवति । अपवादौ तावच्छानृशानचौ प्रतीक्षते ॥.

2. नवीनाः, *i. e.* दीक्षितादयः. P.

3. एतन्मूलकमेव, *i. e.* एतदुभयफलितमूलकमेव. P.

4. *E. g.* दधति; the *Apavâda* P. VII., 1, 4 supersedes the general rule P. VII., 1, 3 in धा+झि, although धा is not yet reduplicated.

5. P. Nâgojibhaṭṭa now censures Kaiyaṭa's wrong interpretation of Par. LXIII.—It appears from Kaiyaṭa's words that he takes Par. LXIII. to mean that the general rule takes effect in such a manner as to leave room for the taking effect of the *Apavâda*; this interpretation however is contrary to the words तत उत्सर्गोऽभिनिविशते of Par. LXIII. (Cf. Râghavendra: यथाऽपवादविषयसिद्धिस्तथोत्सर्गोऽभिनिविशत इत्येव वक्तव्यं स्यान्न तु तत इत्यादि । यथोक्त्या हि पूर्वमुत्सर्गाप्रवृत्तिर्गम्यत इति भावः ॥)

VI., 1, 37 Samprasâraṇa is first substituted for the later semivowel,[1] and that on the other hand the non- (substitution of Samprasâraṇa) for the preceding (semivowel) is caused by this (substitution of Samprasâraṇa for the later semivowel), his statement is not in accordance with the meaning of the words तत उत्सर्गः etc. (of Par. LXIII).[2] —To say however that the above (two Paribhâshâs LXII. and LXIII.) convey the sense that 'without the meaning of the *Apavâda* rule (having been ascertained) the general rule does not convey any meaning,' is incorrect; for (in order to arrive at this explanation) it must be assumed that the words अभिनिविशन्ते (in Par. LXII.) and अपवादविषयम् etc. (in Par. LXIII.) are not employed in their proper sense; besides there is no reason why a sentence (such as a general rule) should not convey a meaning when the meaning conveyed by its words is (ascertained and) present to the mind.—

Where, on the other hand, the *Apavâda* is forbidden, there the general rule *does* take effect even in instances that would have fallen under the *Apavâda* rule (had it not been forbidden); *e. g.* in the (formation of the) N. Du. of वृक्ष (from वृक्ष+औ) Vṛiddhi *is* (by the general rule P. VI., 1, 88) substituted (for अ+औ), for the (substitution for two vowels) of a long vowel homogeneous with the first (of them, which is taught in the *Apavâda* rule P. VI., 1, 102), does, because it is forbidden by P. VI., 1, 104, not take place, and does consequently not supersede the

1. *E. g.* व्यभ्, विद्ध; P. VI., 1, 16 & 37.

2. See Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 1, 5: प्रकल्प्य वेति । यथा न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणमिति वचनात्परस्य यणः पूर्वं संप्रसारणं प्रवर्तते पूर्वस्य तु तन्निमित्तः प्रतिषेधः । यदि तु परस्य यणः पूर्वं न प्रवर्तते तदा पूर्वस्यापि प्रतिषेधो न स्यात् ॥

Pâyagunḍa adds: किंच न संप्रसारण इत्यत्र ज्ञापकादयमर्थः साधितो भगवता । यदि न्यायविषयस्तर्हि भाष्यासंगतिरेवेति तद्भाष्यविरुद्धमित्यपि बोध्यम् ॥

(substitution of) Vṛiddhi (taught in the general rule). On this account are forms like तौ etc. in P. III., 2, 127 etc. quite correct; and this very (form तौ) which is put down (in P. III., 2, 127) proves that the maxim according to which (something does not take place) when the occasion (for the taking place of it) has once gone by, is not adopted in Pâṇini's grammar;[1] this is also suggested in the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 1, 3, as has been shown in the Bhâshyapradîpoddyota.[2] The maxim which says that Devadatta does not revive when his murderer has been killed is no way applicable in the present case (of वृक्षौ, तौ etc.). When Devadatta has been killed, he does not revive, but Devadatta does cease to be in danger of his life when the man who attempts to murder him is killed. So it is also in the present case; the (substitution for two vowels of a) long vowel homogeneous with the first (of them) does not put an end to the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi, but it merely *applies*, which is as it were an *attempt* to put an end (to the substitution of Vṛiddhi), for a prohibition (like P. VI., 1, 104) forbids only something that is applicable (but not something which actually has taken

1. First the general rule P. VI., 1, 88 teaches the substitution of Vṛiddhi, afterwards the *Apavâda* P. VI., 1, 102 the substitution of the *Pûrvasavarnadîrgha*, and finally P. VI., 1, 104 forbids the substitution of the *Pûrvasavarnadîrgha*; if the maxim यस्यावसरो भ्रष्टस्तन्न were valid in grammar, P. VI., 1, 88 would not be applicable again, after having been once superseded by P. VI., 1, 102.

2. See Mahâbhâshya Ed. Ballantyne pag. 276-78. P. VII., 2, 1 सिचि वृद्धिः is superseded by P. VII., 2, 3 हलन्तलक्षणा वृद्धिः; this is again forbidden by P. VII., 2, 4 नेटि. Here the author of the Bhâshya remarks that the last rule forbids not only P. VII., 2, 3, but also P. VII., 2, 1, a remark which would be superfluous if the Bhrashṭâvasara-nyâya did apply in grammar: for if such were the case, P. VII., 2, 1 would have been superseded by P. VII., 2, 3 once for all.

effect. The substitution of a homogeneous long vowel does therefore not take place, and does for this reason not put an end to the substitution of Vṛiddhi).

The circumstance that (in a rule which teaches an operation regarding a particular word etc.) this word etc. is actually exhibited in its individual form, makes (that rule) supersede (another rule) likewise only when (without doing so) it would have no opportunity of taking effect. This appears from the Bhâshya[1] on the rule P. V., 4, 154; for there first the question is raised whether the word शेषात् (in P. V., 4, 154,) might not be superfluous, *viz.* because (even without शेषात्) those (affixes), which are taught (in rules) in which the words (to which the affixes are to be added) are each given individually, would supersede (the affix कप् taught in P. V., 4, 154); subsequently (however) it has been stated (that the last remark is incorrect) because rules supersede (other rules) when (without doing so) they would have no opportunity of taking effect, whereas (the rules which teach the addition to individual words of) *samâsânta* affixes, on the alternative that कप् (which according to P. V., 4, 154 is *optionally* added) is not added, *have* an opportunity of taking effect.—Sometimes when subsequent, *nitya*, and other (rules) are weighed against each other, the circumstance that (in a rule which teaches an operation regarding a particular word etc.) this word etc. is exhibited in its individual form, gives greater force to this rule even when an opportunity of taking

1. See Bhâshya on P. V., 4, 154: शेषाद्विभाषा । शेषादित्युच्यते । कः शेषः । याभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्यः समासान्तो न विधीयते स शेषः । किमर्थं पुनः शेषग्रहणं क्रियते । याभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्यः समासान्ता विधीयन्ते ताभ्यः कस्मा भूदिति । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । ये प्रतिपदं विधीयन्ते ते तत्र बाधका भविष्यन्ति । अनवकाशा हि विधयो बाधका भवन्ति सावकाशाश्च समासान्ताः । कोऽवकाशः । विभाषा कप् यदा न कप् सोऽवकाशः ।.....

effect is not wanting to it; (the greater force is here) caused by the fact that (the rule in which a word etc. is actually put down in its individual form) is more immediately present (to the mind than another rule in which such is not the case), and its effect is this that (such a rule) takes effect *before* (that other rule.[1] Such is the case) because Kaiyaṭa on the rule P. VII., 2, 98 quotes the statement that in the case of subsequent, *nitya, antaranga* rules, and rules in which the word etc. (regarding which the rules teach something) is exhibited in its individual form, when they come into conflict in the formation of one and the same form, (*one* rule takes effect), and that when they apply simultaneously, each following rule possesses greater force (than each and all of the rules mentioned before it).[2] It has on this account[3] (been stated) that in the (formation of the) Voc. Sing. of रमा (from रमा+स्) etc. the (substitution of) ए (for the final आ of रमा which is taught in P. VII., 3, 106,) takes place before (the elision of स् taught in P. VI., 1, 68,) *viz.* because in the former rule the individual word (संबुद्धि 'the Vocative termination') is actually read; (and ए having thus been substituted,) it is suggested that

1. See above Par. LVI. pag. 314 सेद्+वस्+अस्=सेदुषः. The substitution of Samprasâraṇa for the व् of वस् which is taught in P. VI., 4, 131 possesses greater force than, and takes therefore effect before, the addition of the augment इट् to वस् taught in P. VII., 2, 35, because in the former rule the individual वस् has actually been put down, whereas the latter rule teaches generally that इट् is prefixed to an Ârdhadhâtuka affix which begins with one of the letters contained in the Pratyâhâra वल्.

2. See Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 2, 98: नित्यादप्यन्तरङ्गौ बलीयांस्तथा चोक्तं परनित्यान्तरङ्गप्रतिपदविधयो विरोधिसंनिपाते तेषां मिथःप्रसङ्गे परबलीयस्त्वमिति ॥ See above pag. 288.

3. अत एवेति । निरवकाशत्वाभावेऽयुक्तरीत्या प्रतिपदोक्तस्य बाधकत्वादेवेत्यर्थः ॥ Chitprabhâ.

the elision of स् taught in P. VI., 1, 68 should have no concern (with रमे+स्) because the term आ् in the latter rule is a contraction of आ+आ् (meaning 'after a base ending with the affix आ् when it appears in the form of आ),' a suggestion which is disposed of[1] by (the statement that) स् is elided (not by P. VI.,1, 68, but) by P. VI., 1, 69.

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1. समाहितमिति । एङ्ह्रस्वादिति प्रतीकमुपादाय मनोरमायां दीक्षितैरिति शेषः ॥ Chitprabhâ.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXV.

Now one might say that *e. g.* in (the formation of) अयजे इन्द्रम् (from अयज-इ+इन्द्रम्) the (substitution by P. VI., 1, 87 of) Guṇa (for अ+इ), even though it is *antaranga*, ought to be superseded by the (substitution of the) homogeneous long vowel (ई for इ+इ which is taught in P. VI., 1, 101) an *Apavâda* (of the rule which teaches the substitution of Guṇa. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. LXV : When an *Apavâda* serves a purpose elsewhere, then it is superseded by a (general) *antaranga* (rule) ;

because the reason why it would supersede (the general *antaranga* rule), *viz.* the circumstance that there would be no opportunity (for the taking effect of it if it did not supersede the *antaranga* rule), does (in this case) not exist. And so the (substitution (of a homogeneous long vowel (for इ+इ) is in the present instance (of अयज-इ+इन्द्रम्) superseded by the *antaranga* (substitution of the) Guṇa (ए for अ+इ), notwithstanding that the former is an

Apavâda of (both the substitution of) यण् (taught in P. VI., 1, 77) and (that of) Guṇa, *viz.* because it serves a purpose when it depends on the same (letters on which the substitution of यण् or Guṇa depends).[1] This concerns such *antaranga* (rules) as are *antaranga* for the reason that their causes (in the order of the pronunciation of the letters) precede (the causes of the *bahiranga Apavâdas*).[2]

When Kaiyaṭa however on P. VI., 4, 19 states (the opinion) that (the addition of) an augment and a substitution cannot one supersede the other, because their results differ, this[3] being the reason why *e. g.* when we say 'that curds shall be given to the Brâhmans, a blanket to Kauṇḍinya,' the giving of curds (to Kauṇḍinya) is not superseded by the (giving of a) blanket,[4]— this is wrong; for (that opinion) is contrary to the Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 83 where it is stated that (the addition of the augment) नुक् should supersede the substitution of a long vowel.[5]

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1. As *e. g.* in श्री+ईशः=श्रीशः where the substitution of the long vowel supersedes the substitution of य् for ई; and in दण्ड+अग्रम्=दण्डाग्रम् where the same substitution supersedes the substitution of the Guṇa vowel अ for अ+अ.

2. See Par. L. pag. 260.

3. *I. e.* this difference of the results of both. Curds are given for the preparation of food, blankets to protect from cold.

4. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 19: अथ ऊडादिः कस्मान्न भवति । आदिर्ञिटुडवीत्यादिः प्राप्नोति । कस्य पुनरादिः । वकारस्य । अस्तु वकारस्य । का प्रतिपत्तिः । लोपो व्योर्वलीति लोपो भविष्यति ।....

Kaiyaṭa .....लोपो भविष्यतीति । ननु नाप्राप्ते लोपे आरभ्यमाण ऊङ् लोपस्य बाधकः प्राप्नोति । अल कैचिदाहुः । भिन्नजातीयकत्वादागमेनादेशो न बाध्यते यथा ऐश्रि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दीयतां कम्बलः कौण्डिन्यायेति दध्नः कम्बलो न बाधकः ॥ .....

5. See Par. LXVI.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXVI.

Now one might say that *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Aor. of यप् the (substitution by P. VII., 4, 97 of) ई (for the final of the reduplicative syllable यप्) ought, because there would (otherwise) be no opportunity for the taking effect of it, to supersede the elision of the consonant प् (taught in P. VII., 4, 60). Under these circumstances (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. LXVI: So far as changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned, rules (which teach those changes) do not supersede one another.[1]

The employment of the word अकितः 'which has not an indicatory क्' in P. VII., 4, 83 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ); else (अकितः) would clearly be superfluous, because after the addition of (the augment) नुक् (*e. g.*) in यंयम्यते there would (even did P. VII., 4, 83 not contain the word अकितः) be no occasion for the (substitution of a) long vowel (which is taught in that rule), because (the reduplicative syllable) no longer ends in a vowel.[2] This (Paribhâshâ) teaches that subsequent,

1. See Par. LVIII., pag. 331.

2. In the formation of यंयम्यते there apply to the reduplicative syllable य the two rules P. VII., 4, 85 which teaches the addition of नुक् to य, and P. VII, 4, 83 which teaches the lengthening of the अ of य. Here the addition of नुक् must take effect first because P. VII., 4, 85 is an *Apavâda* of P. VII., 4, 83, and as by this addition अ ceases to be the final of the reduplicative syllable, the rule P. VII., 4, 83 would no longer be applicable even if it did not contain the word अकितः. But as the present Paribhâshâ teaches that the substitution of the long vowel is *not* superseded by the addition of नुक्, अकितः is necessary in P. VII., 4, 83, to prevent the lengthening of the अ of the reduplicative syllable of यंयम्यते after the addition of नुक्.

antaranga, and other (rules) which (according to preceding Paribhâshâs) would supersede (other rules), do likewise not possess that superseding power (when both concern changes of a reduplicative syllable); the result thereof is (the correct formation of forms like) अचीकरत्, मीमांसते etc.; in the former the change (of the reduplicative syllable) in such a manner as takes place in the Desiderative, would (if the present Paribhâshâ did not exist) be superseded by (the substitution of) a long vowel (for the vowel of the reduplicative syllable) because the latter is (taught in the) subsequent (rule P. VII., 4, 94, the former having been taught in P. VII., 4, 93);[1] in the latter (*i. e.* in मीमांसते) the substitution of short इ (taught in P. VII., 4, 79) would be superseded by the substitution taught in P. III., 1, 6 of a long vowel (for the vowel of the reduplicative syllable), because (this latter rule is) *antaranga*[2] (in regard to the former).[3]

1. By the present Paribhâshâ the vowel of the reduplicative syllable is first changed to इ by P. VII., 4, 93, and this इ is lengthened by P. VII., 4, 94.

2. The substitution of इ taught in P. VII., 4, 79 is *bahiranga* because it is caused by the following Desid. affix सन्. In the formation of मीमांसते P. VII., 4, 79 takes by the present Paribhâshâ effect first, and subsequently the इ which is substituted by that rule is lengthened by P. III., 1, 6.

3. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 82:

ऐचोर्यङि दीर्घत्वप्रसङ्गो ह्रस्वाद्धि परं दीर्घत्वम्। ऐचोर्यङि दीर्घत्वं प्राप्नोति। डौढौक्यते लोलौक्यत इति। ननु च ह्रस्वत्वे कृते मलगुणो भविष्यति दीर्घत्वं न भविष्यति। न सिध्यति। किं कारणम्। ह्रस्वाद्धि परत्वाद्दीर्घत्वम्। ह्रस्वत्वं क्रियतां दीर्घत्वमिति परत्वाद्दीर्घत्वेन भवितव्यम्॥ न वाभ्यासविकारेष्वपवादस्योत्सर्गो बाधकत्वात्। नु वैष दोषः। किं कारणम्। अभ्यासविकारेष्वपवादस्योत्सर्गो बाधकत्वात्। अभ्यासविकारेष्वपवादा उत्सर्गान्न बाधन्त इत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या। कान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि। प्रयोजनं सन्वद्भावस्य दीर्घत्वम्। अचीकरत् अजोहरत्। सन्वद्भावमपवादत्वाद्दीर्घत्वं न बाधते। मान्प्रभृतीनां दीर्घत्वमपवादत्वादित्वं न बाधते। गणेरित्वं हलादेःशेषस्य। गणेरित्वमपवादत्वाद्धलादेःशेषं न बाधते॥

When Kaiyaṭa however (in his remarks) on the rule P. VI., 4, 120 states that the present (Paribhâshâ is applicable) only where all (the rules can) take effect *i. e.* where both the superseding rule (can) take effect when the rule, which (without this Paribhâshâ) would have been superseded by it, has taken effect, and where also the latter rule (can) take effect after the former, [1] he is wrong; for as (in the case of यंयम्यते) the (substitution of a) long vowel would not apply after the addition of (the augment) नुक्, (Kaiyaṭa's statement) goes against (the employment of the term अकित: in P. VII., 4, 83) which proves the existence of the Paribhâshâ,[2] and it is also at variance with the example (मीमांसते) which in the Bhâshya on the rule P. VII. 4, 82 is given for this (Paribhâshâ), because the (rule which teaches) the substitution of short इ no longer applies when

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इदमयुक्तं वर्तते । किमत्रायुक्तम् । ऐचोयोऽङि दीर्घत्वप्रसङ्गो ह्रस्वाद्धि परं दीर्घत्वमित्युक्त्वा तत उच्यते न वाभ्यासविकारेष्वपवादस्योत्सर्गाबाधकत्वादिति तस्या अपि परिभाषाया: प्रयोजनानि नामोच्यन्ते प्रयोजनं सन्वद्भावस्य दीर्घत्वं मान्म्रभृतीनामित्वस्य गणेरित्वं हलादिःशेषस्येति । न च सन्वद्भावमपवादत्वाद्दीर्घत्वं बाधते । किं तर्हि । परत्वात् । न खल्वपि मान्म्रभृतीनां दीर्घत्वमपवादत्वादित्वं बाधते । किं तर्हि । अन्तरङ्गत्वात् । न खल्वपि गणेरित्वमपवादत्वाद्धलादिःशेषं बाधते । किं तर्हि । अनवकाशत्वात् । एवं तर्हीयं परिभाषा कर्तव्या । अभ्यासविकारेषु बाधका न बाधन्त इति । सा तर्ह्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । न कर्तव्या । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्येषा परिभाषेति यदयमाकित इति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: ऐचोरिति । ह्रस्वस्यावकाशः पपावित्यादि । दीर्घोऽकित इत्यस्यावकाशः कृते ऽकृते वा ह्रस्वत्वे पापच्यत इति । डौदैक्यत इत्यादौ तु परत्वादौकारस्य दीर्घ औकार एव प्राप्नोति । .....

1. As *e. g.* in the case of नर्नर्त्ति where P. VII., 4, 92 is applicable when P. VII., 4, 66 has taken effect and *vice versâ*.

2. See Par. LV. pag. 303. If the Paribhâshâ did convey the meaning assigned to it by Kaiyaṭa, it would not be applicable in the formation of यंयम्यते etc., and in that case अकित: in P. VII., 4, 83 would be entirely superfluous.

a long vowel has been substituted (for the vowel of the reduplicative syllable of) मान्, वभ etc.[1] More hereof elsewhere.[2]

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1. See Bhâshya on P. VI, 4 120 : णकारषकारादेरेत्त्ववचनं लिटि । णकारषकारादेरेत्त्वं लिटि वक्तव्यम् । नेमतुः । नेमुः । सेहे । सेहाते । सेहिरे । किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति । अनादेशादेरिति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । लिट्यादेशादिं विशेषयिष्यामः । लिटि य आदेशादिस्तदादेर्न । अस्त्यन्यल्लिङ्ङ्णल्स्य प्रयोजनम् । किम् । इह मा भूत् । पक्ता । पक्तुम् । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । क्ङितीति वर्तते । एवमपि पक्कः पक्कवानित्यत्र प्राप्नोति । अभ्यासलोपसंनियोगेनैत्त्वमुच्यते न चानाभ्यासलोपे पश्यामः । एवमपि पापच्यत इत्यत्र प्राप्नोति । दीर्घत्वमत्र वाभ्रकं भविष्यति । नाप्राप्ते ऽभ्यासविकार एत्त्वमारभ्यते । तद्यथासावन्यानभ्यासविकारान्बाधत एवं दीर्घत्वमपि बाधेत । सत्यमेवमेतत् । अभ्यासविकारेष्वपि तु ङ्ययेष्ठमध्यमकनीयांसः प्रकारा भवन्ति । तत्र ह्रस्वहलादिःशेषोत्सर्गौ । तयोर्दीर्घत्वमपवादः एत्त्वं च । अपवादविप्रतिषेधाद्दीर्घत्वं भविष्यति ॥

Kaiyaṭa : लिटि य आदेशादिरिति । नत्वसत्वधोरनैमित्तिकत्वाल्लिण्निमित्तत्वाभावः ॥ अभ्यासलोपसंनियोगेनेति । अभ्यासलोपश्चेति चशब्दः समुच्चये न त्वन्वाचये ॥ दीर्घत्वमलेति । अभ्यासविकारेषु बाभ्रका न बाभ्रन्त इत्येतत्तु यत्र सर्वेषां प्रवृत्तिस्तत्राश्रीयते । यद्यपि कृते दीर्घत्व एत्त्वाभ्यासलोपप्रसङ्गस्तथाप्येत्त्वाभ्यासलोपयोः कृतयोर्दीर्घत्वाप्रसङ्ग इति विरुद्धत्वादबाभ्रकत्वाभावः ॥ नाप्राप्त इति । क्वाचिद्ह्रस्वः क्वाचिद्धलादिःशेषश्च प्राप्नोति ॥ ङ्ययेष्ठमध्यमकनीयांस इति । मध्यमापेक्षयोत्सर्गस्य प्रकर्षसद्भावात्कनीयानुत्सर्गोऽपवाद इत्यर्थः । मध्यमो यः कस्यचिद्बाभ्रकः कस्यचिद्बाभ्यः । ङ्ययेष्ठो यो बाभ्रकस्यापि बाभ्रकः ॥

2. P: Nor can one say that if Kaiyaṭa's statement is rejected the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 120, on account of which Kaiyaṭa makes his statement, becomes improper. The opinion of the author of the Bhâshya is simply this that Paribhâshâ LXVI. is *anitya* (because that which is indicated by a Jnâpaka is not universally valid) and therefore not adopted on P. VI., 4, 120. This Nâgojîbhaṭṭa indicates by saying इत्यन्यत्र *i. e.* उद्द्योतादौ, विस्तरः.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXVII.

One might say that, wherever (the affix) तृन् (is added by P. III., 2, 135, in the sense of) 'having such a habit' etc., (the affix) ण्वुल् also may be (added by P. III., 1, 133 in the same sense);[1] nor (would it be correct to object that) तृन् is an *Apavâda* (of ण्वुल् and that it supersedes the latter on that account altogether), for an *Apavâda*-(affix which is) not uniform (with an *Utsarga*-affix) supersedes (the latter by P. III., 1, 94 only) optionally. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXVII: The rule P. III., 1, 94, (by which an *Apavâda*-affix which is not uniform with an *Utsarga*-affix should supersede the latter only optionally), has no concern with (*Apavâda*-affixes) added in the sense of 'having such a habit' (*i. e.* with the affixes taught in P. III., 2, 134-177).[2]

The fact that (the addition of) वुञ् to the monosyllabic (roots निन्द् etc.) is taught by the rule P. III., 2, 146 (to form निन्दक etc.), while, (if the present Paribhâshâ did not exist, the same bases निन्दक etc.) would have resulted from (the addition of the affix) ण्वुल् (taught in P. III., 1, 133), indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ); for there would be no difference of accentuation (between bases formed) by the addition of ण्वुल् or of

1. *Viz.* in accordance with P. III., 1, 94.

2. The affix तृन् of P. III., 2, 135 supersedes therefore the affix ण्वुल् of P. III., 1, 133, not optionally, but altogether.

वुञ् to (monosyllabic roots like निन्द् etc).[1] The Locative नाच्छीलिकेषु (in this Paribhâshâ conveys the meaning that P. III., 1, 94 has no concern) with any (*Apavâda*-affixes) whatsoever (added in the sense of 'having such a habit,' and) we are thereby informed that (such affixes supersede not merely *Utsarga*-affixes likewise) added in the sense of 'having such a habit,' (but) also (*Utsarga*-affixes that are) *not* added in the sense of 'having such a habit,' (contrary to P. III., 1, 94), not optionally, (but necessarily and altogether.)[2] Now one might say that if such were (the meaning of the present Paribhâshâ,[3] two bases) such as कम्रा and कमना ought not to be formed[4] (by P. III., 2, 167 and P. III., 2, 149 etc. respectively), because (in this instance the

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1. A base formed by the addition of the affix ण्वुल् has the *udâtta* accent on the syllable that precedes the affix (P. VI., 1, 193); a base formed by the addition of वुञ् is *ádyudâtta* (P. VI., 1, 197). When ण्वुल् and वुञ् are added to monosyllabic roots, the bases so formed are in both cases *ádyudâtta*. In the case of polysyllabic roots there does arise a difference of accentuation from the addition of ण्वुल् and वुञ्, and it would therefore have been necessary for Pânini to teach in III, 2, 146 the addition of वुञ् to असूय, even if the present Paribhâshâ did not exist.

2. The affix इष्णुच् which by P. III., 2, 136 is added to अलंकृञ्, supersedes therefore not merely the addition of तृन् to अलंकृञ् (by P. III., 2, 135), but also the addition of ण्वुल् to the same (by P. III., 1, 133.) If a *tâchchhîlika Apavâda* were to supersede only an *atâchchhîlika Utsarga*, it would have been superfluous for Pânini to teach in III., 2, 150 the addition of युच् to पद्, because in that case the addition by P. III., 2 154 of उकञ् to पद् would not have debarred the addition of युच् to पद् by P. III., 2, 149. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 372.

3. *I. e.* if a *tâchchhîlika Apavâda* were to supersede also a *tâchchhîlika Utsarga*.

4. Nor गन्तृ and गामुक by P. III., 2, 135 and 154; nor विकत्थिन् and विकत्थन by P. III., 2, 143 and 149, etc.

affix) युच् of P. III., 2, 149 ought (in accordance with this Paribhâshâ) to be superseded altogether by (the *Apavâda*-affix) र taught in P. III., 2, 167; but such an objection would be futile, for the prohibition by P. III., 2, 153 of (the addition of) युच् to दीङ् shows[1] that what is taught in the present (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid.[2]

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1. If the Paribhâshâ were universally valid, the affix र the addition of which to दीङ् is taught in P. III., 2, 167, would in accordance with it supersede the addition of युच् to दीङ् altogether, and it would have been superfluous for Pâṇini to teach in III., 2, 153, that युच् is not to be added to दीङ्. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 370 and 373.

2. See Bhâshya on P. III., 2, 146 : किमर्थं निन्दादिभ्यो वुञ्विधीयते न ण्वुलेव सिद्धं न ह्यस्ति विशेषो निन्दादिभ्यो वुञो ण्वुले वा । तदेव रूपं स एव स्वरः । वुञमनेकाच: प्रयोजयन्ति । असूयकः । अथ यलैकाच: पठ्यन्ते तेषां ग्रहणं किमर्थं न तेषां ण्वुलेव सिद्धम् । न सिध्यति । अयं तच्छीलादिष्वर्थेषु तृन्विधीयते स विशेषविहितः सामान्यविहितं ण्वुलं बाधेत । वासरूपेण ण्वुलपि भविष्यति । अत उत्तरं पठति । निन्दादिभ्यो वुञ्वचनमन्येभ्यो ण्वुल्प्रतिषेधार्थं वा । निन्दादिभ्यो वुञ्वचनं क्रियते ज्ञापकार्थम् । किं ज्ञाप्यम् । एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यस्तच्छीलादिषु वासरूपन्यायेनान्येभ्यो ण्वुल् न भवतीति । तृजादिप्रतिषेधार्थं वा । अथवैतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यस्ताच्छीलिकेषु सर्वे तृजादयो वासरूपेण न भवन्तीति ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXVIII.

Now one might say that, (if) then (P. III., 1, 94 had no concern merely with *Apavâda*-affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit'), the (*Utsarga*-affix) यञ् might, (in accordance with P. III., 1, 94, by P. III., 3, 18) be added *e. g.* (to हस्

just as the *Apavâda*-affix क्त has by P. III., 3, 114 been added to it) in हसितं छात्रस्य, (or the *Apavâda*-affix ल्युट् by P. III., 3, 115 in) हसनं (छात्रस्य; or, as the *Apavâda*-affix तुमुन् has by P. III., 3, 158 been added to भुज्) in इच्छति भोक्तुम्, (so might the *Utsarga*-affixes) लिङ् and लोट् (be added to भुज् by P. III., 3, 157 in the same phrase;[1] or, as the *Apavâda*-affix युच् has by P. III., 3, 128 been added to पा) in ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता, (so might the *Utsarga*-affix) खल् (be added to पा by P. III., 3, 126 in the same phrase. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXVIII: The rule P. III., 1, 94 has no concern with (the affixes) क्त, ल्युट्, तुमुन्, and (युच्) added in the sense of खल् (in P. III., 3, 126, when these affixes are *Apavâda*-affixes).[2]

This results from the circumstance that the rule P. III., 1, 94 is not universally valid; and that (P. III., 1, 94) is not universally valid is indicated by P. III., 3, 169; for in that (rule the affixes denoted by the term) कृत्य and तृच् are put down in order that (the addition of the affixes denoted by) कृत्य and तृच् may not be (entirely) superseded by (the addition of the affix) लिङ् (in P. III., 3, 168), which, as is shown by the word च 'and' (in P. III., 3, 169), may likewise be added (by P. III., 3,

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1. लिङ् *may* be added to भुज् by P. III., 3, 159. See Kaiyata on pag. 44 above.

2. एतेषु घञादीनामपवादभूतेषु सत्सु स नास्तीत्यर्थः. P. The *Apavâdâ*-affixes क्त and ल्युट् of P. III., 3, 114 and 115 supersede therefore the *Utsarga*-affix घञ् of P. III., 3, 18 entirely etc. When क्त etc. are *Utsarga*-affixes, the rule P. III., 1, 94 does apply.

169);[1] more elsewhere[2]. (The Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 94.[3]

1. If P. III., 1, 94 were universally valid, कृत्यतृचः in P. III., 3, 169 would be superfluous; for in that case लिङ्, which is taught in P. III., 3, 168 and which, as appears from the च in P. III., 3, 169, is valid also in the latter rule, would supersede the affixes termed कृत्य and तृच् which have been taught in preceding general rules, only optionally. The fact that कृत्यतृचः has been put down in III., 3, 169 shows, that लिङ् would supersede the affixes कृत्य and तृच् entirely, if कृत्यतृचः were not put down in III., 3, 169, or, in other words, that P. III., 1, 94 cannot be universally valid.

2. अन्यत्र *i. e.* शोखरादौ. P. The fact that P. III., 1, 94 is not universally valid, allows us to dispense with Par. LXVII.—LXIX. altogether.

3. See above pag. 44.—Si. Kau. II., pag. 314.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXIX.

Now one might say that, (as the *Apavâda*-affix लुट् has by P. III., 3, 15 been added to पच् in श्वः पक्ता, (so) might (be *Utsarga*-affix) लट् also, in accordance with P. III., 1, 94, (by P. III., 3, 13,) be added (to पच् in the same phrase), because (लुट् and लट्) cease to be uniform when their substitutes have taken their places.[1] (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:[2]

1. लुट् and लट् are really by Par. VIII. uniform, and P. III., 1, 94 should therefore have no concern with them; but being regarded as not uniform because the substitutes which must take their places are not uniform, P. III., 1, 94 would apply to them if the present Paribhâshâ did not forbid its application.

2. See Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 94, above pag. 43.

P. LXIX: The rule P. III., 1, 94 has no concern with the substitutes for the ल् (of लट्, लिट्, लुट्, लृट्, लेट्, लोट्, लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ्, लृङ्).

I. e. it has no concern with लट्, लिट् etc. although they cease to be uniform when their several substitutes have taken their places.[1] The fact that (Pâṇini) in III., 2, 116 teaches (the addition of) लङ् indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ; if), on the other hand, (the Paribhâshâ did not exist),[2] it would have been superfluous to teach (the addition of) लङ् (in P. III., 2, 116), for in that case (the *Utsarga*-affix) लङ् (of P., III., 2, 111) might, (in accordance with P. III., 1, 94), have been added wherever (the *Apavâda*-affix) लिट् would have been added by P. III., 2, 115, because (लिट् and लङ्) are not uniform (when their substitutes have taken their places).

When[3] in (the rule P. III., 2, 124 लटः शतृशानचौ) which teaches (the substitution of) शतृ, the word विभाषा 'optionally' is valid

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1. The *Apavâda*-affix लुट् of P. III., 3, 15 supersedes therefore the *Utsarga*-affix लट् of P. III., 3, 13, not optionally, but entirely. Similarly does an *Apavâda*-substitute for one of the affixes लट्, लिट् etc. supersede an *Utsarga*-substitute for the same affix entirely. See below.

2. If this Paribhâshâ did not exist, the लिट् of P. III., 2, 115 would in accordance with P. III., 1, 94 supersede the लङ् of P. III., 2, 111 only optionally, and it would be superfluous to teach that after ह and शश्वत् लङ् as well as लिट् may be added to a root. When Pâṇini in P. III., 2, 116 nevertheless teaches this, he shows thereby that the लिट् of III., 2, 115 supersedes the लङ् of III., 2, 111 entirely, and he indicates thus the existence of the present Paribhâshâ.

3. Chitprabhâ: नन्वेवमादेशकृतवैरूप्यवत्सु लकारेषु वासरूपविध्यभावेऽपि तदादेशेषु त्वसारूप्याद्वासरूपविधिः स्यात्। तथा सति निषेदिवानित्यत्र भाषायां सदवसश्रुवः [३. २. १०८] इति सूत्रेण भूतसामान्ये सदादिभ्यो विधीयमानलिटः क्वसुस्तेन तिङ्समा-

(from P. III., 2, 121), to the end that (the personal terminations denoted by) तिङ् also may be substituted wherever शतृ etc. are substituted (by P. III., 2, 124),[1]—and when the word वा 'optionally' is put down in P. III., 2, 106—, (both) these (circumstances) indicate, as is suggested by Kaiyaṭa[2] and elsewhere, that the *Apavâda*-affixes (spoken of) in P. III., 1, 94, can only be such

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वेशे ससादेत्यपि स्यादित्यत आह शत्रादिभिरिति ॥ The following 'when in the rule....' is added to justify the interpretation of लादेशेषु by आदेशकृतवैरूप्यवत्सु लकारेषु. According to what follows P. III., 1, 94 can have no concern with the substitutes for लट् etc. because the *Apavâda*-affixes referred to in P. III., 1, 94 can only be such affixes as are no substitutes, and we want therefore, according to Nâgojîbhaṭṭa, no *Paribhâshâ* to teach us that P. III., 1, 94 has no concern 'with the substitutes for लट्, लिट् etc.' Notwithstanding this remark of Nâgojîbhaṭṭa, we have taken लादेशेषु as a Tatpurusha-compound, in the sense of लस्यादेशेषु, and have translated it accordingly by 'the substitutes for the ल् of लट्, लिट् etc.' In our opinion the Paribhâshâ refers not merely to लट्, लिट् etc. for which in the actual language we always find substitutes, but it refers also to the different substitutes for any one of the affixes लट् etc.

1. If P. III., 1, 94 did apply, the substitution of शतृ etc. would already by that rule supersede the substitution of तिङ् only optionally, and it would be superfluous to make the word विभाषा of P. III., 2, 121 valid in the rule लटः शतृशानचौ. The same remark applies to the substitute कानच् for लिट् and to the word वा 'optionally' in P. III., 2, 106.

2. On P. III., 2, 127. See Chitprabhâ: कैयटे ध्वनितमिति । तृतीयस्य द्वितीये तौ सदिति सूत्र इति शेषः । तत्र ह्यथवा चैतावुत्तरौ शत्रानौ किमेतौ लादेशावाहोस्विदलादेशौ कश्चात्र विशेष उत्तरयोर्लादेशे वावचनम् । तत्रोत्तरयोरिति प्रतीकमुपादाय लादेशेषु वासरूपविधिर्नास्तीत्युक्तत्वादिति भाव इति भावः । यदि वासरूपे ऽसरूपपदबोध्यो ऽपवाद आदेशत्वानाक्रान्तप्रत्ययरूपो न गृह्येत तदा लादेशेष्वित्युक्तपरिभाषाया लक्षणादिनादेशकृतवैरूप्यवत्सु लकारेषु स नास्तीत्यर्थे प्रकृते तदप्रवृत्त्या नास्तीत्युक्तत्वादिति कैयटोक्तिरयुक्ता स्यादतस्तत्र स आदेशत्वानाक्रान्त एव प्रत्ययरूपो गृह्यत इति तदुक्तया ध्वनितम् । ध्वनिते च तस्मिंस्तत एव वासरूपविधिर्न प्रवर्तते न तु परिभाषाबलादिति तदाशयः ॥

affixes as have not the nature of substitutes;[1] the result hereof, however, must be considered to be this that for the लिट्, which is added to सद् etc. to denote past time generally, क्वसु only (can be substituted), and (that we have) not the alternative (of substituting for it the personal terminations denoted by) तिङ्.[2]

1. As शतृ etc. *are* substitutes, P. III., 1, 94 cannot apply to them.
2. See above pag. 358. note 3.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXX.

With reference to (rules) like P. VIII., 3, 32 (in which one term is exhibited in the Ablative and another in the Locative case) there might arise a doubt whether (*e. g.* the words ङमोऽचि in P. VIII., 3, 32 should mean, in accordance with P. I., 1, 67, that ङमुट् is added) to अच् when this follows upon ङम्, or, (in accordance with P. I., 1, 66, that ङमुट् is added) to ङम् when अच follows (upon the latter.[1] The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. LXX : When both (a term in the Locative and another in the Ablative case) are exhibited (or valid in the same rule), then the Ablative in which the one (term) is exhibited possesses greater force (than the Locative in which the other term is exhibited).[2]

(In the case of P. VIII., 3, 32) the rule P. I., 1, 67 (which concerns a term exhibited in the Ablative) is applied (in preference to P. I., 1, 66 which concerns a term exhibited in the Locative), because the Ablative (ङमः) in which (ङम्) is exhibited finds no scope elsewhere, whereas the Locative अचि in which (अच्) is exhibited serves a purpose in the subsequent rule P.

1. See above pag. 53, and note 2.

2. *I. e.* we have to apply P. I., 1, 67 and not P. I., 1, 66. P. VIII., 3, 32 teaches accordingly that ङमुट् is added to अच् when this follows upon ङम्.

VIII., 3, 33.[1] Where however, as *e. g.* in the case of P. VIII., 3, 29, both (the Locative in which one term is exhibited and the Ablative in which the other term is exhibited) serve no purpose (in any other rule), there (the sequence of the rules of Pâṇini's grammar) makes us decide in favour (of the application of P. I., 1, 67 which concerns a term exhibited in the Ablative) *viz.* because (this rule) P. I., 1, 67 *follows* upon the rule P. I., 1, 66 (which concerns a term exhibited in the Locative case). So it is also when both (the Locative and the Ablative) serve a purpose (in some other rule) which is the case *e. g.* in P. VII., 1, 52; here the Locative आमि serves a purpose in P. VII., 1, 53; (and) the Ablative आत्[2] (which is valid in P. VII., 1, 52 from P. VII., 1, 50) serves a purpose in P. VII., 1, 50. (All) this we find in the Bhâshya and Kaiyaṭa's (commentary) on P. I., 1, 66.[3]

1. Here then the Ablative is stronger than the Locative, *anavakâs'atvena*; in the other instances it is stronger *paratvena*.

2. The Ablative सर्वनाम्नः in P. VII., 1, 52 is *Vihita-panchamî* (अदन्तात्परस्य सर्वनाम्नो विहितस्य) and the rule P. I., 1, 67 does consequently not apply to it. P.

3. See Mahâbhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne, pag. 744-750.—P. adds the following: Where only the Locative is *anavakâs'a*, there it is stronger than the Ablative, as *e. g.* in P. VII., 2, 82 आने मुक्; here आने is *anavakâs'a*, but the Ablative अतः which is valid from P. VII., 2, 80 is *sâvakâs'a* in that rule; मुक् is accordingly added to that which precedes आन. In P. VI., 1, 75, 76 दीर्घात् पदान्ताद्वा the Ablative is *anavakâs'a*, and the Locative ङे *sâvakâs'a*; nevertheless a Jnâpaka (Si. Kau. I., pag. 71) indicates that the Locative is stronger, and the augment नुक् is consequently added to the vowel which precedes ङ. P. adduces another instance in which both the Locative and Ablative are *charitârtha* and where nevertheless the Locative is stronger than the Ablative, and concludes with the remark that the present Paribhâshâ is consequently not universally valid.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXI.

One might say that सु (which) by P. VIII., 3, 46 (is substituted *e. g.* for the Visarga of अयः in अयः+कुम्भ = अयस्कुम्भ) ought not (by the same rule) to have been substituted in अयस्कुम्भी (from अयः+कुम्भी), because only the word कुम्भ has been given (in P. VIII., 3, 46. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXI: A Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed (in grammar), also (such a crude form) as is derived (from it) by the addition of (an affix denoting) gender.[1]

The meaning (of the Paribhâshâ) is this that, whenever a word, which denotes Prâtipadikas generally,[2] or denotes a particular Prâtipadika (or particular Prâtipadikas),[3] is employed (in grammar), it must be understood to denote also (such crude forms) as are derived (from the former) by the addition of an affix denoting gender; (and the word) अपि 'also' (shows that such a word denotes besides) also (those Prâtipadikas which) alone (would be denoted by it, if the present Paribhâshâ did not exist. The existence of) this (Paribhâshâ) is indicated by

1. The Prâtipadika कुम्भ in P. VIII., 3, 46 denotes accordingly not only कुम्भ, but also कुम्भी; similarly पात्र in the same rule denotes not only पात्र, but also पात्री. For other instances see the Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 1, below.

2. As *e. g.* प्रातिपदिक in P. IV., 1, 1; P. adds that, because the Paribhâshâ does apply to the word प्रातिपदिक in P. IV., 1, 1, the necessity of the expression ङ्याप् in that rule has been questioned in the Bhâshya. See below. See also Si. Kau. I., pag. 86.

3. विशेषरूपेण, प्रातिपदिकत्वव्याप्यधर्मविशिष्टबोधकशब्दोपादाने. Bhairavamis'ra.

the fact that we read in the (Gaṇa on the) rule[1] P. II., 1, 70 which occurs in the chapter (of rules) relating to (the composition of) coordinate (words),[2] the feminine words श्रमणा etc.; this namely indicates (the existence of) the (Paribhâshâ), because (the words) श्रमणा etc. which end with a feminine affix, can be coordinate only with the word कुमारी, but not with the word कुमार (in P. II., 1, 70).[3]

It appears from the Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 1, that this (Paribhâshâ) has no concern with the *Upapadas*[4] in rules like P. III., 2, 39; (nor with Prâtipadikas) in rules that teach (the addition of) *samâsânta* affixes;[5] (nor with महत् in the rule P. VI, 3, 46 which teaches) the substitution of आ for (the final of) महत्;[6] (nor with Prâtipadikas that fall

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1. सूत्रे *i. e.* सूत्रविषयकगणपाठे. P.

2. समानाधिकरणेन being valid from P. II., 1, 49.

3. The feminine words श्रमणा etc. in the Gaṇa on P. II., 1, 70 show that कुमार in P. II., 1, 70 must denote also कुमारी, and it can do so only by the present Paribhâshâ; but it must denote also कुमार itself, because only this can be coordinate with the masculine bases अध्यापक etc. which likewise have been enumerated in the Gaṇa श्रमणादि. Si. Kau. I., pag. 366.

4. *E. g.* द्विषत् which is *Upapada* (see P. III., 1, 92) in P. III., 2, 39 denotes only द्विषत्, and not also द्विषती. We form accordingly by P. III., 2, 39 द्विषंतप; but when द्विषती is *Upapada*, we must form द्विषतीताप. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 333.

5. *E. g.* राजन् in P. V., 4, 91 denotes only राजन्, not also राज्ञी; टच् is therefore by P. V., 4, 91 added *e. g.* to मद्रराजन् = मद्रराज, but not to मद्रराज्ञी. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 382; 113.

6. महत् in P. VI., 3, 46 denotes only महत्, not also महती; we therefore apply P. VI., 3, 46 *e. g.* in महान्प्रियोऽस्य = महाप्रियः, but not in the case of महती प्रियास्य = महतीप्रियः. See P. VI., 3, 34.

under the rule P. VI, 1, 197 which teaches) the accent (of Prâtipadikas formed by means of affixes that are characterized) by an indicatory ञ् or न्;[1] (nor with ब्राह्मण and कुमार in the rule P. VI., 2, 59 which teaches) the accent of राजन् when (in a Karmadhâraya-compound) it is followed by ब्राह्मण or कुमार;[2] (nor with compound bases) in (accent) rules like P. VI., 2, 175 that are given with reference to the *whole* compound.[3] And from the same (Bhâshya it appears) likewise that (it does) not (concern a Prâtipadika in a rule which teaches) an operation caused by a (following) case-termination[4]. As regards the rules that teach (the addition of *samâsânta* affixes (which were mentioned) in the above, (the Paribhâshâ has) no (concern) only (with such Prâtipadikas) that may occur in them, as form *part* (of the compound to which the *samâsânta* affix is added),[5] but where the

1. P. VI., 1, 197 teaches accordingly the accent only of Prâtipadikas formed by means of *ñit* and *nit* affixes, but not of their feminine bases; *e. g.* it teaches the accent of दाक्षि (दक्ष+इञ्, P. IV., 1, 95), but not of दाक्षी (दाक्षि+ङीष्, P. IV., 1, 65).

2. P. VI., 2, 59 teaches therefore the accent of राजन् in राजब्राह्मण and राजकुमार, but not in राजब्राह्मणी and राजकुमारी.

3. P. VI., 2, 175 teaches therefore *e. g.* the accent of बहुगोमत् (बह्वो गोमन्तोऽस्मिन्) but not of the feminine बहुगोमती (बह्वो गोमन्तोऽस्याम्), *viz.* because बहुगोमत्, so far as the rule VI., 2, 175 is concerned, does not denote also बहुगोमती. Where a rule teaches the accent of *part* of a compound, there the Paribhâshâ *does* apply to the Prâtipadika which forms that part; कुशूल in P. VI., 2, 102 denotes therefore not only कुशूल, but also कुशूली, and कुशूली in कुशूलीविल is therefore by P. VI., 2, 102 *antodâtta*, just as कुशूल is by it *antodâtta* in कुशूलविल.

4. See Par. LXXII.

5. *E. g.* it has no concern with राजन् in P. V., 4, 91. See above pag. 364 note 5.

whole compound (base) is given (in such rules, the Paribhâshâ) does apply to it;[1] this follows from the circumstance that in the above (Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 1) fault has been found (with the application of the Paribhâshâ) to whole compound bases, only when they occur in rules that teach their accent; and it follows besides from the Bhâshya on the rule P. IV., 1, 25.[2]

The above are all the cases in which (the Paribhâshâ), not being universally valid,[3] must not be applied; for it has been stated in the Bhâshya (on P. IV., 1, 1) that all faults whatsoever (that would arise from an indiscriminate application of the Paribhâshâ) have been enumerated (in the above).

Now one might object that (if) then (the above were the true meaning of this Paribhâshâ),[4] the Bhâshya[5] on the rule

1. Chitprabhâ: यथा शेषाद्विभाषा [५. ४. १५४] इति कथिते। एवं चेदं यथा महायशस्क इत्यत्र प्रवर्तते तथा बहुव्रीहौ माला यस्या इति विग्रहे बहुव्रीहावुपसर्जनह्रस्वे पुनष्टाप् प्रवर्तते ॥

2. *Scil.* where the Paribhâshâ *has* been applied to the compound base कुण्डोघस्. See below.

3. See Par. LXXII.

4. एवम्, *i. e.* परिभाषाया उक्तार्थाङ्गीकारे. P. Above it has been stated that this Paribhâshâ is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes Prâtipadikas generally (as प्रातिपदिक does in P IV., 1, 1), or denotes a particular Prâtipadika (such as कुमार in P. II., 1, 70). Now one might say that as the word बहुव्रीहि which is valid in P. V., 4, 153, denotes neither the one nor the other, the Paribhâshâ ought not to be applied to it, and that the term Bahuvrîhi ought therefore to denote *e. g.* only the Prâtipadika कुण्डोघस्, but not its feminine कुण्डोघ्नी; that nevertheless कुण्डोघ्नी has in the Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 25 been regarded as a Bahuvrîhi, and that the above interpretation of this Paribhâshâ must therefore be incorrect. See Râghavendrâchârya: ननु सामान्यरूपेण विशेषरूपेण चेत्युक्तत्वाद्बहुव्रीहित्वस्य रूपातिदेशेन सुलभोऽयं भवति इति कथं शङ्कोत्थितिरिति चेत्। न। विशेषरूपेणात्यस्यानुपपत्तेर्विशेषरूपेणात्यर्थभ्रमेण तामुत्थाप्य प्रातिपदिकस्वरूपाप्यार्थपरत्वेन समाधानात् ॥

5. See Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 25: ऊधसो नकारो लिङ्गाधिकारे। ऊधसो

P. IV., 1, 25 would be improper; for there (it has been stated that the affix) कप् should by P. V., 4, 153 be added to कुण्डोघ्नी, the meaning (assumed to be conveyed by P. V., 4, 153 being this that कप् is added) to a Bahuvrîhi ending with a *nadi* (like ई);[1] this (statement) would be improper (if the Paribhâshâ did convey the above meaning), because (in that case कुण्डोघ्नी) which ends with the *nadi* (ई) would not (by this Paribhâshâ) be (denoted by the term) Bahuvrîhi (of P. V., 4, 153;[2] nor can

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नकारो लिङ्गाधिकारे वक्तव्यः । इह मा भूत् । महौधाः पर्जन्य इति ॥ न वा समासान्ताधिकारे स्त्रीग्रहणात् । न वा लिङ्गाधिकारे नकारः कर्तव्यः । किं कारणम् । समासान्ताधिकारे स्त्रीग्रहणात् । समासान्ताधिकार एव स्त्रीग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥ इतरथा हि कञ्विधिप्रसङ्गः । इतरथा हि कञ्विधिः प्रसज्येत । कस्यां पुनरवस्थायां कप्प्राप्नोति । प्राङ् ङीप्रत्ययेभ्यः । प्राक्तावन्न प्राप्नोति । किं कारणम् । न हि ङीप्विधाया । उत्पन्ने तर्हि ङीपि प्राप्नोति । उत्पन्ने चापि न भवितव्यम् । किं कारणम् । नञ्नन्तानां यो बहुव्रीहिरिन्द्रेव सः । न चैष नञ्नन्तानां बहुव्रीहिः । प्रागेव तर्हि प्राप्नोति । ननु चोक्तं न हि ङीप्विधायेति । यद्यपि न ङीप्विधाया कप्तु विधाया । कप्सोऽवकाशोऽन्यो बहुव्रीहिः । अयवकः । अव्रीहिकः । ङीषोऽवकाशः । विधाया कञ्यदा न कप्सोऽवकाशः । कुण्डोघ्नी यवोघ्नी । कप्प्रसङ्ग उभयं प्राप्नोति । परत्वात्कप्स्यात् । तस्मात्सुष्ठूच्यते न वा समासान्ताधिकारे स्त्रीग्रहणादितरथा हि कञ्विधिप्रसङ्ग इति ॥

Kaiyata: ऊधस इति । ऊधसोऽनङ् [५. ४. १३१] इति समासान्तप्रकरणे सूत्रमकृत्वा बहुव्रीहेरूधसो ङीष् नश्चेति वक्तव्यम् । तत्रालोऽन्त्यस्येत्यन्त्यस्य नकारो ङीष्प्रत्ययश्च स्त्रियां भवतीत्यर्थो भवति । धनुषोऽनङिति समासान्तेषु पठितव्यमेवं च महौधाः पर्जन्यः कुण्डोघ्नी धेनुकमित्यनङ् न भवति ॥ न वेति । समासान्तप्रकरण एवोधसोऽनङ् स्त्रियामिति वक्तव्यम् । तत्रैवायमर्थः कर्तव्यम् । कप्समासान्तनिवृत्त्यर्थमित्यर्थः ॥ कस्यां पुनरिति । द्वावत्र कपौ नदीलक्षणो नित्यः शैषलक्षणो विकल्पितश्च तत्र कस्य प्रसङ्ग इति प्रश्नः ॥ प्रागिति । शैषलक्षण इत्यर्थः ॥ न हि ङीष्विति । ह्यत्र कप्स्यात् ङीष्विधानमनवकाशं स्यादिति भावः । द्वयोस्तु विकल्पे सति परस्परपरिहारेण प्रवर्तनान्नास्ति ङीषोऽनवकाशत्वम् ॥ उत्पन्न इति । नदीलक्षण इत्यर्थः ॥

1. See P. I., 4, 3.

2. बहुव्रीहित्वस्य सुबन्तसमूहधर्मत्वेनान्यतररूपेण प्रातिपदिकाग्रहणात्परिभाषाप्रवृत्त्यभावेन तस्य तत्त्वाभावादित्यर्थः । बहुव्रीह्यर्थकवाक्यत्वाभावाच्चेत्यपि बोध्यम् ॥ P.

one say that the above statement has been made by the *Pûrva-pakshin*, from ignorance of the true state of the case, for the addition of कप् to कुण्डोघ्नी) has been rejected (not by the statement that कुण्डोघ्नी is *not* a Bahuvrîhi, but) by the (different) interpretation (of P. V., 4, 153) 'that (कप् is added to) a (Bahuvrîhi-) compound which has for its second member a noun the base of which ends with a *nadî*.'[1] (This objection would however be) futile, because the import (of the above statement from the Bhâshya in which कुण्डोघ्नी is regarded as a Bahuvrîhi) is this that, when a feminine affix has been added (to a base), the nature of a Prâtipadika and all those properties for the possession of which a base is termed a Prâtipadika, that may be found in the base void of the (feminine affix), are by this Paribhâshâ assigned also to the whole new base (which results from the addition of the feminine affix).[2]

1. The words नद्यन्तानां यः समासः are explained in the text by नद्यन्तप्रकृतिकमुत्तरपदकः समास इति, *scil.* तदाशयः.

2. एवं चान्यतररूपेण वस्तुनः प्रातिपदिकत्वादिव द्रुहणे सति तद्विशिष्टस्यापीति परिभाषार्थो बोध्यः. P.—कुण्डोघस् being a Prâtipadika because it is a Bahuvrîhi-compound (P. I., 2, 46), its feminine कुण्डोघ्नी is likewise a Prâtipadika and a Bahuvrîhi-compound by the present Paribhâshâ, and it has therefore correctly been termed a Bahuvrîhi in the Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 25.

Extract from the Bhâshya[1] on P. IV., 1, 1:

ङ्याब्ग्रहणमनर्थकं प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणात्। ङ्याब्ग्रहणमनर्थकम्। प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणं भवतीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या। कः पुनरत्र विशेषः। एषा वा परिभाषा

1. Kaiyaṭa: लिङ्गविशिष्टस्येति। यथाकथंचित्प्रातिपदिकग्रहण एषा परिभाषोपतिष्ठते न तु प्रातिपदिकस्य स्वरूपग्रहण एवेति भावः॥ कः पुनरिति। ङ्याब्ग्रहणं लघु न तु

क्रियेत ङ्याब्ग्रहणं वा । अवश्यमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । बहून्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि । कानि । प्रयोजनं सर्वनामस्वरसमासतद्धितविधिलुगलुगर्थम् ॥ सर्वनामविधिः प्रयोजनम् । सर्वनाम्नः सुट् [७.१.५२] । इहैव स्यात् । येषां तेषाम् । यासां तासामित्यत्र न स्यात् । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । अवर्णान्तादाङ्धीयते । तत्रैकादेशः । एकादेशे कृतेऽन्तादिवद्भावात्सुड् भविष्यति ॥ इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् । सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च [२.३.२७] । इहैव स्यात् । भवता हेतुना भवतो हेतोरिति । भवत्या हेतुना भवत्या हेतोरित्यत्र न स्यात् । सर्वनाम ॥ स्वर । कुशूलकूपकुम्भशालं विले [६.२.१०२] । इहैव स्यात् । कुशूलविलम् । कुशूलीविलमित्यत्र न स्यात् । स्वर॥ समास । द्वितीया श्रितादिभिः सह समस्यते [२.१.२४] इहैव स्यात् । कष्टं श्रितः कष्टश्रितः । कष्टं श्रिता कष्टश्रितेत्यत्र न स्यात् । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । श्रितशब्दोऽकारान्तः । तत्रैकादेशे कृतेऽन्तादिवद्भावाद्भविष्यति । इदं तर्हि । पूर्वसदृश [२.१.३१] इति । इहैव स्यात् । पित्रा सदृशः पितृसदृशः । पित्रा सदृशी पितृसदृशीत्यत्र न स्यात् । समास ॥ तद्धितविधि । अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक् [४.२.४७] । इहैव स्यात् । हस्तिनां समूहो हास्तिकम् । हस्तिनीनां समूहो हास्तिकमित्यत्र न स्यात् । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । पुंवद्भावेनैतत्सिद्धम् । इदं तर्हि । प्रमाणे द्वयसच् [५.२.३७] । यथेह भवति हस्तिद्वयसमेवं हस्तिनीद्वयसमित्यपि यथा स्यात् । तद्धितविधि ॥ लुक् । नेन्सिन्द्रबभ्रातिषु च [६.३.१९] । इहैव स्यात् । स्थण्डिलशायी । स्थण्डिलशायिनीत्यत्र न स्यात् । लुक्॥ अलुक् । शयवासवासिष्वकालात् [६.३.१८] । इहैव स्यात् । ग्रामेवासी । ग्रामेवासिनीत्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ मानिनि च विधिप्रतिषेधार्थम् । विध्यर्थं तावत् । क्यङ्मानिनोश्च [६.३.३६] । इहै-

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परिभाषेति भावः ॥ स्थण्डिलशायिनीति । गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक्सुबुत्पत्तेरिति वचनादनुत्पन्न एव ङीपि समासे सति नान्तमेवोत्तरपदमित्यप्रयोजनमेतत् ।

व स्यात् । दर्शनीयमानी । दर्शनीयमानिनीत्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ प्रतिषेधार्थमपि । वक्ष्यति स्वाङ्गाच्चेतोऽमानिनि [६.३.४०.९.] । तस्मिन्क्रियमाण इहैव स्यात् । दीर्घमुखमानी । दीर्घमुखमानिनीत्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ प्रत्ययग्रहणोपचारेषु च प्रयोजनम् । तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि [२.२.१५] । इहैव स्यात् । अपां स्रष्टा । अपां स्रष्टृत्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ उपचार । अतः कृकमिकंसकुम्भ [८.३.४६] । इहैव स्यात् । अयस्कुम्भः । अयस्कुम्भीत्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ एतान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि यदर्थमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । एतस्यां च सत्यां नार्थो ङ्याब्ग्रहणेन ॥

अतिप्रसङ्ग उपपदविधौ । उपपदविधावतिप्रसङ्गो भवति । द्विषत्परयोस्तापेः [३.२.३९] यथेह भवति द्विषंतप इत्येवं द्विषतीताप इत्यत्रापि स्यात् ॥ यञिञोः फक्यतिप्रसङ्गो भवति । यञिञोश्च [४.१.१०१] इति यथेह भवति गार्ग्यायणो दाक्षायण एवं गार्गेयो दाक्षेय इत्यत्रापि स्यात् । नैष दोषः । **ढगत्र** बाधको भविष्यति ॥ समासान्तेषु चातिप्रसङ्गो भवति । राजाहःसखिभ्यष्टच् [५.४.९१] यथेह भवति मद्रराज एवं मद्रराज्ञीत्यत्रापि स्यात् । न वा भवति मद्रराजी । भवति यदा **समासान्तादीकारः** । लिङ्गविशिष्टग्रहणे ङीकारान्तात्समासान्तः प्रसज्येत । **तत्र को** दोषः । पुंवद्भावष्टिलोपश्च तत्र मद्रराजीत्येतद्रूपं स्यान्मद्रराज्ञीति चेष्यते ॥ महदात्त्वे प्रियादिष्वतिप्रसङ्गो भवति । आन्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः [६.३.४६] इति यथेह भवति महान्प्रियोऽस्य महाप्रिय एवं महती प्रियास्य महतीप्रिय इत्यत्रापि स्यात् । किमुच्यते प्रियादिष्विति । **यत्र पुंवद्भावः** प्रतिषिध्यते **यत्र तु** न प्रतिषिध्यते भवितव्य-

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एवं ग्रामेवासिनी दर्शनीयमानिनी दीर्घमुखमानिनीत्यपि द्रष्टव्यम् ॥ ढगत्रेति । परत्वादिति भावः ॥ समासान्तादीकार इति । मद्रराजस्य भार्या मद्रराजीति पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् [४.१.४८] इति ङीष् ॥ तत्र को दोष इति । टचि कृते यस्येति च [६.४.१४८] इतीकारे लुप्ते टित्त्वात् ङीपि कृते मद्रराज्ञीति सिध्यतीति प्रश्नः ॥ यत्र पुंवद्भाव इति । तत्रापूरणीप्रियादिष्विति वचनात् [६.३.३४] ॥ यत्र त्विति । महाजङ्घ इत्यादौ ॥ दाक्षीति । इतो

मेव तत्रात्वेनेति ॥ ञ्नित्स्वरेऽतिप्रसङ्गो भवति । ञ्नित्यादिरुदात्तो भवति [६.१.१९७]। यथेह भवति दाक्षिरहिचुम्बकायनिरवं दाक्ष्यहिचुम्बकायनीत्यत्रापि स्यात् ॥ राज्ञः स्वरे ब्राह्मणकुमारयोरतिप्रसङ्गो भवति । राजा च ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः [६. २. ५९] इति यथेह भवति राजब्राह्मणो राजकुमार एवं राजब्राह्मणी राजकुमारीत्यत्रापि स्यात् ॥ समाससंघातग्रहणेषु चातिप्रसङ्गो भवति। बहोर्नञ्वदुत्तरपदभूम्नि [६.२.१७५] यथेह भवति बहुगोमान्बहुयवमानेवं बहुगोमती बहुयवमतीत्यत्रापि स्यात् । किमुच्यते समाससंघातग्रहणेष्विति । यदवयवग्रहणं प्रयोजनमेव तदस्याः परिभाषायाः कुशूलकूपकुम्भशालं विले कुशूलीविलमिति ॥ यथा विभक्तौ चोक्तम् । किमुक्तम् । न वा विभक्तौ लिङ्गविशिष्टाग्रहणादिति ॥ एतेऽस्याः परिभाषाया दोषा एतानि च प्रयोजनानि । एते दोषाः समा भूयांसो वा । तस्मान्नार्थोऽनया परिभाषया । न हि दोषाः सन्तीति परिभाषा न कर्तव्या लक्षणं च न प्रणेयम् । न हि भिक्षुकाः सन्तीति स्थाल्यो नाधिश्रीयन्ते । न च मृगाः सन्तीति यवा नोप्यन्ते । दोषाः खल्वपि साकल्येन परिगणिताः प्रयोजनानामुदाहरणमात्रम् । कुत एतत् । न हि दोषाणां लक्षणमस्तीति । तस्माद्यान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि तदर्थमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या प्रतिविधेयं दोषेषु ॥

मनुष्यजातेरिति [४.१.६५] ङीष्प्रत्ययस्वरेणान्तोदात्त इष्यते ॥ बहोर्नञ्वदिति । बहुशब्दादुत्तरपदबहुत्वे वर्तमानाद्यत्स्वरं पदं तदन्तस्य समासस्य नञ इव स्वरो भवतीत्यतिदेशार्थः । तेन बहवो गोमन्तोऽस्य बहुगोमानित्यत्र नञ्सुभ्यामिति [६.२.१७२] समासस्यान्तोदात्तत्वं भवति ॥ बहुगोमतीति । बहवो गोमन्तोऽस्या इति बहुव्रीहिः । उगितश्च [४.१.६] इति ङीप् । समासोऽत्र संघातरूपः कार्यीति लिङ्गविशिष्टसमासाग्रहणात्समासान्तोदात्तत्वाभावादीकारः पित्त्वादनुदात्तो भवतीकारात्तु पूर्वं उदात्तो भवति ॥ कुशूलीविलमिति । पूर्वपदस्यात्र कार्यित्वं न तु संघातस्येति पूर्वपदान्तोदात्तत्वं भवत्येव ॥ विभक्तौ चोक्तमिति । उगिदचाम [७.१.७०] इत्यत्रोक्तं यथा गोमानिति नुम् भवत्येवं गोमतीत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । तत्र परिहार उक्तो न वा विभक्तौ लिङ्गविशिष्टाग्रहणादिति विभक्त्याश्रयकार्ये क्रियमाणे लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषा नेष्यत इत्यर्थः ॥ प्रतिविधेयमिति । अत्यकरणे शक्तिलाङ्गलाङ्कुशेत्यत्र वार्त्तिके घटग्रहणेनैव घटीग्रहणे सिद्धे घटीग्रहणमस्याः परिभाषाया अनित्यत्वज्ञापनार्थं तेनानिष्टे विषये नोपतिष्ठते ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXII.

Now one might say that (if) then (Paribhâshâ LXXI. were adopted, युवन् in P. VI., 4, 133 ought to denote also युवति, and in that case) the Samprasâraṇa (उ) ought by P. VI., 4, 133 to be substituted also (for the व of युवति) in युवतीः पश्य, just as it is substituted (by P. VI., 4, 133 for the व of युवन्) in यूनः पश्य. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXII: (A Prâtipadika in a rule that teaches an operation which affects the Prâtipadika) before a case-termination (or which affects a case-termination after the Prâtipadika), does not denote (a crude form) derived (from the Prâtipadika) by the addition of (an affix denoting) gender.[1]

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1. Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 1, 1 explains the Paribhâshâ first by विभक्तौ यत्कार्यं विधीयते लिङ्गविशिष्टस्य तन्न भवतीत्यर्थः, and subsequently he explains the words विभक्तौ यत्कार्यम् by 'विभक्तेर्यत्कार्यं यच्च विभक्तौ परतः कार्यं तत्सर्वं विभक्तौ कार्यम्.' Accordingly the Samprasâraṇa उ which by P. VI., 4, 133 is substituted for the व of युवन् before the termination अस् of the Acc. Plur., is not substituted for the व of युवति in the Acc. Plur.; in like manner is the termination आ of the Instr. Sing., which by P. VI., 1, 182 is *anudâtta* after श्वन्, not by the same rule *anudâtta* after शुनी, *viz.* because युवन in P. VI., 4, 133 and श्वन् in P. VI., 1, 182 denote only युवन् and श्वन्, and do not denote at the same time their feminine bases युवति and शुनी. The Acc. Plur. of युवति is therefore युवतीः, and शुन्या is *antodâtta* by P. VI., 1, 174.— P. adds that because the present Paribhâshâ is applicable to युवन् in P. VI., 4, 133, we need not have recourse to the alternative proposed in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 133

This is found in the Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 1 (where it is given as a separate Paribhâshâ). Others assume that, because Par. LXXI. is (shown to be) not universally valid by the fact that (in a Vârttika on P. III., 2, 9) घट्टी as well as घट are actually enumerated,[1] (what is taught in) the present (Paribhâshâ) follows already from that (very circumstance that Par. LXXI. is not universally valid, and that the present is therefore not a new and separate Paribhâshâ).

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viz. that अन: should be supplied in P. VI., 4, 133 from P. VI., 4, 134. (See Si. Kau. I., pag. 160); should that alternative be adopted nevertheless, then गोमान्, गोमती etc. would be instances for the present Paribhâshâ. (See Bhâshya and Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 1, 1, below).—See Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 133:

श्वादीनां संप्रसारणे नकारान्तग्रहणमनकारान्तप्रतिषेधार्थम् । श्वादीनां संप्रसारणे नकारान्तग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । अनकारान्तस्य मा भूत् । मघवता मघवते ॥ तथा प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणं भवतीति यथेह भवति यूनः पइयेत्येवं युवतीः पइयेत्यत्रापि स्यादिति ॥ यत्तावदुच्यते नकारान्तग्रहणं कर्तव्यमिति न कर्तव्यम् । उक्तं वा । किमुक्तम् । उक्तमेतत् । अर्वणस्तृ मघोनश्च न शिष्यं छान्दसं हि तदिति ॥ यदप्युच्यते तथा प्रातिस्यादिति लिङ्गविशिष्टग्रहणे चोक्तम् । न वा विभक्तौ लिङ्गविशिष्टग्रहणादिति ॥ अथवोपरिष्टाद्योगविभागः करिष्यते । श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते ॥ अल्लोपः । अकारस्य च लोपो भवति ॥ ततोऽन इत्युभयोः शेषः ॥

Extract from Kaiyaṭa: न वा विभक्ताविति । यद्यपि विभक्तिमाश्रित्य संप्रसारणं न विधीयते तथापि विभक्तौ विधीयत इति लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषानुपस्थानम् ॥ अन इत्युभयोः शेष इति । समुदायापेक्षणात् । न च लादेशौ कृतेऽनन्तत्वमस्ति । एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वेनाप्यनन्तत्वं नास्ति सामान्यातिदेशो विशेषानतिदेशात् । युवतिशब्दोऽप्यनन्तो न भवतीति तस्यापि संप्रसारणाभावः ॥

1. *Scil.* which would have been superfluous if Par. LXXI. were universally valid, because in that case घट alone would have denoted not only घट but also घट्टी.

Extract from the Bhâshya[1] on P. VII, 1, 1 :

विभक्तौ लिङ्गविशिष्टग्रहणं नेत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या।.....अवश्यमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या। बहून्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि। कानि। प्रयोजनं शुनः स्वरे। यथेह भवति **शुना** शुने **शुन्या** शुन्यापीत्यत्रापि स्यात्॥ यूनः संप्रसारणे प्रयोजनम्। यथेह भवति यूनः पश्येत्येवं **युवतीः** पश्येत्यत्रापि स्यात्॥ उगिदचां नुम्विधौ प्रयोजनम्। यथेह भवति गोमान्यवमानेवं गोमती यवमतीत्यत्रापि स्यात्॥ अनडुह आम्विधौ प्रयोजनम्। यथेह भवत्यनड्वानित्येवमनडुहीत्यत्रापि स्यात्। न वा भवत्यनड्वाहीति। भवत्यन्येन यत्नेन। आमनडुहः स्त्रियां वा [७.१.९८.१] इति। लिङ्गविशिष्टग्रहणादीकारान्तस्य प्राप्नोति॥ पथिमथोरात्वे प्रयोजनम्। यथेह भवति पन्था मन्था एवं **पथी** मथीत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति। न केवलः पथिशब्दः स्त्रियां वर्तते। उपसमस्तस्तर्हि वर्तते। **सुपथी**॥ पुंसोऽसुङ्विधौ प्रयोजनम्। यथेह भवति पुमानेवं पुंसीत्यत्रापि स्यात्। न केवलः पुंशब्दः स्त्रियां वर्तते। उपसमस्तस्तर्हि वर्तते। **सुपुंसीति**॥ सख्युर्णित्त्वानङौ प्रयोजनम्। यथेह भवति स-

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1. Kaiyaṭa: विभक्ताविति। विभक्तौ यत्कार्यं विधीयते लिङ्गविशिष्टस्य तन्न भवतीत्यर्थः॥ शुनेति। सावेकाचः [६.१.१६८] इति प्राप्तं विभक्तेरुदात्तत्वं न गोश्वन् [६.१.१८२] इति प्रतिषिध्यते॥ शुन्यैते। गौरादित्वात् ङीषि कृत उदात्तयणो हल्पूर्वात् [६.१.१७४] इत्यस्य विभक्तिस्वरस्य प्रतिषेधप्रसङ्गः। ननु विभक्तेरेतत्कार्यं न तु विभक्तौ परतः पूर्वस्येति कथं लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषायाः प्रतिषेधः। नैष दोषः। विभक्तेर्यत्कार्यं यच्च विभक्तौ परतः कार्यं तत्सर्वं विभक्तौ कार्यमिति सर्वत्र प्रतिषेधप्रवृत्तेः॥ एवं युवतीरिति। एवमर्थमन इत्युभयोः ङीष इति नाश्रयितव्यं भवति॥ पथीति। समासैकदेशे उदाहृतः। इतर एतावदेवोदाहरणमिति मत्वाह न केवल इति॥ सुपथीति। शोभनः पन्था अस्यामिति बहुव्रीहिः। न पूजनात् [५.४.६९] इति समासान्तप्रतिषेधः। अृन्नेभ्यो ङीप् [४.१.५] इति ङीप्। अन्स्य टेर्लोपः [७.१.८८] इति टिलोपः॥ सुपुंसीति। शोभनाः पुमांसोऽस्यामिति बहुव्रीहिः। सरःप्रभृतिषु पुमानिति विभक्त्यन्तपाठस्य प्रयोजनमुक्तमेकवचनान्तस्यैव नित्यः कप्यथा स्यादिति तेनात्र ङीषाद्विभाषा [५.४.१५४] इति विकल्पो भवति। पातेर्डुम्सुन् [उण° ४.१७७]

खा सखायौ सखाय एवं सखौ सख्यौ सख्य इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति ॥ भवद्भगवदघवतामोद्भावे प्रयोजनम् । यथेह भवति भो भगो अघो इत्येवं भवति भगवत्यघवतीत्यत्रापि स्यात् ॥ एतान्यस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि यदर्थमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या ॥

इति प्रत्ययस्योगित्त्वादुगितश्च [४.१.६] इति ङीप् ॥ सखौ सख्याविति । सख्यशिश्वीति भाषायाम् [४.१.६२] इति ङीष् । अनङ्णित्त्वे अत्र प्राप्नुतः । ङीष्विधानं तु सखीभ्यामित्याद्यर्थं स्यात् ॥ भवद्भगवादिति । यदा संबुद्ध्या भवदादयो विशेष्यन्ते तदा भवत्यादीनामपि प्रसङ्गो यदा त्ववशब्दो विशेष्यते तदा येन नाव्यवधानमित्येकवर्णव्यवधान ओत्त्वं प्रवर्तते भवत्यादौ तु वर्णद्वयव्यवधानादोत्त्वाभावस्तदभावात्तत्संनियोगविहितस्य ह्रुत्वस्याप्यभाव इति केचिदाहुः ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXIII.

One might say that, because in (the rule) P. IV., 1, 92 (which teaches the addition of certain affixes in the sense of 'descendant of', the word for descendant *viz.* अपत्य) has been put down in the singular number and neuter gender, (those affixes) ought not to be added to denote *e. g.* a *male* descendant of Garga, or *two male* descendants of Garga. To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. LXXIII: The (particular) gender and number (in which a word is put down) in a rule, are not (intended) to teach anything.[1]

1. *E. g.* The fact that तस्य in P. IV., 1, 92 is *masculine*, is not meant to teach that the affixes referred to in P. IV., 1, 92 are added only to *masculine* bases; nor does the circumstance that अपत्यम् in the same rule is *singular* and *neuter*, forbid the addition of the same affixes in case we wish to denote one or *more male* descendants.—अतन्त्रम् is equivalent to अप्रमाणम्.—See Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 92:

पुंलिङ्गेनायं निर्देशः क्रियत एकवचनान्तेन च तेन पुंलिङ्गादेरौत्पत्तिः स्यादेकवचना-

The fact that (Pâṇini) employs the word नपुंसकम् 'neuter' in II., 2, 2 (in order that अर्ध which is qualified by नपुंसक may be taken as the *neuter* अर्ध, and notwithstanding that अर्ध itself is put down in the neuter gender, *viz.* as अर्धम्,) indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ).[1] That the (word नपुंसकम् in P. II., 2, 2) is *not* intended (to teach that we should understand by अर्ध the अर्ध) which is *always* neuter, (in other words, that 'अर्ध which signifies exactly equal parts, *i. e.* halves, and which in that sense is always neuter'), has been shown elsewhere.[2] In[3] the Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 92 we see it stated that (their particular gender and a particular number) are given to the

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न्ताच्च स्त्रीनपुंसकलिङ्गाद्द्विवचनबहुवचनान्ताच्चेदं न स्यात् । तद्धितार्थनिर्देशे लिङ्गवचनमप्रमाणं तस्याविवक्षितत्वात् । तद्धितार्थनिर्देशे लिङ्गवचनमप्रमाणम् । किं कारणम् । तस्याविवक्षितत्वात् । नात्र निर्देशस्तन्त्रम् । कथं पुनस्तेनैव च नाम निर्देशः क्रियते तच्चातन्त्रं स्यात् । तत्कारी च भवांस्तद्वेषी च । नान्तरीयकत्वादत्र पुंलिङ्गेन निर्देशः क्रियत एकवचनान्तेन च । भवश्यं कयाचिद्विभक्त्या केनचिच्च वचनेन निर्देशः कर्तव्यः । तद्यथा कश्चिदन्नार्थी शालिकलापं सतुषं सपलालमाहरति नान्तरीयकत्वात्स यावदादेयं तावदादाय तुषपलालान्युत्सृजति तथा कश्चिन्माषार्थी मत्स्यान्सशकलान्सकण्टकानाहरति नान्तरीयकत्वात्स यावदादेयं तावदादाय शकलकण्टकान्युत्सृजत्येवमिहापि नान्तरीयकत्वात्पुंलिङ्गेन निर्देशः क्रियत एकवचनान्तेन च न ह्यत्र निर्देशस्तन्त्रम् ॥

Kaiyaṭa: स्त्रीनपुंसकालिङ्गादिति । सुमातुरपत्यं सौमातुरः क्षत्रस्यापत्यं क्षात्रिरित्यादित्यर्थः ॥ तद्धितार्थनिर्देश इति । तद्धितप्रकरणादेवमुक्तम् । सर्वत्रैव हि शास्त्रेऽस्मिन्नान्तरीयकत्वादुपात्तं लिङ्गं संख्या च न विवक्ष्यते । क्वचित्संख्या तु विवक्ष्यते यथा सुप्सुपेति ॥ अप्रमाणमिति । तद्वशात्कार्यस्य विधिनिषेधौ न भवत इत्यर्थः । भावसूत्रे विस्तरेण भाष्यमेतद्व्याख्यातमिति तत एवावधार्यम् ॥ .—Cf. also Bhâshya on P. III., 3, 18.

1. If the present Paribhâshâ did not exist, अर्धम् would by itself denote the *neuter* अर्ध, and नपुंसकम् would be superfluous.

2. *Viz.* in the S'abdendus'ekhara where it has been shown that अर्ध when it means 'a half' is not necessarily neuter. P.

3. भाष्ये तु युक्तिसिद्धत्वमुक्तमस्या इत्याह भाष्येति । P.

words (that occur in the rules of grammar) because (words) cannot be without[1] (some gender and number), as little as it would be possible in ordinary life to get corn without straw.— (Because then the present Paribhâshâ must be adopted) therefore the word एका in P. I., 4, 1 does serve a purpose.[2] More hereof elsewhere.[3]

1. See Kaiyaṭa on P. III., 3, 18: अन्तरशब्दो गहादिषु पठ्यते स च विनार्थे वर्तते । अन्तरे भवमन्तरीयम् । तत्र नञ्समासे कृते पृषोदरादित्वाद्ढ्यकारवचनप्रामाण्याद्वा नलोपाभावः । ततः स्वार्थे कन्प्रत्ययः ॥

2. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, the singular संज्ञा in P. I., 4, 1 would by itself mean '*one* Samjnâ' and एका would be superfluous.

3. अन्यत्र *i. e.* शेखरादौ. P.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXIV.

One might say that the (affix) क्यङ् which by P. III., 1, 12 may be added to भृश etc. when they do not end with (the affix) च्वि, to denote the meaning expressed by (the root) भू, may be added (to भृश) also in the phrase क्व दिवा भृशा भवन्ति 'where are the (stars that were) visible (by night,) in day-time'?[1] (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXIV: (An expression) formed by the addition of (the negative) नञ् or of (the particle of comparison)

1. In other words, one might say that it is by P. III., 1, 12 allowable to say क्व दिवा भृशायन्ते instead of क्व दिवा भृशा भवन्ति, *viz.* because भृश in this phrase does not end with च्वि, and is in construction with भवन्ति. Si. Kau. II., pag. 226 explains the above sentence by ये रात्रौ भृशा नक्षत्रादयस्ते दिवा क्व भवन्ति, Kaiyaṭa on P. III., 1, 12 by ये भृशा आलोकास्ते दिवसे क्व प्रदेशे भवन्ति.

इव to (some word or other) denotes something which is different from and (yet) similar to (what is denoted by the latter), because it is so that (such expressions) are (generally) understood (in ordinary life).

(Wherever) we see (in a rule) any (term) which is formed either by the addition of (the negative) नञ् or by that of इव to (some other word), we know that the operation (which is taught in the rule must take effect) in something which differs from, (and is at the same time) similar to, that (which is denoted by that other word), because it is so that (such terms) are (generally) understood (in ordinary life);[1] for when (somebody) has been told ('अब्राह्मणमानय' *i. e.*) to fetch a non-Brâhman, and has thereupon brought a lump of earth, he is not considered to have done what he ought to have done.[2] Accordingly क्यङ् (can be added by P. III., 1, 12 *e. g.* to भूश only) when it does not end with च्वि, and is yet similar to words that do end with च्वि, *i. e.* when the sense to be expressed is this that that which formerly was not (भूश), becomes or is (भूश; no such meaning being conveyed by the words भूशा भवन्ति) in the above-mentioned phrase, it follows that (in this case we are not allowed to apply the rule P. III., 1, 12, and that consequently) no incorrect form

1. तादृश एवार्थः प्रतीयत इत्यर्थः | लोक इति शेषः | तदाह न ह्यति | तथा च लोकन्यायसिद्धेयमिति भावः || P.

2. In ordinary life अब्राह्मण denotes one who, though he is not a Brâhman, is yet similar to a Brâhman, *e. g.* a Kshatriya, but it cannot denote *e. g.* a lump of earth. In the same manner the term अच्वि in P. III., 1, 12 tells us that क्यङ् is added to भूश etc. when they do not end with च्वि and are yet similar to words that end with च्वि *i. e.* when they are employed like the latter अभूततद्भावविषये. See P. V., 4, 50.

can result (from its application). One[1] should understand that the employment of the words विभक्ति 'case-termination' etc. in P. VI., 3, 132 etc. (in addition to the words अप्रथमा etc. in the same rules) merely tells us what is established already by the present maxim; that those[2] who maintain that (the employment of those words) विभक्ती etc. indicates that the present (maxim) is not universally valid, are hereby refuted, *viz.* because even if it were (regarded as) not universally valid, there would not accrue from that circumstance any result admitted (to be derived from it) in the Bhâshya; and that for this very reason (*viz.* that the Paribhâshâ is in reality universally valid) the word कारके which occurs in the rule P. III., 3, 19 has in the Bhâshya been rejected (as superfluous).[3]

This (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya[4] on P. III., 1, 12;

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1. Now one might object that, if the present Paribhâshâ were adopted, विभक्तौ in P. VI., 3, 132, or कारके in P. III., 3, 19 would be superfluous, because अप्रथमायाम् in P. VI., 3, 132 and अकर्तरि in P. III., 3, 19 alone would by this very Paribhâshâ mean any *case-termination*, and any *Kâraka* except the first and except the *Kartri*. Nâgojîbhaṭṭa adds therefore: 'One should understand.....'

2. Siradeva and others.

3. *Viz.* by means of the present Paribhâshâ. (Bhâshya on P. III., 3, 19 एवमिहाप्यकर्तरीति कर्तुः प्रतिषेधादन्यस्मिन्नकर्तरि कर्तृसदृशो कार्यं विज्ञायते | किं चान्यदकर्तृ कर्तृसदृशम् | कारकम् |).

4. See Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 12: ननु चोक्तमिह कस्मान्न भवति क्व दिवा भृशा भवन्तीति | नञिवयुक्तमन्यसदृशाधिकरणे तथा ह्यर्थगतिः | नञ्युक्तमिवयुक्तं वा यत्किंचिदिह दृश्यते ऽन्यस्मिंस्तत्सदृशे कार्यं विज्ञायते | तथा ह्यर्थो गम्यते | अब्राह्मणमानयेत्युक्ते ब्राह्मणसदृश एवानीयते नासौ लोष्टमानीय कृती भवति | एवमिहाप्यच्चेरिति प्रतिषेधादन्यस्मिन्नच्यन्ते क्विसदृशे कार्यं विज्ञायते | किं चान्यदतो ऽच्यन्तं क्विसदृशम् | अभूततद्भावः ||

Cf. also the Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 37 (above pag. 146), and elsewhere

by[1] saying in it अन्यसदृश (its author) shows that similarity does not imply difference, and this has been considered in the Manjûshâ.

1. According to the Naiyâyikas similarity implies difference (तद्भिन्नत्वे सति तद्गतभूयोधर्मवत्त्वं सादृश्यम्); if their definition were adopted, the word अन्य in the Paribhâshâ would be superfluous. Nâgojîbhaṭṭa adds therefore: 'by saying....' An example for इव is सोम्यः = सोम इव (P. V., 3, 96 and 103), *i. e.* सोमसदृशस्तद्भिन्नः.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXV.

One might say that in the case of व्याघ्री, कच्छपी etc. (the feminine affix) ङीष् ought not to have been added by P. IV., 1, 63, because (वि+घ्र and कच्छ) are compounded (with घ्र and प) after the addition (to the latter) of a case-termination;[1] (previously namely to this addition of a case-termination the feminine affix टाप् must be added to घ्र and प because its addition) is *antaranga* even in regard to that of the former[2], and when टाप् has thus been added, we have (no longer a base) ending in short अ (to which P. IV., 1, 63 could be applicable. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXV: It should be stated that Gatis, Kârakas and Upapadas[3] are compounded with (bases

1. The supposition being that सुप् of P. II., 1, 4 is valid in P. II, 2, 19 and in the rule गतिः which we obtain when we take गति in P. II., 2, 18 as a separate rule. It will be shown in the sequel that in reality सुप् is *not* valid.—See Si. Kau. I., pag. 378, 379 and notes.

2. See above pag. 261.

3. The meaning of the terms *Gati*, and *Upapada* which is an *anvarthasamjñâ* (see above pag. 95: P. explains it उप समीप उच्चारितं पदम्)

that end with) Kṛit-affixes[1] before a case-termination (or feminine affix) has been added (to the latter).[2]

As the word अतिङ् occurs in P. II., 2, 19 and has to be supplied (also for the rule गतिः which we obtain by taking गति) in P. II., 2, 18 (as a separate rule),[3] and as the meaning (of those rules) accordingly is this that an (Upapada or Gati) compound does not end with a तिङ् or personal termination, it follows that सुपा of (P. II., 1, 4) can no longer be valid in those two rules;[4] this proves, that part (of the Paribhâshâ *viz.* that portion of it which relates to Gatis and Upapadas) has to be

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is sufficiently clear from P. I., 4, 60 etc. and P. III., 1, 92. *Kâraka* I would translate now by 'a noun the case-termination of which denotes a relation that obtains between what is expressed by the base of the noun and an action denoted by a verbal form.' See P. I., 4, 23.

1. कृद्भिः । तैरेव सह । एवञ्चावश्यं ल्यबन्तयन्नाह प्रागिति ॥ P. In the Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 48 where the objects of this Paribhâshâ are stated at length, the words प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः are omitted.

2. The term सुप् in सुबुत्पत्तेः must be intended to denote a feminine affix as well as a case-termination. See Bhairavamis'ra: अत्र प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेरित्यस्योत्तरपदे प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेरित्यर्थः । तेन चर्मकीत इत्यत्र पूर्वस्य पदत्वान्नलोपसिद्धिः ॥ सुग्रहणं च स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्याप्युपलक्षणम् । अन्यथा पूर्वोपस्थितनिमित्तकत्वेनान्तरङ्गत्वात्स्त्री-प्रत्ययोत्पत्त्यनन्तरं समासे पूर्वोक्तानुपपत्तितादवस्थ्यं स्यात् ॥.—Accordingly the Gatis वि+आ are compounded *e. g.* with the Kṛit घ्र before any feminine or case-affix is added to the latter; the form which results is व्याघ्र; to this we add in the feminine ङीष् by P. IV., 1, 63, and obtain thus व्याघ्री; an example of a Kâraka is अश्वकीत, अश्वकीती below; of an Upapada, कच्छप, कच्छपी above.

3. गतिश्चेति विभक्तसूत्रे. P.

4. *Viz.* because अतिङ् would be superfluous if सुपा were valid. See above pag. 250, note 2. Upapadas and Gatis are accordingly by P. II., 2, 18 and 19 not compounded with *subanta* primary nouns, but they are

admitted (as correct), and thereby the (Paribhâshâ) is established also so far as regards that portion of it which relates to Kârakas; by (adopting it also for the latter we are enabled to show that) अश्वक्रीती is formed correctly.[1] If, on the other hand,[2] (the feminine affix) टाप् had been (added to क्रीत) previously (to its composition with अश्व), we should have had no (base) ending with short अ, and in that case ङीष् could not have been added by P. IV., 1, 50. As this (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid, composition takes sometimes also place after the addition of a case-termination (or feminine affix to the base that ends with the Kṛit-affix; such has been the case) *e. g.* in (the formation of धनक्रीता which occurs in the phrase) सा हि तस्य धनक्रीता. Others however say that there is nothing to prove that (the Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid, and that in the case (of धनक्रीता) टाप् has been added (by P. IV., 1, 4) because (धनक्रीत) is one of the words अज etc. (which by P. IV., 1, 4 take टाप् in the feminine.)

Because then (the Paribhâshâ is valid also for Kârakas,) the (formation of a) Genitive (Tatpurusha-) compound must likewise take place *before* the addition of a case-termination (or feminine affix to the second member) in case (we wish to form such a compound) *e. g.* of कुम्भ and कार;[3] and when no Genitive (Tatpurusha-) compound is formed, the meanings (of

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compounded with primary nouns before a case-termination (or feminine affix) is added to the latter.

1. *I. e.* अश्व is compounded with क्रीत before a feminine affix is added to the latter; the result is अश्वक्रीत; to this we add ङीष् by P. IV., 1, 50, and obtain thus अश्वक्रीती.

2. अन्यथा *i. e.* एतदनङ्गीकारे. P.

3. कुम्भस्य कार = कुम्भकार by P. II., 2, 8; the Genitive कुम्भस्य results from P. II., 3, 65, and is therefore a *Kâraka*.

कुम्भ and कार) are united by means of an Upapada-compound;[1] so that no (such) phrase (as कुम्भस्य कारः can) here (be employed instead of कुम्भकारः);[2] this is clear from the Bhâshya on P. II., 2, 19.[3] For there (we have first) the Vârttika 'that (in the case of कुम्भकार etc.) an Upapada-compound should in accordance with P. I., 4, 2 be formed in preference to a Genitive (Tatpurusha-) compound;'[4] and subsequently as an alternative the refutation of it 'that the Genitive (Tatpurusha-) compound is formed (only) optionally, and that when such a compound is not formed, an Upapada-compound has to be formed'.[5] Although the author of the Vârttikas has stated that (even) without (the

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1. P. II., 2, 19 and III., 2, 1.

2. P. तथा चाविग्रहत्वे नित्यसमासत्वलाभात्षष्ठीसमासेऽप्यन्तोदात्तादुत्तरपदात् [६.१.१६९] इत्यस्याप्रवृत्त्या न षष्ठ्युपपदसमासयोस्तत्र विशेष इति स एवास्त्विति भावः ॥.—If compounds such as कुम्भकार, as Shashṭhî-samâsas, could be dissolved (कुम्भकारः = कुम्भस्य कारः), they would be *anitya*; Upapada-samâsas however are *nitya*; consequently such compounds would in certain cases have a different accent if regarded as Shashṭhî-samâsas, from what they would have as Upapada-samâsas. It is therefore stated that, even when they are regarded as Shashṭhî-samâsas, they cannot be dissolved.

3. See Bhâshya on P. II., 2, 19: षष्ठीसमासादुपपदसमासो विप्रतिषेधेन ॥ षष्ठीसमासादुपपदसमासो भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । षष्ठीसमासस्यावकाशो राज्ञः पुरुषो राजपुरुषः । उपपदसमासस्यावकाशः स्तम्बेरमः कर्णेजपः । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति कुम्भकारो नगरकारः । उपपदसमासो भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

न वा षष्ठीसमासाभावादुपपदसमासः ॥ न वार्थो विप्रतिषेधेन । किं कारणम् । षष्ठीसमासस्याभावादुपपदसमासो भविष्यति । गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेरिति समासवचनात् ॥

अथवा विभाषा षष्ठीसमासो यदा न षष्ठीसमासस्तदोपपदसमासो भविष्यति ॥

4. *Viz.* because the formation of the former is taught in P. II., 2, 19, that of the latter in the *preceding* rule P. II., 2, 8.

5. P. उपपदम् [२.२.१९] इति सूत्रविहितसमाससंज्ञा तत्पुरुषसंज्ञा च स्थास्यतीत्यर्थः ॥

above first Vârttika) an Upapada-compound would be formed in preference to a Genitive (Tatpurusha-) compound, because, as he thereby intimates, the Upapada-compound is *antaranga* (in regard to the Genitive Tatpurusha-compound,)[1] nevertheless the (passage from the) Bhâshya which was quoted above 'that the Genitive (Tatpurusha-) compound is formed (only) optionally...' is calculated to refute both the above (statements of the author of the Vârttikas),[2] because we derive from the (present) Paribhâshâ which speaks of Kârakas generally, the meaning that the composition of a noun, which ends with a case-termination denoting a Kâraka[3], with primary nouns, always takes place *before* the addition of a case-termination (or feminine affix) to the latter. Hereby the view is refuted that this (Paribhâshâ) is applicable only when (the word) कारक

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1. *Viz.* because, in the opinion of the author of the Vârttikas, the Upapada-samâsa is formed of कुम्भ–अम्+कार, the Shashṭhî-samâsa of कुम्भ–अस्+कार–स्, *i. e.* after the case-termination स् has been added to कार, सुपा being, in his opinion, valid in P. II., 2, 8, but not in P. II., 2, 19.

2. The statement of Patanjali अथवा... refutes both the preceding Vârttikas. There is no Vipratishedha between the Shashṭhî-samâsa and Upapada-samâsa; the former is formed only optionally, and on the alternative that it is not formed, an Upapada-samâsa is formed. Nor is the Upapada-samâsa *antaranga* in regard to the Shashṭhî-samâsa, for the latter like the former is formed *before* the addition of a case-termination to कार; therefore what was stated above is valid also here; the Shashṭhî-samâsa is formed only optionally, and, on the alternative that it is not formed, an Upapada-samâsa is formed.

3. The Genitive-termination of कुम्भस्य in कुम्भस्य कार does denote the Kâraka *Karman* (see P. II., 3, 65), and therefore the present Paribhâshâ is applicable in the formation of the Shashṭhî-samâsa कुम्भकार.

or a particular Kâraka occurs[1] (in a rule that teaches the formation of a compound; it is) further (refuted by the fact) that this Paribhâshâ does not unite with (certain) rules (of Pâṇini's) so as to form together with them one rule, (but) teaches like the Vipratishedha-rule P. I., 4, 2, that one operation must take place in preference to another, and that we therefore cannot arrive at the meaning (that it applies) '*only* when (the word कारक or a particular Kâraka) occurs (in a rule).'[2]

1. Chitprabhâ: कारकनद्विशेषेति | अत्र कारकपदोपादानेन कुलादि समासविधाना-भावात्तद्विशेषोपादान एवेत्यलैव तात्पर्यं तद्विशेषोपादानेन समासविधानं तु कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् [२.१.३२] इत्यादिना || In P. II., 2, 8 we find neither the word कारक nor a particular Kâraka such as *Karman* etc.; nevertheless the Paribhâshâ is applicable in the formation, by P. II., 2, 8, of कुम्भकार, *viz.* because the word कारक in the Paribhâshâ means कारकविभक्त्यन्त.

2. Chitprabhâ: अस्या इति | अस्या हि परिभाषाया विप्रतिषेधशास्त्रवत्कार्यव्यवस्थापकत्वमेव न विध्येकवाक्यता तथैव तस्या निराकाङ्क्षत्वात् | तथा सति नोपादान एवेत्यर्थलाभः | एतेन प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे [प° ७१] इत्यतो ग्रहणपदानुवृत्तिः कल्पाकाङ्क्षया तदेकवाक्यता वेत्यपास्तम् | एवमप्येवेत्यर्थस्यालाभादिति भावः ||

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXVI.

One might say that the word अभ्वादेः 'not being a root' in P. VII., 1, 70 which teaches that in strong cases 'नुम् is the augment of that which, *not being a root*, is उगित् *i. e.* has as indicatory letter one of the vowels contained in the Pratyâhâra उक्, and of [*the root*] अञ्चु') is superfluous, because (already) in consequence of the restriction 'that, so far as regards roots (that are उगित्), the operation (which by P. VII., 1, 70 would take place, actually takes place) only in the case of अञ्चु' नुम्

can be added to (what is उगित्) *only* when this is *not* a root. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXVI: When (a word can) not (denote) something which actually is (what is expressed by the word,) it must be understood (to denote) something which formerly was (what is expressed by it).[1]

This (Paribhâshâ) is established by the maxim that the several words (of a rule cannot be regarded as meaningless, but must be made to) serve a purpose.[2] Because then the (word अभावी: *has* been employed in P. VII., 1, 70), the meaning (of that rule must be this that नुम् is the augment) also of (an उगित् which actually is a root but) which formerly was not a root, and therefore नुम् is (by it) added *e. g.* in the Nom. Sing. of गोमत् (derived) by means of (the affix) क्विप् from (the root) गोमत्यति (which again is derived from the noun गोमत्.

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1. अभावी: in P. VII., 1, 70 cannot denote an उगित् 'which *is* not a root', because it would be superfluous if it did convey that meaning; it must consequently denote an उगित् 'which *formerly was* not a root'; and so it does denote *e. g.* गोमत् which is derived from the root गोमत्य (गोमन्तमिच्छति) and which therefore, like the latter, *is* a root, but which *formerly*, before क्यच् by P. III., 1, 8 was added to the noun गोमत्, was not a root.—See Si. Kau. I., pag. 183; II., pag. 224.—Schol. on P. III., 1, 97.

2. तत्तद्वचनसामर्थ्यन्याय°; P. सामर्थ्यरूपो यो न्यायस्तात्सिद्धेयमित्यर्थः.—The Chitprabhâ gives the following explanation: लोके यथा देवदत्तीयगृहोपरितनकाकोड्डयने काकवदिति व्यवहारो यथा वा केनचिद्देवदत्तेन स्वीयगृहे विक्रीतेऽन्येन क्रीतेऽपि देवदत्तगृहमिति व्यवहारस्तथा शास्त्रेऽपि तत्त्वाभावे भूतपूर्वगत्या तद्व्यवहार इति लोकन्यायसिद्धेयम्। तत्तद्वचनसामर्थ्यात्तु तत्तत्र प्रवर्तत इति नातिप्रसङ्ग इति भावः॥

The Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 3 and other rules.[1].

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1. On P. VII., 1, 70; VII., 3, 83 etc.—See Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 3: किमर्थमाम: सनकारस्य ग्रहणं क्रियते नामि दीर्घ इत्येवोच्येत । केनेदानीं सनकारस्य भविष्यति । नुडयमाम्भक्त आम्ग्रहणेन ग्राहिष्यते । अत उत्तरं पठति । नामि दीर्घे आमि चेत्स्यात्कृते दीर्घे न नुड् भवेत् । नामि दीर्घे आमि चेत्स्यात्कृते दीर्घे न नुट् स्यात् । अग्नीनाम् । इन्दूनाम् । इदमिह संप्रधार्य दीर्घत्वं क्रियतां नुडिति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वान्नुट नित्यं दीर्घत्वं कृतेऽपि नुटि प्राप्नोत्यकृतेऽपि । नित्यत्वाद्दीर्घे कृते ह्रस्वाश्रयो नुट् न प्राप्नोति । एवं तर्ह्यादाय ह्रस्वान्तान्नुडिति न च ह्रस्वान्तोऽस्ति । तत्र वचनाद्भविष्यति । वचनाच्चत्र तन्नास्ति । नैतं वचनाल्लभ्यम् । अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम् । किम् । यत्र दीर्घत्वं प्रतिषिध्यते । तिसृणां चतसृणामिति । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । इह तावच्चतसृणामिति षट्चतुर्भ्यश्च [७.१.५५] इत्येवमत्र भविष्यति । तिसृणामिति त्रिग्रहणमपि प्रकृतमनुवर्तते । क्व प्रकृतम् । लेस्त्रयः [७.१.५३] इति । इदं तर्हि । त्वं नृणां नृपते जायसे शुचिः । नैकमुदाहरणं ह्रस्वग्रहणं प्रयोजयति । तत्र वचनाद्भूतपूर्वगतिर्विज्ञास्यते । ह्रस्वान्तो यो भूतपूर्व इति । उत्तरार्थं तर्हि सनकारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । नोपधायाश्च चर्मणाम् । नोपधाया नामि यथा स्यात् । इह मा भूत् । वर्मणां चर्मणाम् ॥

Extract from Kaiyaṭa: तत्र वचनादिति । भूतपूर्वगत्येवेति भावः ॥ वचनादिति । वचनात्स्यादिति चेद्यत्र दीर्घत्वं नास्ति तत्र वचनस्य चरितार्थत्वात्सांप्रतिकसद्भावे भूतपूर्वगत्याश्रयणस्यायुक्तत्वादग्नीनामित्यादौ कृते दीर्घे नुट् न स्यादित्यर्थः ॥ तिसृणामित्यादौ नुटोऽन्यथासिद्धत्वाद्ध्रस्वलक्षणो नुडनवकाश एवेति दर्शयन्नाह नैतदस्तीति ॥ नैक° अन्यथा नृनद्यार्यो नुडिति ब्रूयात् । तदेवं वचनसामर्थ्याद्भूतपूर्वगत्या नुटः सिद्धत्वान्नार्थः सनकारकनिर्देशेनेति स्थिते प्रयोजनान्तरोपन्यासः । उत्तरार्थमिति ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXVII.

P. LXXVII:, (An operation etc. which affects) a Bahuvrîhi or what is denoted by a Bahuvrîhi, is sometimes allowed (to affect also) the mem-

bers (of that Bahuvrîhi) or what is denoted by them.[1]

(The अपि which has been translated by) 'sometimes' shows that (at other times) it is not allowed (to affect) its members or what is denoted by them. The (word तद्गुणसंविज्ञानम्) means 'the connection of what is denoted by the members (of the Bahuvrîhi) with what is predicated of that which is denoted by the whole Bahuvrîhi.'[2] Where that which is denoted by the

1. A Bahuvrihi-compound should by P. II., 2, 24 denote something else than what is denoted by its members. Applying this to the Bahuvrîhi सर्वादीनि in P. I., 1, 27, we might doubt whether that word ought to denote also सर्व, because this very सर्व is the first member of the compound सर्वादीनि, and whether therefore सर्व ought to be termed *Sarvanâman* by P. I., 1, 27. To remove doubts of this nature is the object of the present Paribhâshâ which is established by the practice of ordinary life; as in ordinary life when Long-ear approaches, his long ears approach too, so सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि teaches that the whole group of words denoted by सर्वादीनि are termed *Sarvanâmâni* and that सर्व itself which is denoted by the first member of सर्वादीनि is likewise termed *Sarvanâman*. See Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 27: सर्वादीनीति कोऽयं समासः । बहुव्रीहिरित्याह । कोऽस्य विग्रहः । सर्वशब्द आदिर्येषां तानीमानीति । यद्येवं सर्वशब्दस्य सर्वनामसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति । किं कारणम् । अन्यपदार्थत्वाद्बहुव्रीहेः । बहुव्रीहिरयमन्यपदार्थे वर्तते । तेन यदन्यत्सर्वशब्दात्तस्य सर्वनामसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति तद्यथा चित्रगुरानीयतामित्युक्ते यस्य ता गावो भवन्ति स एवानीयते न गावः । नैष दोषः । भवति हि बहुव्रीहौ तद्गुणसंविज्ञानमपि तद्यथा चित्रवाससमानय लोहितोष्णीषा ऋत्विजः प्रचरन्तीति तद्गुण आनीयते तद्गुणाश्च प्रचरन्ति ॥

2. Râghavendra reads विशेष्यान्वयित्वम्, Pâyagunda विशेष्यान्वयिनान्वयित्वम्; both readings convey the same sense but the latter appears to be the easier one of the two. When we say लम्बकर्णमानय 'bring Long-ear', the long ears are brought as well as Long-ear; consequently we have here विशेष्यान्वयिनान्वयित्व; 'Long-ear' is the *vis'eshya*, the 'bringing' *vis'eshyânvayin*, and 'the long ears,' because they are brought when Long-ear is brought,

whole Bahuvrihi is intimately related[1] (to that which is denoted by its members), there (the operation etc. which affects what is denoted by the Bahuvrihi) will generally[2] (affect also) that which is denoted by its members; elsewhere[3] it is generally[4] otherwise. लम्बकर्ण 'long-ear' and चित्रगु 'one who is possessed of variegated cows' are examples (from ordinary life); and सर्वादि in P. I., 1, 27 and इत्यादि[5] in P. VI., 1, 6 examples (from Pâ-

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are *visheshyânvayinâ* (*i. e.* आनयनेन) *anvayin*. What in Pâyagunda's reading is denoted by विशेष्यान्वयिन्, *i. e.* in the present instance 'the bringing,' is in Râghavendra's reading denoted by विशेष्य; (see Pâyagunda विशेष्यान्वयित्वमिति पाठे तु मुख्यविशेष्यं वाक्यार्थरूपं ग्राह्यम्; and Râjârâma Shâstrin's S'abdavyutpatti-Kaumudi pag. 35: तत्र वैयाकरणमते सर्वत्र क्रियामुख्यविशेष्यक एव वाक्यार्थबोधः। यत्र क्रियापदं न श्रूयते तत्रापि तदध्याहर्तव्यम्। सर्वं हि वाक्यं क्रियायां परिसमाप्यत इत्यभियुक्तोक्तेः ॥)

1. See Tarkasamgraha नित्यसंबन्धः समवायः etc. Such a relation exists *e. g.* between 'Long-ear' and his long ears because they form part of him, but not between the man who possesses variegated cows and his cows; and therefore the long ears are brought when 'Long-ear' is brought, but the variegated cows are not brought when चित्रगु is brought.

2. Not always; *e. g.* when Long-ear feeds, his long ears do not feed.

3. See above note 1.

4. Not always; *e. g.* when रक्तदण्ड 'one who carries a red staff' approaches, his red staff approaches too, although there is no intimate relation between him and his red staff. P. adds therefore: तथा चोभयमपि संभवाभिप्रायकं बोध्यम्.

5. P. VI., 1, 6 teaches that the roots जक्ष् *and* the six इत्यादि *i. e.* जक्षादि are termed *abhyasta*; from this it appears that इत्यादि *i. e.* जक्षादि denotes a group of roots to which जक्ष् does *not* belong.

See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 6: अथवा सप्तैवैमे धातवः पठ्यन्ते। जक्ष् अभ्यस्तसंज्ञो भवति। इत्यादयश्च षट्॥ Kaiyaṭa: नायं स्वितो निर्देशः। किं तर्हि। जक्षितिपृथक्पदम्। इत्यादय इत्यनेतिशब्देन जक्षितिः परामृश्यत आदिशब्दश्च समीपवाची। तेन तत्समीपाः षडभ्यस्तसंज्ञा इति सप्तानामेवाभ्यस्तसंज्ञा सूत्रेण संगृहीतेत्यर्थः॥ Nâgojibhaṭṭa:

ṇini's grammar. The Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya[1] on P. I., 1, 27.

श्तिपेति । श्तिपि रुदादिभ्य इटि तद्रूपं नेत्यर्थः ॥ समीपवाचीति । एवं चातद्गुणसंविज्ञानबहुव्रीहिणा जक्षेः परे षड् जक्षिश्चेति सप्तानां सिद्धा संज्ञेत्यर्थः ॥

1. See above, and also the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 1: सिद्धं तु तद्गुणसंविज्ञानात्पाणिनेर्यथा लोके । सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । तद्गुणसंविज्ञानाद्भगवतः पाणिनेराचार्यस्य यथा लोके ॥

Kaiyaṭa: तस्यान्यपदार्थस्य गुणो विशेषणं तस्य संविज्ञानं, स वर्तिपदार्थो गुणो वा यस्यान्यस्य पदार्थस्य तस्य संविज्ञानं, संनिहितविशेषणस्यान्यपदार्थस्य विशिष्टसंबन्धाश्रयेण केनचिद्बहुव्रीहिणाभिधानादित्यर्थः ॥ Cf. also the Bhâshya on P. II., 2, 24.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXVIII.

One might say that यत् which is attracted (from P. III., 1, 97) by (the particle) च 'and' of P. III., 1, 106, (and the addition of which is therefore taught in P. III., 1, 106 as well as that of क्यप्), ought (just like क्यप् which *is* valid) in P. III., 1, 107, to be valid also in the latter rule. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXVIII: That which is attracted (from a preceding rule) by (the particle) च 'and' (of a subsequent rule), is not (valid) in (a rule) that follows (upon the latter).[1]

The fact that णमुल् has again been put down in the rule P. III., 4, 59, while (the same) णमुल् might have been valid (in that rule from P. III., 4, 26), indicates (the existence of) this

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1. The यत् of P. III., 1, 97, being attracted by the च of P. III., 1, 106, can therefore not be valid in P. III., 1, 107.

(Paribhâshâ); on the other hand, (if the Paribhâshâ did not exist, Pâṇini, instead of saying in III., 4, 59 क्त्वाणमुलौ,) might have said क्त्वा च. णमुल्[1] has namely been repeated (in III., 4, 59) in order to show that both (क्त्वा *and* णमुल्) are to be supplied in the subsequent (rules P. III., 4, 60 etc.). Examples are obvious.[2]

This is not universally valid,[3] (and) it is for this reason that (the term) द्वितीया, although it is attracted (from P. II., 3, 2) by the च in P. II., 3, 3, is (nevertheless) supplied in (the subsequent rule) P. II., 3, 4.

The (Paribhâshâ) is incompatible with the statement (of the author of the Bhâshya) on the rule P. I., 3, 93 according to which all the particles च which are meant to show that (some term or other of a preceding rule) is valid (in the

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1. Pâṇini wishes both क्त्वा and णमुल् to be valid in III., 4, 60 etc.; he is therefore obliged to say क्त्वाणमुलौ in III., 4, 59; for if he had said क्त्वा च, the णमुल् of III., 4, 26, being attracted by the च of क्त्वा च in III., 4, 59, would, because of the existence of the present Paribhâshâ, not have been valid in the subsequent rules III., 4, 60 etc.

2. Bhairavamis'ra: रङ्क्षोरमनुष्येऽण् च [४.२.१००] दिक्पूर्वपदाट्ठञ् च [४.३.६] संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ठञ् च [४.३.५०] पितुर्यच्च [४.३.७९] इत्यादि। आग्रे कार्तिक्याः ष्फक् [४.२.९९] इति ष्फको द्युप्रागपाक् [४.२.१०१] इत्यत्र द्वितीयेऽर्भौद्य-त् [४.३.४] इति यतो ग्रामजनपद [४.३.७] इत्यत्र तृतीये ग्रीष्मावरसम [४.३.४९] इति वुञो व्याहरति [४.३.५१] इत्यत्र चतुर्थे ऋतष्ठञ् [४.३.७८] इति ठञो गोत्रादङ्कवन् [४.३.८०] इत्यत्रासंबन्धः ॥

3. P: This follows from the fact that ण has been put down in P. VIII., 4. 12; this ण namely is meant to show that the वा of P. VIII., 4, 10 is not valid in P. VIII., 4, 12; if the Paribhâshâ were universally valid, it would prevent the वा of P. VIII., 4, 10 from being valid in P. VIII., 4, 12, because वा is attracted by the च in P. VIII., 4, 11, and ण in P. VIII., 4, 12 would be superfluous.

rule which contains the च) can be dispensed with;[1] the import of this (statement) is this that only the explanation (of the learned) should guide us as to whether (a particular term) is valid or not valid (in a rule). It likewise is incompatible with the Bhâshya[2] on the rule P. V., 1, 55; for there (the words) लुक्खौ च (of that rule) have been rejected as superfluous by (the author of) the Bhâshya who assumes that ष्ठन् is valid (in P. V., 1, 55) from the rule V., 1, 54 and that खोऽन्यतरस्याम् (of P. V., 1, 53) is likewise valid (in P. V., 1, 55), notwithstanding that (खोऽन्यतरस्याम्) is attracted in P. V., 1, 54 by the च (of that rule).

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1. See Bhâshya on P. 1., 3, 93: लुटि च कृपः। किमर्थश्चकारः। स्यसनोरित्येतदनुकृष्यते। यदि तर्हि नान्तरेण चकारमनुवृत्तिर्भवति द्युद्भ्यो लुङि [१.३.९१] इत्यत्रापि चकारः कर्तव्यो विभाषेत्यनुकर्षणार्थः। अथेदानीमन्तरेणापि चकारमनुवृत्तिर्भवतीहापि नार्थश्चकारेण। एवं सर्वे चकाराः प्रत्याख्यायन्ते॥

Kaiyata: स्वरितत्वादनुवृत्त्या चशब्दप्रतिपाद्यस्यार्थस्य सिद्धत्वाद्भाष्यकारः सर्वानेव चशब्दान्प्रत्याचष्टे॥

2. See Bhâshya on P. V., 1, 55: कुलिजाच्चुक्खौ च। कुलिजाच्चेति सिद्धे लुक्खग्रहणानर्थक्यं पूर्वस्मिंस्त्रिकभावात्। कुलिजाच्चेत्येव सिद्धं नार्थो लुक्खग्रहणेन। किं कारणम्। पूर्वस्मिंस्त्रिकभावात्। पूर्वस्मिन्योगे सर्व एष त्रिको निर्दिश्यते। द्व्याढकी। द्व्याढकिकी। द्व्याढकीना॥

PARIBHÂSHÂS LXXIX. AND LXXX.

One might say that whatever (operation) is stated (to take place) after (a word) the beginning of which is *anudâtta*, or after (a word) the end of which is *udâtta*, can have no concern with (a word) which begins with a consonant or ends with a

consonant (and ought therefore not to take place after such word. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXIX: In (respect to) a rule which is given with reference to an accent, a consonant is regarded as not existing.[1]

(स्वरविधौ) means 'in (respect to) a rule which is given with reference to an accent.'[2] The fact that the rule P. VI., 2, 142 (which teaches that the members of a Devatâ-dvandva have not their original accent when the beginning of the second member is *anudâtta*'), contains the restriction, (expressed in the words अपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु, that this rule is not applicable to a Devatâ-dvandva ending in) पृथिवी etc., indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ). If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, that (restriction) would clearly be superfluous, because (if it were not for this Paribhâshâ) पृथिवी etc. could not be (termed words) 'the begin-

1. *E. g.* P. IV., 2, 44 teaches that the affix अञ् is added to an *anudâttâdi* Prâtipadika; as this rule is given with reference to an accent, the term *anudâttâdi* in it which shows this reference, is applicable also to Prâtipadikas like कर्तृ etc. that begin with a consonant provided of course their first vowel be *anudâtta*, because by the present Paribhâshâ their initial consonant is regarded as not existing. Similarly is the term *antodâtta* in P. VI., 1, 169 applicable also to परमवाच् etc. because, so far as the accent-rule P. VI., 1, 169 which is given *with reference* to *antodâtta* compounds is concerned, the final consonant of परमवाच् etc. is regarded as not existing.

2. Not 'in respect to a rule that *teaches* an accent'; the rule P. VI., 1, 169 which was mentioned in the preceding note teaches an accent, but it is also given with reference to an accent, and so far as the latter is the case, the present Paribhâshâ does apply to it, *i. e.* the term *antodâtta* which occurs in it, is as has been shown applicable also to compounds that end in a consonant. See below.

ning of which is *anudâtta'*, and because therefore (P. VI., 2, 142) would not be at all applicable (to Devatâ-dvandvas ending with पृथिवी etc. even if it did not contain the restriction अपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु). And this same (restriction) which suggests to us the (existence of such a maxim as is contained in the present) Paribhâshâ, proves[1] that the (Paribhâshâ) concerns (only) rules which (and in so far as they) are given *with reference to* an accent.[2] It is only for this reason that such expressions as अजादि 'commencing with a vowel' in P. VI., 1, 173, and अच: 'ending with a vowel' in P. VI., 1, 195 serve a purpose;[3] and for the same reason (is it quite in accordance with the present Paribhâshâ when) the Bhâshya etc. state that *e. g.* राजवती does not receive the accent which would result from P.

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1. See above pag. 303. note 2.

2. P. VI., 2, 142 teaches something *with reference to anudâttâdi* words, and the restriction which it contains shows that the term *anudâttâdi* is applicable also to words that begin with a consonant provided their first vowel be *anudâtta*. The restriction therefore indicates the existence of this Paribhâshâ; but it shows at the same time that the Paribhâshâ must everywhere be applied in the same manner in which it is applied in P. VI., 2, 142, *i. e.* that it is applicable only to rules which, and in so far as they, are given with reference to an accent.

3. The rules P. VI., 1, 173 and 195 are not given with reference to an accent, but they *teach* an accent. Pânini employs in them the terms अजादि and अच् in order to exclude from them (terminations) that begin with a consonant, and (roots) that end in a consonant; his doing so would serve no purpose if the Paribhâshâ were applicable to the terminations and roots the accent of which is taught in P. VI., 1, 173 and 195, because in that case *all* terminations would have to be regarded as commencing with a vowel, and *all* roots as ending with a vowel, and because therefore nothing could possibly be excluded by the terms अजादि and अच् in P. VI., 1, 173 and 195.

VI., 1, 220, because the elision of the न् (of राजन्, so far as the accent-rule P. VI., 1, 220 is concerned) is *asiddha*, and because (राजवती therefore really ends) in अन्वती (and not in अवती),[1] and that in उदश्वित्वत् (the affix) वत् is not *udâtta* by P. VI., 1, 176.[2]

(All) this is found in the Bhâshya[3] on the rule P. VI., 1, 223. Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 2, 29 however states that this (Paribhâshâ) is unnecessary, such (terms as *anudâttâdi* or *antodâtta*) being applicable (also to words that begin or end with a consonant), because a consonant, by the colouring which it receives from the vowel which is pronounced immediately after or before it, appears likewise *udâtta* etc. This is suggested also in the Bhâshya on the same rule.[4]

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1. If the Paribhâshâ were applicable in the case of P. VI., 1, 220 which teaches the accent of words that end in अवती, राजवती would notwithstanding the remark of the author of the Bhâshya fall under that rule, because the न् of अन्वती would in accordance with this Paribhâshâ have to be regarded as not existing.—See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 220 : अन्तोऽवत्याः । ईक्यायाः । किमर्थमिदमुभयमुच्यते न वत्या इत्येवोच्येत । वत्या इतीयत्युच्यमाने राजवतीत्यत्रापि प्रसज्येत । अथावत्या इत्युच्यमाने कस्मादेवात्र न भवति । असिद्धो नलोपस्तस्यासिद्धत्वान्नैषोऽवतीशब्दः । कस्तर्हि । अन्वतीशब्दः ॥

2. See below the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 223. If the Paribhâshâ were applicable in P. VI., 1, 176, उदश्वित्वत् *would* fall under that rule because the consonant त् which precedes the वत् would in accordance with it have to be regarded as not existing. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 562.

3. See below. Cf. also Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 51 and VIII., 2, 4.

4. See Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 29: उच्चैरुदात्तः । नीचैरनुदात्तः ॥ किं षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टमब्ग्रहणमनुवर्तत उताहो न । किं चातः । यद्यनुवर्तते हल्स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवदित्येषा परिभाषा न प्रकल्प्यते । कथं हलो नाम स्वरप्राप्तिः स्यात् । एवं तर्हि निवृत्तम् । बहून्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि ॥ अथ प्रथमानिर्दिष्टमब्ग्रहणमनुवर्तत उताहो न । किंचार्थोऽनुवृत्त्या । वाढमर्थः । यद्येते व्यञ्जनस्यापि गुणा लभ्यन्ते । ननु च प्रत्यक्षमुपलभ्यन्ते । इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा । नैते व्यञ्जनस्य गुणाः किंत्वेष एव तत्सामीप्यात्तु व्यञ्जनमपि तद्गुणमुपलभ्यते त-

Now one might say that even (when the last Paribhâshâ has) thus (been adopted), it does not follow from it that *e. g.* in राजदृषद् the letter अ of the syllable ष (is *udâtta*) by P. VI., 1, 223, for that rule teaches that (of a compound) the *end*[1] is *udâtta*. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) propounds therefore (in addition to the preceding the following)

P. LXXX: When an accent would have to be assigned to a consonant, that consonant is regarded as not existing.[2]

यथा द्वयो रक्तयोर्वस्त्रयोर्मध्ये शुक्लं वस्त्रं तद्गुणमुपलभ्यते बदरपिष्टके रिक्तको लोहकंसस्तद्गुण उपलभ्यते । कुतो नु खल्वेतदत्र एते गुणाः स्युस्तत्सामीप्यान्नु व्यञ्जनमपि तद्गुणमुपलभ्यते न पुनर्व्यञ्जनस्यैते गुणास्तत्सामीप्यात्त्वजपि तद्गुण उपलभ्यत इति । अन्तरेणापि व्यञ्जनमत्र एवैते गुणा उपलभ्यन्ते न पुनरन्तरेणाचं व्यञ्जनस्योच्चारणमपि भवति । अन्वर्थं खल्वपि निर्वचनं स्वयं राजन्त इति स्वरा अन्वग्भवति व्यञ्जनम् ॥

Kaiyata: षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टमिति । उच्चैर्नीचैरित्येते अव्यये अधिकरणशक्तिप्रधाने । तत्राच इत्यनुवृत्तौ सत्यामयमर्थो भवति । उच्चैःस्थान उपलभ्यमान उदात्तसंज्ञः स चाचः स्थान इति ॥ हल्स्वरप्राप्तावित्यादि । सत्यामच इत्यस्यानुवृत्तौ समासस्येत्यन्तोदात्तत्वं राजपुरुष इत्यादावेव स्यान्न च राजदृषदित्यादौ । असत्यां त्वनुवृत्तौ समासस्य योऽन्तो दकारस्तस्य स्वरप्राप्तावविद्यमानवत्त्वादकारस्य स्वरः सिध्यति ॥ ..... अथ प्रथमानिर्दिष्टमिति । ननु को विशेषो यावता यत्र स्वरो विधीयते तत्र व्यञ्जनस्याविद्यमानत्वादच एव भविष्यत्यनुदात्तादेरञ्चित्यादावनुवादेऽपि न दोषः । स्वत एव हलोऽनुदात्तत्वं भवत्वनुदात्ताजुपरागवशाद्वा तदनुवादेन कार्यविधाने न कश्चिद्विशेषः । एवं तर्हि न्यायव्युत्पादनार्थ एवायं विचारः ॥ ननु चेति । बाधकाभावाच्च भान्यतिद्विः ॥ नैत इति । अन्यथाप्युपलाभोपपत्तेरिति भावः ॥... अन्वग्भवतीति । अनुगच्छतीत्यर्थः । शिटसमाचाराच्चेदं निर्वचनमभिहितं न त्वत्र वर्णसादृश्यं किंचिदस्ति । अथवा गतिरपि व्यञ्जनैरर्थः । विविधं गच्छत्यनुपरागवशादिति व्यञ्जनमित्ययमर्थः पर्यायान्तरेण भाष्यकारेणाभिहितः । उपरागश्च पूर्वपराक्षसंनिधानेऽपि परेणाचा हलो भवति न पूर्वेण ॥

1. The *end* of राजदृषद् is द्, and not the अ of ष.

2. *Scil.* and the accent is assigned either to the vowel which precedes, or to the vowel which follows upon, the consonant; *i. e.* when Pâṇini

In the rule VI., 1, 213 (Pâṇini teaches that of a dissyllabic word which ends with the affix यत्, the beginning shall be *udâtta*; but he at the same time) forbids (the application of this rule when यत् follows) upon नौ (*i. e.* in the case of नाव्य; his prohibition concerning नौ) indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ); it would have no sense (if the present Paribhâshâ did not exist) because the beginning of नाव्य, *i. e.* the letter न्, is not fit to receive an accent, and the vowel आ which might receive one, is not the beginning (of नाव्य).[1] Nor can one say that (in order to make the prohibition concerning नाव्य serve a purpose[2]) it should be (assumed that without it P. VI., 1, 213 would teach) that the letter न् (of नाव्य) which really is its initial letter, should be changed to the vowel nearest to it[3] uttered with the *udâtta* accent; for if this were (adopted, नाव्य) would (in accordance with the maxim that 'no operation is allowed) to destroy that on which it is dependent'[4] (even without the prohibition concerning नौ) not be *ádyudâtta* (by P. VI., 1, 213), *viz.* because (by the substitution of ल for न् it) would cease to be

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e. g. teaches that the end is *udâtta*, the *udâtta* is assigned to the vowel which precedes the last consonant or consonants, but when he teaches that the beginning is *udâtta*, the *udâtta* is assigned to the vowel which follows upon the initial consonant or consonants.

1. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, P. VI., 1, 213 would (even without अनादिः) not be applicable to नाव्य, because the *beginning* of this word, *i. e.* the consonant न्, cannot take an accent. As soon as the Paribhâshâ is adopted, अनादिः in VI., 1, 213 becomes necessary, because without it the *udâtta* would by VI., 1, 213 have to be assigned to the आ of नाव्य.

2. *I. e.* a purpose other than that of merely indicating the existence of the present Paribhâshâ.

3. *I. e.* ल.

4. See Par. LXXXV.

dissyllabic, while the very circumstance of its being dissyllabic would have caused (the application to it of P. VI., 1, 213); more hereof elsewhere.[1] This (Paribhâshâ), like (the last), is found in the Bhâshya on the rule P. VI., 1, 223.

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1. अन्यत्र *i. e.* भाष्यादौ. P.

Bhâshya[1] on P. VI., 1, 223:

समासान्तोदात्तत्वे **व्यञ्जनान्तेषू**पसंख्यानम्। समासान्तोदात्तत्वे व्यञ्जनान्तेषूपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम्। राजदृषत् ब्राह्मणसमित्। हल्स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत्। हल्स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या। किमर्थमिदमुभयमुच्यते न **हल्स्वरप्राप्ता**वित्येवोच्येत **स्वरप्राप्तौ** व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीति वा। **द्विर्बद्धं** सुबद्धं भवति। यदि हल्स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीत्युच्यते। दधि। उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरित इति **स्वरितत्वं** न प्राप्नोति। उदात्ताच्च स्वरितविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या॥ कान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि। प्रयोजनं लिदाद्युदात्तान्तोदात्तविधयः। लिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवतीतीहैव स्यात्। **भौरिकिविधं** भौलिकिविधम्। **चिकीर्षको** जिहीर्षक इत्यत्र न स्यात्॥ ञ्नित्यादिरुदात्तो भवतीतीहैव स्यात्।

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1. Kaiyaṭa: व्यञ्जनान्तेष्विति। उच्चैरुदात्त इत्यतश्च इत्यनुवर्तनादजन्तस्य समासस्यान्तोदात्तत्वविधानाद्धलन्तस्य न प्राप्नोतीति वचनम्॥ हल्स्वरप्राप्ताविति। हल एव प्रकृतत्वादविद्यमानवत्त्वं विज्ञास्यते॥ स्वरप्राप्ताविति। प्रकृतत्वाद्वयञ्जनस्यैव प्राप्तिः प्रत्येष्यते॥ द्विर्बद्धमिति। उभयोपादाने स्पष्टावगतिर्भवतीत्यर्थः॥ स्वरितत्वं न प्राप्नोतीति। हल्स्वरप्राप्त्यभावाद्धकारस्य व्यवधायकत्वात्॥ भौरिकिविधमिति। भौरिकीणां विषयो देशः। भौरि° [४.२.५४] इति विधल्प्रत्ययः॥ चिकीर्षक इति। रेफषकाराभ्यामीकारस्य व्यवधानात्॥

अहिचुम्बकायनिः आग्निवेश्यः । गार्ग्यः कृतिरित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ धातोरन्त उदात्तो भवतीतीहैव स्यात् । ऊर्णोति । पचतीत्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ इदं तावदयुक्तं यदुच्यते हल्स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीति । **कथं हि** हलो नाम स्वरप्राप्तिः स्यात् । तच्चापि ब्रुवतोदात्ताच्च स्वरितविधाविति वक्तव्यम् । तथानुदात्तादेरन्तोदात्ताच्च यदुच्यते तद्व्यञ्जनादेर्व्यञ्जनान्ताच्च न प्राप्नोति । यदि पुनः स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीत्युच्येत । अथ स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीत्युच्यमानेऽनुदात्तादेरन्तोदात्ताच्च यदुच्यते तत्किं सिद्धं भवति व्यञ्जनादेर्व्यञ्जनान्ताच्च । वाढं सिद्धम् । कथम् । स्वरविधिरिति **सर्वविभक्त्यन्तः** समासः । स्वरेण विधिः स्वरविधिः स्वरस्य विधिः स्वरतो विधिः स्वरविधिरिति । नैवं शक्यम् । इह हि दोषः स्यात् । उदश्वित्वान्घोषः विद्युत्वान्वलाहक इति । इस्वनुड्भ्यां मतुवित्येष स्वरः प्रसज्येत ॥ अस्तु तर्हि हल्स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीति । ननु चोक्तं कथं हि हलो नाम स्वरप्राप्तिः स्यादिति । उच्चैरुदात्तो नीचैरनुदात्त इत्यत्र षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टमज्ग्रहणं निवृत्तं तस्मिन्निवृत्ते हलोऽपि स्वरप्राप्तिर्भवति ॥ यदप्युच्यत उदात्ताच्च स्वरितविधाविति वक्तव्यमिति न वक्तव्यम् । नेदं पारिभाषिकानुदात्तस्य ग्रहणम् । किं तर्हि । अन्वर्थग्रहणम् । **अविद्यमानोदात्तम्**नुदात्तं भवति । उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरित इति ॥ यदप्युच्यतेऽनुदात्तादेरन्तोदात्ताच्च यदुच्यते तद्व्यञ्जनादेर्व्यञ्जनान्ताच्च न प्राप्नोतीत्याचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति तत्र सिद्धं तद्भवति व्यञ्जनादेर्व्यञ्जनान्ताच्चेति यदयं नोत्तरपदेऽनुदात्तादावित्युञ्छापृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिष्विति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति । सा तर्ह्येषा परिभाषा क-

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अहिचुम्बकायनिरिति । प्राचामवृद्धात्फिन्बहुलम् [४.१.१६०] इति फिन् ॥ आग्निवेश्य इति । गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् ॥ गार्ग्य इति । हलादिस्वादच आदिस्वाभावात् ॥ कथं हीति । अञ्जभर्मत्वादुदात्तादीनाम् ॥ सर्वविभक्त्यन्त इति । सर्वविभक्त्यन्तावयवत्वात्सर्वविभक्त्यन्तः । सर्वग्रहणमनेकोपलक्षणार्थं सप्तानां विभक्तीनामिहानुपयोगात् ॥ अविद्यमानोदात्तमिति । अञ्जत्यसमुदायोऽनुदात्त उदात्तात्पर इति दधिशब्दे स्वरितः सिद्धः ॥

र्तव्या । न कर्तव्या । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्येषा परिभाषेति यदयं यतोऽनावः[६.१.२१३] इति नावः प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂS LXXXI. AND LXXXII.

(According to P. II., 2, 11 a noun in the Genitive case is not compounded with a base ending in तव्य; by P. VII., 1, 84 औ is substituted for the final of दिव् before the termination सु of the Nom. Sing.; P. VI., 1, 213 teaches that dissyllabic bases in यत् are *ádyudâtta*; and P. VII., 4,18, that अ is substituted for the इ of श्नि before the Vikaraṇa अङ्, the latter being valid from P. VII., 4, 16). Now one might say that (if तव्य were to denote also तव्यत्, दिव् also दिवु, यत् also ण्यत्, and अङ् also चङ्) P. II., 2, 11 would forbid also (the composition of a noun in the Genitive case with a base) in तव्यत्[1]; P. VII., 1, 84 would teach the substitution of औ also when क्विप् is added to दिवु;[2] that similarly the accent taught in P. VI., 1, 213 would have to be (assigned) also (to dissyllabic bases) in ण्यत्, (and) that (the operation which takes place before the अङ् that occurs) in P. VII., 4, 16 (and is valid in P. VII., 4, 18), would have to take place also before (the Vikaraṇa) चङ्.[3] (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

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1. *I. e.* it would forbid *e. g.* the formation of the compound स्वकर्तव्य; See Si. Kau. I., pag. 345.

2. *E. g.* in अक्षद्यू from अक्ष–दिवु+क्विप्. See the Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 84 below.

3. *I. e.* we should have to substitute अ for the इ of श्नि also in the Redupl. Aor. (which really is अशिश्नियत्), just as it is substituted in the second form of the Aor. अश्नत्.—See Râghavendra : नन्वदृशिग्रहणं चङ् दुर्लभ इति चेत् । न । ऋदृश इत्यतोऽङीत्यनुवर्तमाने श्नयतेरः [७.४.१८] इति चङ्यपि स्यादित्यर्थः ॥

P. LXXXI: When a term void of Anubandhas is employed (in grammar, it does) not (denote) that which has an Anubandha attached to it.[1]

P. LXXXII: When a term with one or more Anubandhas is employed (in grammar, it does) not (denote) that which in addition to those (one or more Anubandhas) has another Anubandha attached to it.[2]

The fact that उञ् and उञ्यत् in the rule P. IV., 2, 9 have (received) the Anubandha ञ्, indicates (the existence of) these two (Paribhâshâs); for (उञ् and उञ्यत् have been distinguished by the Anubandha ञ्) in order that these (affixes, the addition of which to वामदेव is taught in P. IV., 2, 9,) may not be denoted (by य and यत्) in P. VI., 2, 156. The latter (rule) conveys the meaning that 'of the second member of a compound which ends in य or यत् and follows upon the negative अ (which forms the first member of the compound), the last syllable is *udátta*;' (as it) accôrding to the above (has no concern with अवामदेव्य, the second member of which according to P. IV., 2, 9 ends in उञ् or उञ्यत्), अवामदेव्य (cannot be *antodátta* by P. VI., 2, 156, but) can only receive the accent which is taught in P. VI., 2, 2 (*i. e.* the *udátta* on the indeclinable negative अ.)[3]

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1. तव्य in P. II., 2, 11 and दिव् in P. VII., 1, 84 do therefore not denote तव्यत् and दिव्यत्.—See Par. CVI.

2. यत् in P. VI., 1, 213 and अङ् in P. VII., 4, 16 do therefore not denote ण्यत् and चङ्.

3. If the Paribhâshâs did not exist, the Anubandha ञ् of उञ् and उञ्यत् would be superfluous; for in that case य and यत् in P. VI., 2, 156 would denote also उञ् and उञ्यत् of P. IV., 2, 9, and अवामदेव्य would notwith-

The meaning of the second (Paribhâshâ) is this that, when a term is employed which has one or more Anubandhas, it does not denote that which has the same and in addition to them some other Anubandha.—Both (Paribhâshâs) are applicable both to affixes and to (terms which are) not affixes, for they have been made use of (in the case of दिव्, etc.) in P. VII., 1, 84 etc.[1]

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standing the addition of the Anubandha ङ् in ङय and ङयत् fall under the rule P. VI., 2, 156.

See Bhâshya on P. IV., 2, 9: वामदेवाड्ड्यड्ड्यौ । किमर्थो ङकारः । ङितीति लोपो यथा स्यात् [६.४.१४३] । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनं यस्येति लोपेनाप्येतस्सिद्धम् [६.४.१४८] । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे यद्ययतौ ङितौ करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत एते परिभाषे अननुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य तदनुबन्धकग्रहणे नातदनुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणमिति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । अवामदेव्यमित्येतत्सिद्धं भवति ॥

सिद्धे यस्येति लोपेन किमर्थं ययतौ ङितौ ।
ग्रहणं मातदर्थे भूद्वामदेव्यस्य नञ्स्वरे ॥

Kaiyata: अवामदेव्यमिति । अव्ययपूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरेणाद्युदात्तत्वमित्यर्थः । अन्यथा ययतोश्चातदर्थे इत्यनेनान्तोदात्तत्वं स्यात् ॥ ग्रहणमिति । अतदर्थग्रहणेन सूत्रं लक्ष्यते ॥ नञ्स्वर इति । नञ्याश्रयेऽन्तोदात्तत्वे विधीयमान इत्यर्थः ॥

The addition of ङ् to य indicates the first, that of ङ् to यत् the second Paribhâshâ.

1. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 84: दिव औत् । दिव औत्वे धातोः प्रतिषेधः । दिव औत्वे धातोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । अक्षद्यूरिति । अधात्वधिकारात्सिद्धम् । अधातोरिति वर्तते । क्व प्रकृतम् । उगिदचां सर्वनामस्थानेऽधातोः [७.१.७०] इति । अधात्वधिकारात्सिद्धमिति चेन्नपुंसके दोषः । अधात्वधिकारात्सिद्धमिति चेन्नपुंसके दोषो भवति । काष्ठतक्षिं कूटतक्षिं । नपुंसकस्य झलचः [७.१.७२] अधातोरिति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति । उक्तं च । किमुक्तम् । अननुबन्धकग्रहणे हि न सानुबन्धकस्येति । अथवा संबन्धमनुवर्तिष्यते ॥

Kaiyata: दिव औत्व इति । विशेषानुपादानाद्धातोरपि प्राप्नोति ॥ अक्षद्यूरिति । ऊठि कृत एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वादौत्वप्रसङ्गः ॥ अननुबन्धकग्रहण इति । अव्युत्पन्नं दिविति प्रातिपदिकमननुबन्धकम् । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षेऽप्यवयवानां प्रत्ययादीनां सानुबन्धकत्वं न प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥ संबन्धमिति । उगिदचामित्यनेन । दिव औदित्यत्र त्वधातोरिति वर्तत उगिदचामिति निवृत्तम् ॥

They are, it appears from the Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 18, not applicable in the case of a letter[1] that may be employed (in grammar.—(The Jnâpaka) which informs us of the existence of two such maxims (as are contained in the two Paribhâshâs) proves that they apply only, (the first) to a term[2] void of an Anubandha by the possession of which it would become a term possessed of that Anubandha, and (the second) to a term[3] void of an Anubandha by the possession of which it would become a term possessed of two or more Anubandhas. Accordingly the first (Pari-

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To show that the above remark refers both to the first and to the second Paribhâshâ, P. adds: अत एवोहाक: किन्त्वं सफलमिति प्राञ्च: | एतेनाङ्गे तथा सत्त्वेऽपि द्वितीये न मूलमित्यपास्तम्.— हा, जिहीते is ओहाङ्; हा, जहाति is ओहाक्; if the latter were ओहा, then ओहा would not denote ओहाङ् *i. e.* जिहीते; but as it is made ओहाक्, ओहा denotes both जहाति and जिहीते.—See Si. Kau. II., pag. 306.

1. If Pânini in VII., 1, 18 had said औ instead of saying औङ्, औ would have denoted also औट्, because, औ being a letter, the first Paribhâshâ would not have been applicable to it. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 18: अथवा वर्णग्रहणमिदं भवति न चैतद्वर्णग्रहणेषु भवत्यननुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्येति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: अथवेति | औङ इति वर्णमात्रं निर्दिश्यते ङकारस्त्वसंदेहार्थो नानुबन्धार्थ ऋदोरप् [3.3.५७] इति यथा दकारः | अङ्गाक्षिप्तश्च प्रत्यय औकारेण विशेष्यत इत्यौकारान्तस्य शीभावी विधीयमानोऽन्तवद्भावात्केवलस्यार्धौकारस्य प्रवर्तते | प्रत्ययस्य चानुबन्धभावाभावाभ्यां निरनुबन्धकपरिभाषा व्यवस्थां करोति न वर्णस्य ॥

2. *E. g.* य (in P. VI., 2, 156) void of the Anubandha ङ् by the possession of which it would become उञ् possessed of the Anubandha ङ्.

3. *E. g.* यत् (in P. VI., 2, 156) void of the Anubandha ङ् by the possession of which it would become the term उञ् possessed of two Anubandhas; or मनुप् (in P. VI., 1, 176) void of the Anubandha ङ् by the possession of which it would become the term ङ्नुप् possessed of three Anubandhas.

bhashâ) is not (applicable to शस्)[1] in P. VII., 1, 20, and it can therefore not be objected that (शस् in VII., 1, 20) would have to denote (in accordance with it) the Taddhita-affix शस्, because this has no Anubandha. So[2] is the second (Paribhâshâ) applicable only to terms which actually have one out of two (or two out of three possible) Anubandhâs attached to them[3], (and it is) therefore not contrary (to this Paribhâshâ) when *e. g.* in P. IV., 1, 7 (वन् which is put down without any Anubandha) denotes (also) ङीनिप् and कनिप्[4] The meaning,[5] however, (which by some has been assigned to the second Paribhâshâ, *viz.* that) when it is possible for a term to denote something which has one Anubandha, (it should not be taken to denote that which has two Anubandhas), is not approved of by (the author of) the Bhâshya etc., as (has been shown) fully elsewhere.

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1. There are two terms शस्; one denotes the Taddhita-affix शस् (in बहुशः, अल्पशः etc.), the other, in which श् is Anubandha, denotes the termination अस् of the Accus. Plur.

2. एवम् *i. e.* धर्मिग्राहकमानादेव. P.

3. *E. g.* to यत् (in P. VI., 2, 156) which has one of the two Anubandhas (ङ् and त्) that may be attached to य; or मनुप् (in P. VI., 1, 176) which has two of the three Anubandhas (ङ्, उ, and प्) which may be attached to मत्.

4. See also the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 3, 1: मतुवसो रादेशे वन उपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम्। यस्त्वायन्तं वसुना प्रातरित्वः [ऋग्वे० १.१२५.२] ॥

Kaiyata: वन इति। कनिन्यनिपोः सामान्यग्रहणमनुबन्धस्थानिर्देशात्तदनुबन्धकपरिभाषानुपस्थानात्कनिपोऽपि ग्रहणम् ॥ प्रातरित्व इति। प्रातरेतीयन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यत इति कनिप् ॥.—Si. Kau. II., pag. 534.

5. Chitprabhâ: तदनुबन्धकग्रहण इत्यस्यैकानुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणे संभवति न द्व्यनुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणमित्येवार्थ इति कैश्चिद्व्याख्यानः। तत्खण्डयितुमाह। एकेति ॥ अन्येत्वेति। बृहच्छब्देन्दुशेखरादावित्यर्थः ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXXIII.

One might say that, as *e. g.* in कुटीर 'a small hut' (the affix र, which by P. V., 3, 88 has been added to the feminine कुटी, does not convey any particular meaning of its own, but leaves to कुटीर) the same meaning that would be denoted by the (original base कुटी,[1] कुटीर) ought not to be *masculine*, because (derivative bases formed by means of) affixes that do not convey any particular meaning of their own, should in accordance with the practice of ordinary life[2] receive their gender and number from the original bases (from which they are derived) ; and that (for the same reason) अप्कल्प 'almost water' (which in accordance with P. V., 3, 67 is derived from the feminine Plural अप्, आपः by means of the affix कल्पप्) ought not to be *neuter* and *singular*. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. LXXXIII : Sometimes (it happens that bases which are derived by means of affixes) that (do not convey any particular meaning of their own, but) leave the meaning which is conveyed by the original base (to which they are added, un-

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1 The affixes taught in P. V., 3, 1 etc. convey no meaning of their own, but merely indicate that the base to which they are added must be understood in some particular sense or other; the new bases therefore which are formed by them convey the same meaning as the original bases to which they are added, and they might accordingly be expected to receive their gender and number from the latter. (See Si. Kau. I., pag. 690, note 2: स्वार्थिका इति । प्रयिणेति शेषः । स्वकीयप्रकृतेरर्थे भवा इत्यर्थः । तसिलादयोऽर्थनिर्देशाभावादतिशायन इत्यादीनां प्रकृत्यर्थविशेषणत्वादिति भावः ॥ See P. V., 3, 7 and 55). See also Par. CXIII.

2. न्यायेति । यो यत्र स तद्धर्मभागिति लौकिकन्यायेनार्थः । P.

changed), do not take their gender and number from those original bases (from which they are derived)[1].

The fact that (Pâṇini) has stated in the rule V., 4, 14 (that अत्‌ shall be added to bases in णच्‌) स्त्रियाम्‌ *i. e.* 'in the feminine,' indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ; if) on the other hand (the Paribhâshâ did not exist), that (स्त्रियाम्‌ in P. V., 4, 14) would serve no purpose, because (णच्‌) by P. III., 3, 43 can be added only in the feminine, (and because new bases, derived from such bases in णच्‌ by means of अत्‌, could accordingly likewise be nothing but feminine). This (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya[2] on (the rule P. V., 3, 68) which teaches (the addition of) बहुच्‌.

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1. *Scil.* but take a different gender and number.—P. takes प्रकृतिनः as a Genitive case (आद्यादित्वात्; see Vârttika on P. V., 4, 44; Si. Kau. I., pag. 727).

2. See also the Bhâshya on P. V., 4, 14; also on P. V., 3, 67 आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति स्वार्थिका अतिवर्तन्तेऽपि लिङ्गवचनानीति यदयं णचः स्त्रियामत्‌ [५.४.१४] इति स्त्र्यग्रहणं करोति ॥ यद्येतज्ज्ञाप्यते बहुगुडो द्राक्षा बहुतैलं प्रसन्ना बहुपयो यवागूरित्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । नाप्यतिवर्तन्ते ॥; on P. V., 3, 68 स्वार्थिकोऽयं स्वार्थिकाश्च प्रकृतितो लिङ्गवचनान्यनुवर्तन्ते । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यत्स्त्र्यग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः स्वार्थिका अतिवर्तन्तेऽपि लिङ्गवचनानीति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । गुडकल्या द्राक्षा तैलकल्या प्रसन्ना पयस्कल्या यवागूरित्येतत्सिद्धं भवति ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXXIV.

One might say that (in the Feminine of सुपथिन् which occurs) in सुपथी नगरी, and is quoted in the Bhâshya[1] on the rule P. VII., 1, 1, (the Samâsânta-affix) कप् should have been added by P. V., 4, 152. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXXIV: A rule which teaches the addition of a *Samâsânta*-affix[2] is not universally valid.

The fact that the word राजन् is enumerated amongst (the words) अंशु etc. (on P. VI., 2, 193), to the end that (a Tatpurusha compound which begins with प्रति and ends with राजन्)[3] may be antodâtta by P. VI., 2, 193, indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ. If) on the other hand (the Paribhâshâ did not exist), the (enumeration of राजन् amongst the words अंशु etc.) would serve no purpose, because (a Tatpurusha ending in राजन्) would be antodâtta already because it would end in (the affix) टच्, (which in that case would invariably have to be added by P. V., 4, 91).[4] This (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya on the accent-rule P. VI., 2, 197.

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1. See the Extract from the Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 1 on Par. LXXII., (above pag. 374) and the following remarks of Nâgojibhaṭṭa on Kaiyaṭa's comment: नन्वृक्पूर [५.४.७४] इति समासान्ते सति टापि सुपथेति भाष्यमत आह । न पूजनादिति ॥ वस्तुतः षचः (See P. V., 4, 113) प्राचीनेष्वेव स (*i.e.* P. V., 4, 69) इति सिद्धान्तादिनः स्त्रियाम् [५. ४. १५२] इति कपो दुर्वारत्वादिदं चिन्त्यम् । समासान्तविधेरनित्यत्वात्तदभाव इत्युचितम् ॥

2. See P. V., 4, 68 etc.—Si. Kau. I., pag. 645.

3. *I. e.* प्रतिराजन्, Si. Kau. II., pag. 609.

4. *I. e.* we should be obliged to form प्रतिराजन्+टच् = प्रतिराज and this would be antodâtta by P. VI., 1, 163. The enumeration of राजन् among the words अंशु etc. shows that टच् is sometimes not added to प्रतिराजन् and indicates thus the existence of the present Paribhâshâ.

Bhâshya[1] on P. VI., 2, 197:

द्वित्रिभ्यां पाद° । किमिदं मूर्धन्यकारान्तग्रहणमाहोस्विन्नकारान्तग्रहणम् । कश्चात्र विशेषः । द्वित्रिभ्यां मूर्धन्यकारान्तग्रहणं चेन्नकारान्तस्योपसंख्यानम् । द्वित्रिभ्यां मूर्धन्यकारान्तग्रहणं चेन्नकारान्तस्योपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । द्विमूर्धा त्रिमूर्धा । अस्तु तर्हि नकारान्तग्रहणम् । नकारान्तेऽकारान्तस्य । नकारान्ते सत्यकारान्तस्योपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । द्विमूर्धः त्रिमूर्धः । उदात्तलोपात्सिद्धम् । अस्तु तर्हि नकारान्तग्रहणम् । अन्तोदात्तत्वे कृते लोपः । उदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरेण सिद्धम् ॥ इदमिह संप्रधार्यम् । अन्तोदात्तत्वं क्रियतां लोप इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वाल्लोपः । एवं तर्हीदमिह संप्रधार्यम् । अन्तोदात्तत्वं क्रियतां समासान्त इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वादन्तोदात्तत्वम् । नित्यः समासान्तः कृतेऽप्यन्तोदात्तत्वे प्राप्नोत्यकृतेऽपि प्राप्नोति । अन्तोदात्तत्वमपि नित्यं कृतेऽपि समासान्ते प्राप्नोत्यकृतेऽपि प्राप्नोति । अनित्यमन्तोदात्तत्वम् । न हि कृते समासान्ते प्राप्नोति परत्वाल्लोपेन भवितव्यम् । भवत्येव लोपः । यस्य च लक्षणान्तरेण निमित्तं विहन्यते न तदनित्यं न च समासान्त एवान्तोदात्तत्वस्य निमित्तं विहन्ति । अवश्यं लक्षणान्तरं लोपः प्रतीक्ष्यः । उभयोर्नित्ययोः परत्वादन्तोदात्तत्वमन्तोदात्तत्वे कृते समासान्तः । टिलोपः ।

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1. Kaiyaṭa: किमिदमिति । ननु चाकारान्तानिर्देशो मूर्धन्यान्तेति भाव्यमिति द्वैतानुपपत्तिः । उच्यते । न शब्दाश्रयं द्वैतं किंतु कार्यभेदाश्रयम् । यदा समासस्यान्तोदात्तत्वं विधीयते नित्यश्च समासान्त इति पक्षस्तदाकारान्तग्रहणमेव सामर्थ्याद्ब्रूते । यदा तूत्तरपदस्यान्तोदात्तत्वमिति पक्षस्तदा कृतेऽपि समासान्ते तस्योत्तरपदेऽनन्तभावान्नकारान्तस्य स्वरविधिरिति पक्षोऽवतिष्ठते ॥ नकारान्तस्योपसंख्यानमिति । समासश्चेत्कार्यी नित्यश्च समासान्तस्तदा नकारान्तस्य साधुत्वं स्वरश्चोपसंख्येय इत्यर्थः ॥ द्विमूर्धे इति । यदोत्तरपदस्य कार्यित्वं तदा कृते समासान्त उत्तरपदस्यान्तोदात्तत्वं विधीयमानं प्रत्ययस्य न प्राप्नोति ॥ उदात्तलोपादिति । उत्तरपदस्यान्तोदात्तत्वे सति शेषनिघातेन प्रत्ययोऽनुदात्तस्तवानुदात्तस्य च यत्नोदात्तलोपः [६.१.१६१] इति प्रत्ययस्योदात्तत्वं सिद्धमित्यर्थः ॥ परत्वाल्लोप इति । ततश्चोदात्तलोपो न भवतीत्यर्थः ॥ एवं तर्हीदमिहेति । यदा कृते समासे समासान्तः क्रियत इति पक्षस्तदेयं

टिलोपे कृत उदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरेण सिद्धम् । युक्तं पुनरिदं विचारयितुम् । नन्वनेनासंदिग्धेन नकारान्तग्रहणेन भवितव्यं यावता मूर्धस्वित्युच्यते यद्यकारान्तग्रहणं स्यान्मूर्धोभिति ब्रूयात् । सैषा समासान्तार्था विचारणा । एवं तर्हि ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो विभाषा समासान्तो भवतीति ॥

संप्रधारणा । यदा तु समासार्थादुत्तरपदात्समासान्तः क्रियत इति पक्षस्तदा संप्रधारणैवात्र नास्ति ॥ युक्तं पुनरिति । ननु कृतेऽपि समासान्ते नकारान्त एव मूर्धशब्द उत्तरपदं संभवतीति किमत्रायुक्तम् । एवं मन्यते । यथा पाहादिति समासान्तनिर्देश एवं मूर्धोभिति समासान्तनिर्देश एव न्याय्यः । एवं ह्यसदिग्धं समासस्य कार्यित्वं विज्ञायते । न च कृते तस्मादुत्तरपदस्यैव कार्यित्वेन भाव्यम् ॥ सैषा समासान्तार्थेति । यदि नित्यः समासान्तः स्यात्तदा कार्यिविशेषसंदेहव्यावृत्तये प्रक्रमाभेदाय वा समासान्त एवोच्चार्येत । तदनुच्चारणात्तु समासान्तस्यानित्यत्वं ज्ञाप्यते । तत्र यदा समासान्तो नास्ति तदा समासस्योत्तरपदस्य वा कार्यित्वे विशेषाभावो यदा तु समासान्तः क्रियते तदा समासस्य कार्यित्वे सिद्धं समासान्तस्योदात्तत्वं यदाप्युत्तरपदस्य कार्यित्वं तदा परत्वादन्तोदात्तत्वे कृते समासान्तस्तत्र टिलोप इत्युदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरेणापि सिद्धम् । ननु प्रत्ययस्वरेण समासान्तस्य भाव्यम् । नैतदस्ति बहुव्रीहिस्वरेण तस्य बाधनाद्बहुव्रीहिस्वरस्याप्यनेन ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXXV.

One might say that, when *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Nom. Plur. of शत, (from शत+इ, the augment) नुम् has (by P. VII., I, 72) been added (to शत, *i. e.* when शत+इ has been changed to शतन्+इ, शतन्) ought (by P. I., 1, 24) to be termed *Shash*, and that then (the termination इ) would have to be dropped (by P. VII., 1, 22); similarly, (one might say that,) when in (the formation of) the 3. Sing. Aor. Âtm. of उप-दीङ् (from उप-अदी+स्त) आ has (by P. VI., 1, 50) been substituted (for the ई of दी, *i. e.* when अदी+स्त has been changed to अदा+स्त,) इ ought by P. I., 2, 17 to be substituted (for that आ,[1] and that

1. *Viz.* because दा would be termed घु.

then the स् of स्त would have to be elided by P. VIII., 2, 27. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXXV: (That which is taught in) a rule (the application of) which is occasioned by the combination (of two things), does not become the cause of the destruction of that (combination).

संनिपात 'a combination' is the junction of two (things; that which is taught in) a rule (the application of) which is caused by such (a combination), does not cause (the application of) another (rule) which would destroy that combination.[1] This[2] (Paribhâshâ) is founded on the maxim that one must not be hostile to that to which one owes one's existence; (and because

1. Accordingly the addition of the augment नुम् to शत, which is caused by the combination शत+इ, does not cause the application of P. I., 1, 24 by which शतन् would be termed *shash*, because, if शतन् were termed *shash*, the termination इ would have to be elided by P. VII., 1, 22, and because by that elision the combination शत+इ would be destroyed. (See Mahâbhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne pag. 503; Si. Kau. I., pag. 162, and Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 24).—Similarly, the substitution of आ for the ई of दी, which is caused by the combination दी+स्, does not cause the application of P. I., 2, 17 by which इ would be substituted for आ, because this substitution would necessitate the application of P. VIII., 2, 27 which would destroy the combination दी+स्. If however a Vârttika on P. I., 1, 20 be adopted by which दीङ्, so far as regards the rule P. I., 2, 17, is not to be termed घु, then the present Paribhâshâ is not necessary for the formation of उपाकार्षीत्. (Mahâbh. pag. 502.) See also Bhâshya on P. I., 1. 20.

2. Pag. 85, l. 17—87, l. 2 Nâgojibhaṭṭa discusses the meaning of the term संनिपात, and that of the whole Paribhâshâ; pag. 87, l. 3—14 he refutes certain objections by stating that the Paribhâshâ is not universally valid; pag. 87, l. 15—88, l. 12 he guards against too narrow a

it is founded on this maxim),[1] therefore the word संनियात 'a combination' denotes here not merely the junction of something preceding and something following,[2] but also the combination of something qualified with something that qualifies it.[3] It is because the latter (is really the case),[4] that even[5] when (by P. I., 2, 47) a short vowel has been substituted in the neuter (for the final) *e. g.* (of ग्रामणी) in ग्रामणि कुलम्, (the augment) नुक्, (the addition of) which is taught in P. VI., 1, 71, is not (added to ग्रामणि, *viz.*) because the short (vowel इ), as it owes its origin to the fact that to the term प्रातिपदिक (in P. I., 2, 47) is joined the (qualifying) circumstance 'ending in a vowel,'[6] cannot cause (the application of P. VI., 1, 71) by which (ग्रामणि) would cease to be (a Prâtipadika ending in a vowel.) If नुक् were added (to ग्रामणि, the

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sense being assigned to the Paribhâshâ and makes so its meaning still clearer; and from pag, 88, l. 13 he enumerates in accordance with the Bhâshya all cases in which the Paribhâshâ ought not to be applied.

1. Others have maintained that the existence of the Paribhâshâ is indicated by a *Jnâpaka*; if such were really the case, संनियात would not denote a विशेष्यविशेषणसंनियात because such a संनियात does not exist in the rule or rules which have been supposed to be *Jnâpaka*.

2. *E. g.* शत+इ above.

3. *E. g.* अदन्तं प्रातिपदिकम् 'a Prâtipadika+ending in अ' in P. IV., 1, 95. See below.

4. अत एव *i. e.* विशेष्यविशेषणभावसंबन्धस्यापि ग्रहणादेव. P.

5. In compounds like ग्रामणिकुल, which will be mentioned below, the substitution of a short vowel for the ई of ग्रामणी is caused by the second member कुल etc., or, in other words, by 'the junction of something preceding and something following;' but in the neuter ग्रामणि it is caused by the *vis'eshyavis'eshanasambandha* 'a Prâtipadika ending in a vowel.'

6. प्रातिपदिकाजन्तत्वसंनियातेन *i. e.* प्रातिपदिकस्याजन्तत्वरूपविशेषणेन यः संबन्धस्तेन. P.

latter) would evidently cease to end in a vowel.—Nor (can one maintain that) the short (vowel which is substituted for the final of ग्रामणी), is *bahiranga* because (its substitution) depends on the meaning (of ग्रामणी),[1] and on that account *asiddha* (in regard to the addition of the augment नुक्);[2] for it has been stated that (dependence on) meaning is not admitted to make (an operation) *bahiranga*;[3] moreover, in consequence of the (नुक् in the) rule P. VI., 1, 86, and because (Pâṇini) has employed the words कृति नुक् (in VIII., 2, 2)[4] Par. L. has no concern (with an operation which would by it be *asiddha*) in regard to the addition of (the augment) नुक्.[5]

It is just because (the word संनिपात of this Paribhâshâ) denotes any combination whatsoever,[6] that the author of the Vârttikas,[7] when pointing out the faults (which would arise from an unrestricted application) of the present Paribhâshâ, has stated that '(if the Paribhâshâ were universally valid), an affix depending on a letter would not cause the disappearance of that

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1. *I. e.* on the circumstance that ग्रामणी is neuter.

2. *Scil.* and that we therefore do not want the present Paribhâshâ for the sake of ग्रामणि, and that the word संनिपात in it need accordingly not denote a *vis'eshyavis'eshanasambandha*.

3. See above pag. 224.

4. See above pag. 268; 276; 232.

5. See Kaiyaṭa and Nâgojibhaṭṭa in Mahâbhâshya pag. 500.

6. सर्वविध° *i. e.* उभयविध° P.

7. वार्त्तिककृतोक्तमिति । सिद्धान्तिनेति शेषः ॥ Bhairavamis'ra.—See Mahâbhâshya pag. 504: तस्य दोषो वर्णाश्रयः प्रत्ययो वर्णविचालस्य । तस्यैतस्य लक्षणस्य दोषो वर्णाश्रयः प्रत्ययो वर्णविचालस्यानिमित्तं स्यात् । क । अत इञ् [४.१.९५] । दाक्षिः प्राक्षिः । न प्रत्ययः संनिपातलक्षणः । अङ्गसंज्ञा तन्निमित्तं स्यात् ॥

letter'.[1] When subsequently, on the ground that (the addition of) the affix (in the case of दक्षि) is certainly not caused by the combination of something preceding and something following, while such (a combination) only is supposed to be denoted by the word संनिपात, it is suggested that '(the addition of) the affix is not caused by a संनिपात,' and when, this having been actually admitted, (the preceding statement is put differently in this form *viz.*) that '(if the Paribhâshâ were universally valid) the term *Anga* would not become the cause (of the disappearance of a letter that forms part of the *Anga*),'[2]—all this does not speak against the correctness of the preceding (statement of the) Bhâshya (वर्णाश्रयः प्रत्ययः etc.), because it is brought forward by one who is only partly acquainted with the true state of the case. Moreover, if (the words वर्णाश्रयः प्रत्ययः etc.) were really (equivalent to अङ्गसंज्ञा वर्णविचालस्यानिमित्तं स्यात्), the word वर्णाश्रयः 'depending on a letter' would be superfluous, because (in that case) the term *Anga* ought (in the same manner) not to become the cause of the elision (of a letter of the *Anga*) also in (the formation of)

1. In दक्ष+इञ् = दाक्षि, इञ् is by P. IV., 1, 95 added to दक्ष because दक्ष is 'a Prâtipadika ending in अ.' Now it has been stated in the Bhâshya that, if the present Paribhâshâ were universally valid, the affix इ would not cause the application of P. VI., 4, 148, because the Prâtipadika to which इ has been added would by that rule cease to end in अ. This shows that संनिपात has in the Bhâshya been considered to denote also a *vis'eshyavis'eshanasambandha*, for otherwise the Paribhâshâ would not in the manner stated have been applicable in the case of दक्ष+इञ् = दाक्षि.

2. *I. e.* when दक्ष is combined with the affix इञ्, दक्ष is termed *Anga*. by P. I., 4, 13; this term *Anga* can by the present Paribhâshâ not cause the elision of the final अ of दक्ष by P. VI., 4, 148, because the combination दक्ष+इञ् would be destroyed thereby.

ङीन्, गार्ग्यै, वैनतेय etc. (the affixes of which are *not* dependent on a letter).[1]

Some maintain that in the case of ग्रामणिकुल, ग्रामणिपुत्र etc. (from ग्रामणी+कुल, ग्रामणी+पुत्र etc.), where the substitution (by P. VI., 3, 61) of a short vowel (for the ई of ग्रामणी) is caused by the second member (कुल etc. of the compound), it is one only partly acquainted with the true state of the case who in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 39 and on the rule[2] P. VI., 1, 71 has accounted for the non-addition of नुक् (to ग्रामणि) by means of Par. L., assuming (while doing so) that it somehow[3] is possible to account for the absence of नुक् also by that Paribhâshâ; and that for this very reason (*viz.* because it is one only partly acquainted with the true state of the case who has made use here of Par. L.) it has been stated by the author of the Vârttikas on P. I., 1, 39 that the (non-addition of नुक् in ग्रामणिकुल etc.) results (not from Par. L. but) from the (present) Paribhâshâ.[4]

It is characteristic of the present (Paribhâshâ, that it is applicable) wherever (the application of) a rule may be occasioned by the combination (of two things.—The meaning which) results from it, is this that (a rule or operation the application or taking effect of which is occasioned by the combination of two things) does not become the cause of (the application of) another rule (the taking effect of) which would destroy that combination which, (existing) be-

1. See P. IV., 1, 112; 105; and 120.

2. See Mahâbhâshya pag. 499, and above pag. 275.

3. *Viz.* when Par. LI. is rejected.

4. Really the statement in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 39 and VI., 1, 71 need not be *Ekades'yukti*, because the non-addition of नुक् may well be accounted for in two ways.

fore the taking effect of the former (rule), was the cause of its (application).

Now[1] one might say: '(If) then (this Paribhâshâ did really exist, the final of) *e. g.* (राम) ought not to have been lengthened by P. VII., 3, 102 in the Dat. Sing. रामाय (from राम+ङे = राम+य); for (here) the substitute य (for ङे) ought, as it owes its substitution to the combination of the base (राम) ending in short अ with (the termination) ङे, not (to have caused the application of the rule P. VII., 3, 102, because the latter by destroying the final अ of राम) destroys that (combination). Nor[2] can one object "that the (substitution of) long (आ for the final of राम), because it depends on the circumstance that (the termination) should commence with (one of the letters contained in the Pratyâhâra) यञ्, is *bahiranga*, and therefore

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1. The sentence commencing with नन्वेवं ends with इति चेत् in l. 13. The objection that, if the Paribhâshâ did really exist, it ought to have prevented the lengthening of the final of राम in the Dat. Sing., is refuted by the statement that the Paribhâshâ is not universally valid.

2. Cf. Bhâiravamis'ra: संनिपातलक्षणविधित्वस्य लिङ्गत्वे तादृशविधिनिमित्तमें. वैतत्परिभाषायामपि निमित्तमिति ङेसंनिपातनिमित्तकतयादेशस्यान्तरङ्गस्य दृष्टद्याधिकापेक्षदीर्घस्यासिद्धत्वान्न परिभाषाप्रवृत्तिरित्याशयेन शङ्कते । न च यञादित्वेति ॥ बहिरङ्गपरिभाषायाः प्रवृत्तिमभ्युपेत्यापि समाधत्ते । आरोपितेति ॥ वस्तुतस्तु बहिरङ्गपरिभाषाया विषय एव नेत्याशयेनाह । किंचेति ॥.

The objection which is refuted in the following is this:

'In राम+ङे the *yâdes'a* and this Paribhâshâ are *antaranga*;

In राम + य the *Dîrgha* is *bahiranga*.

The object of the Par. is to prevent the destruction of a *Samnipâta*; if now the Par. is *antaranga*, and the *Dîrgha bahiranga*, the latter does, so far as regards the Par., not exist; consequently there is (in रामाय) no destruction of a *Samnipâta* which the Par. could have prevented, and the Par. cannot be applicable at all in the formation of रामाय.'

asiddha, and that consequently there is here no destruction of a combination (which the present Paribhâshâ could prevent)." For though (the substitution of long आ when it once has taken place) might be looked upon as *asiddha*, as a matter of fact the present (Paribhâshâ) has to be applied when a combination is about to be destroyed (*i. e.* at a time when the *Dîrgha*, which was supposed to be *asiddha* in regard to it, does not exist yet). Besides, although something *bahiranga* is *asiddha* when that which is *antaranga* is (still) to take effect, there is nothing to prove that it is *asiddha* when that which is *antaranga* has taken effect (already).[1] Moreover, if the present (Paribhâshâ) were not applicable whenever the (actual) destruction of a combination might be regarded as not having taken place, (then it would not be applicable) *e. g.* in (the formation of the Voc. Sing.) गौरि (from गौरी+सु = गौरि+सु)[2] because, the elision of the Vocative (termination सु) being regarded as *sthânivat* (*i. e.* सु

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1. The substitution of long आ in रामाय can accordingly not be *asiddha* in regard to the Paribhâshâ, and the latter, if it did really exist, ought to have prevented it.

2. In गौरी + सु ई is by P. VII., 3, 107 substituted for the ई of गौरी before the Voc. termination सु; we obtain thus गौरि + सु; subsequently सु is elided by P. VI., 1, 69 because it is preceded by a short vowel. According to the Bhâshya the present Par. is applicable in this case and ought to have prevented the elision of सु; but it has not been applied because it is not universally valid. If however the elision of सु could have been regarded as *sthânivat i. e.* सु as still present so far as regards the Par., the latter would not have been applicable at all in this case because there would have existed nó destruction of a *Samnipâta* which it could have prevented, and the Bhâshya, according to which it ought to have been applied, would be incorrect.

as still present), the combination (गौरि+सु) which has caused (the substitution of) the short (इ), might have been (regarded as) not destroyed; in that case however the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 1, 39 which maintains that (although the Paribhâshâ is really applicable in the formation of गौरि etc.) it ought (nevertheless) not to be applied there (because it is not universally valid), would be incorrect.[1] Should one object that (an operation) cannot be *sthânivat* in regard to a *Sannipâta* because the latter is not taught in grammar,[2] then one must show also how (an operation)[3] can be *asiddha* in regard to it, especially as it has been clearly stated by Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 11, that (an operation) cannot be *asiddha* in regard to something that is not taught in grammar, (a statement) which moreover proves that the present Paribhâshâ can certainly prevent the taking effect even of such operations as are taught in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar (*viz.* because according to it such operations cannot be *asiddha* in regard to this Paribhâshâ)'.

(This objection concerning रामाय) would be untenable, because the fact that (Pâṇini) has put down कृष्णाय in III., 1, 14, shows that the present (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid.[4]

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1. If the elision of the सु after गौरि cannot be regarded as *sthânivat*, the substitution of long आ in रामाय can also not be regarded as *asiddha* in regard to the Par., and the latter ought to have prevented it.

2. *Scil.* and that the statement of the Bhâshya concerning गौरि need therefore not be incorrect even when the lengthening of the अ in रामाय is regarded as *asiddha* in regard to the Paribhâshâ.

3. Such as the substitution of long आ in रामाय.

4. *I. e.* Though the Paribhâshâ is applicable in the formation of रामाय, it has nevertheless not prevented the substitution of आ, because it is not universally valid.—See Si. Kau. I., pag. 93.

It[1] is however not necessary that the two things the combination of which the (taking effect of a) rule would destroy (if its application were not prevented by the present Paribhâshâ) should both be specially put down[2] in the rule (the application of) which is occasioned by their combination.[3] When it is suggested in the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 1, 39, that in (the formation of) दक्षि (from दक्ष+इञ्) the term *Anga*, which is applicable (to दक्ष) because a base ending with the letter अ is here combined with (the affix) इञ्, ought in consequence of this Paribhâshâ not to cause the elision of the अ (of दक्ष),[4] this suggestion is accordingly disposed of by (the remark that this Paribhâshâ is) not universally valid. (If on the other hand what we maintain here were incorrect, then the Paribhâshâ would not be applicable at all in the formation of दाक्षि), because it has not been stated in P. I., 4, 13 that the term *Anga* is assigned to (a base) ending in short अ (before the affix इञ्).

To say, 'that (the author of) the Bhâshya is wrong when he states that in the case of कुम्भकारेभ्यः, आधये (from आधे+ए) etc. (कुम्भकारे, आधे etc.) ought in consequence of (the existence of)

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1. See Bhairavamis'ra : अत्र कश्चित् । ययोः संनिपातस्य विघातकं शास्त्रं तयोर्यत्र संनिपातनिमित्तकविधावुपादानं तत्रैवैतस्याः प्रवृत्तिः । यथाधये चिकीर्षेव इत्यत्रानया परिभाषया लुगभावः । अस्ति च संनिपातलक्षणाविधौ घेर्ङिति [७.३.१११] इत्यत्र तयेति रामायेत्यत्र न संनिपातपरिभाषाप्रवृत्तिरिति । तन्न । एनामाश्रित्य कुम्भकारेभ्य इत्यत्र दोषाभावप्रतिपादकभाष्यविरोधात् । तदाह । ययोरित्यादि ॥

2. उपादानम् *i. e.* विशिष्योपादानम्. P.

3. As is the case *e. g.* in P. VII., 3, 111 where घि and ङिति are actually put down, and where, when P. VII., 3, 111 has taken effect (*i. e.* when *e. g.* चिकीर्षि+ए has been changed to चिकीर्षे+ए), the Par. prevents the application of P. I., 1, 39 which would cause the elision of the termination ए.

4. See above pag. 413.

this Paribhâshâ not to be termed *avyaya* (by P. I., 1, 39); that in consequence of this Paribhâshâ लुक् ought not to be (substituted for the terminations भ्यः, ए etc.),[1] but that (कुम्भकारे, आधि etc.) might certainly be termed *avyaya*, because the combinations (कुम्भकार+भ्यः, आधि+ए etc.) *would* be destroyed by the substitution of लुक् (for भ्यः, ए 'etc.), but *not* by (the assignment to कुम्भकारे, आधि etc. of) the term *avyaya*; that the result however of (कुम्भकारे etc.) being termed (*avyaya*) would be (the possibility of inserting in them) अकच् (by P. V., 3, 71),'—would not be correct. For no fault (can be found with the above statement that कुम्भकारे etc. in consequence of the existence of this Paribhâshâ cannot be termed *avyaya*), because on the authority of the Bhâshya when it gives those examples[2] (कुम्भकारेभ्यः etc.), the meaning (of the Paribhâshâ is this) that (a rule or operation) does not cause (the application of another rule or operation) which would *directly* or *indirectly* destroy that combination by which its own (application) was occasioned; hereby the opinion that अकच् may be (inserted in कुम्भकारेभ्यः, आधये etc.)[3] is refuted.—Nor can one say that (when) on the Kâryakâlapaksha[4] (the *Avyaya-samjñâ*-rule P. I., 1, 39 has united itself both with the rule P. II., 4, 82 which teaches the substitution of लुक् for भ्यः etc., and with P. V., 3, 71 which teaches the insertion of अकच्,) the term *avyaya*, so far as it would be united with (the rule P. V., 3, 71 which teaches the insertion of) अकच्, might be (assigned to कुम्भकारे, आधि etc.), although it could (in consequence of this

1. *Viz.* because it is the addition of भ्यः and ए to कुम्भकार and आधि which has caused the substitution of ए for the final vowels of the latter. (P. VII., 3, 103; and 111).

2. एतदुदाहरण° *i. e.* अकञ्जहितीक्तोदाहरण°. P.

3. *Viz.* because कुम्भकारे etc. *are* termed *avyaya* by P. I., 1, 39.

4. See Par. III.

Paribhâshâ) not be (assigned to them) so far as it would be united with (the rule P. II., 4, 82 which teaches the substitution of) लुक्;[1] for the Guṇa (ए) etc. (of आधे etc.), being *bahiranga* in regard to the *antaranga* term (*avyaya*) united with अकच्, would be *asiddha* in regard (to the latter);[2] on the other hand[3] (the term *avyaya*) united with लुक् is not *antaranga* in regard to the Guṇa (ए) etc. (of आधे etc.) because both are dependent on the same formal cause *viz.* the case-terminations (ए, भ्यः etc.).

Owing to the fact that (Pâṇini) has put down (not only कटाय

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1. *I. e.* As लुक् would destroy the *Samnipâta* कुम्भकार+भ्यः, the rule which teaches लुक् cannot take effect and the term *avyaya*, which is united with that rule, cannot be assigned to कुम्भकारे. But as the insertion of अकच् would not destroy the *Samnipâta*, the rule which teaches it might take effect and the term *avyaya*, which is united with that rule, *might* be assigned to कुम्भकारे.

2. The rule which teaches अकच् cannot take effect (and the term *avyaya* which is united with it can consequently not be assigned to कुम्भकारे etc.) because the ए of कुम्भकारे etc., on which *its* taking effect would depend, is *bahiranga* and therefore *asiddha* in regard to *it*:

$$\text{कुम्भकार}+\begin{Bmatrix}\text{अ}\\ \text{ए}\end{Bmatrix}+\text{भ्यः}.$$

अकच् is caused by ए; ए is caused by भ्यः; the former is therefore *antaranga* and the latter *bahiranga*.

3. The rule which teaches the substitution of ए and that which teaches the substitution of लुक् for भ्यः etc. (together with the assignment of the term *avyaya* to कुम्भकारे etc.) have both the same causes, and as we therefore cannot prevent here the substitution of लुक् and the assignment of the term *avyaya* to कुम्भकारे etc. by means of Par. L., we must have recourse to the present Paribhâshâ, and must make the latter convey the meaning assigned to it above (साक्षात्परंपरया वा etc.) To show this, Nâgojibhaṭṭa adds: 'on the other hand etc.'

in III., 1, 14, but) also (या and सा)[1] in VII., 3, 45, this (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid, and it is therefore not applied whenever an incorrect form would result from its application; it is found in the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 1, 39. (The faults) which would arise (from it, if it were applied indiscriminately everywhere, and to avoid which) it must be regarded as not universally valid, have all been enumerated in the Bhâshya as follows: (If it were universally valid),

(*a*). an affix depending on a letter would not have caused the disappearance of that letter (*e. g.* in) दाश्नि ;[2]

(*b*). the आ which (by P. VI., 1, 48) is substituted (for the ई of क्री etc. before the causal-affix णिच्, would not have caused) the addition of the augment पुक् (to क्रा etc. by P. VII., 3, 36 *e. g.* in) क्रापयति ;

(*c*). the augment पुक् (which by P. VII., 3, 36 is added to दा etc., would not have caused) the shortening (of the आ of दाप् etc. by P. VII., 4, 1 *e. g.* in) अदीदपत् ;

(*d*). the letter अ (which is substituted by P. VII., 2, 102 for the final) of त्यद् etc. (before the case-affix सु etc. would not have caused) the addition of (the feminine affix) टाप्[3] (by P. IV., 1, 4 *e. g.* in) या, सा ;

(*e*). the augment इट् which (by P. VII., 2, 67) is prefixed (to the affix वस् after roots ending in आ, would not have caused) the elision of this letter आ (by P. VI., 4, 64 *e. g.* in) पपिवस् ;

(*f*). the *uddâtta* accent which by P. VI., 1, 176 is assigned to मतुप् and by P. VI., 1, 169 to a case-termination (after an *antoddâtta* base, would not have caused) the latter to lose its

1. See below.
2. See above pag. 412, note 7.
3. *Viz.* because the case-affix सु disappears after टाप्.

udâtta accent (by P. VI., 1, 158, *e. g.* in) अग्निमत्, परमवाचा; (*g.*) the short vowel which (by P. VII., 3, 107) is substituted (for the final) of a base termed *nadî* (before the Voc.-termination सु, would not have caused) the elision of the Voc.-termination (सु by P. VI., 1, 69 *e. g.* in) नदि, कुमारि etc.; (*h*). the य which (by P. VII., 1, 13) is substituted (for the termination ङे after a base in short अ, would not have caused) the lengthening (of that अ by P. VII., 3, 102, *e. g.* in) कट्टाय.

Except in these[1] cases (the Paribhâshâ) must be applied everywhere, for it has been stated in the Bhâshya (on P. I., 1, 39) that all faults whatsoever (that would arise from an indiscriminate application of the Paribhâshâ) have been enumerated in the above. More hereof elsewhere.[2]

1. Pâyagunda: इतो नवभ्यः । यद्यपीदानींतनभाष्यपुस्तकेषु चरमवार्त्तिकं (*i. e.* यादेशो दीर्घत्वस्य) न दृश्यते तथापि तद्भ्रष्टमिति बोध्यम् ॥

2. अन्यत्र *i. e.* उद्द्योतादौ. P.—See Si. Kau. I., pag. 94; 142; II., pag. 45; 220; 360. Bhâshya on P. II., 4, 81; III., 1, 36; VII., 2, 101; VII., 3, 116; VIII., 2, 2 (see above pag. 233).

PARIBHASHÂ LXXXVI.

One might say that, when *e. g* the affix अण् has by P. IV., 2, 24 been added to पञ्चेन्द्राणी, and when subsequently this अण् (of पञ्चेन्द्राणी+अण्) has been elided by P. IV., 1, 88, and when (in consequence of this elision) the feminine affix (ङीष् of इन्द्राणी) has likewise been elided by P. I., 2, 49, the augment आन् (which by P. IV., 1, 49 had been added to इन्द्र to form इन्द्राणी) ought to remain audible (in the adjective formed in this manner. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. LXXXVI : When of two things which are taught together one disappears,[1] then the other disappears likewise.[2]

The fact that (Pâṇini) has put down लस्य in the rule VI., 4, 153, indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ) ; for the object of लस्य is, by teaching us that ल alone shall be elided, to show that (the augment) कुक् (which by P. IV., 2, 91 is added to विल्व etc. when ल is affixed to them) shall not disappear (by P. VI., 4, 153).[3] The expression 'विल्वक etc.' in P. VI., 4, 153 can only denote the words विल्व etc. in (the Gaṇa) नडादि, after they have received the augment कुक्.[4]

Nor can one object that, 'even (if the existence of the Paribhâshâ were indicated) in this manner, the word लस्य (in P.

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1. अन्यतरापाये *scil.* शास्त्रतः प्राप्ते सति. P.

2. *E. g.* when the feminine affix ङीष् of इन्द्राणी disappears, the augment आन् must disappear likewise, because both have been taught together in P. IV., 1, 49.

3. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, लस्य would be superfluous, because even without it लुक् could by P. VI., 4, 153 have been substituted only for ल, because only the latter, but not the augment कुक्, follows upon विल्वक etc.—Now one might say that लस्य cannot be *Jnâpaka* because it may serve a purpose even if the Paribhâshâ does not exist; as विल्वक etc. in P. VI., 4, 153 might be bases derived from विल्व etc. by means of the affix क, ल may have been put down in that rule in order to prevent the substitution of लुक् for some other affix that might be added to those bases विल्वक etc. Nâgojibhaṭṭa adds therefore: 'The expression.....'

4. *Viz.* because these words present themselves to us immediately when we hear the expression विल्वकादि. P. VI., 4, 153 would therefore not teach the elision of any other affix than ल, even if it did not contain the word लस्य.

VI., 4, 153) would still serve no purpose, because the fact that (विल्वक etc.) have been put down (in that rule) *with* the augment कुक्, proves by itself sufficiently that that (augment) does not disappear (by it; for) if it were otherwise,[1] (Pâṇini) would have said simply विल्वादिभ्यः,[2] (a rule) which would not have been too widely applicable because it would in accordance with Par. CV. have enjoined (the substitution of) लुक् only for that affix (the addition of which to विल्व is taught in a rule) in which विल्व etc. are expressly mentioned (as receiving it, *i. e.* for the affix ठ which by P. IV., 2, 91 is added to the words of the Gaṇa नडादि in which विल्व etc. are actually enumerated)'; —for the fact that (विल्वक etc.) have been put down (in P. VI., 4, 153) *with* (the augment) कुक् would serve a purpose (even if the present Paribhâshâ did not exist and if कुक् did really disappear), because they would have been put down (*with* कुक्) to prevent (the substitution of) लुक् for (the affix) अण् which by P. IV., 3, 136 is added to विल्व etc. in the sense of 'made of' etc., (a substitution which the supposed rule विल्वादिभ्यः would have enjoined) because (in P. IV., 3, 136 विल्व etc.) are still *more* distinctly mentioned than they are in P. IV., 2, 91 (which teaches the addition of ठ to नड etc. to which विल्व etc. belong).[3]

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1. अन्यथा *i. e.* तदनुवादस्य तदनिवर्तकत्वाभावे. P.

2. The sense of which rule would be: विल्वादिभ्यः परस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुक्.

3. If Pâṇini had said विल्वादिभ्यः in VI., 4, 153, we should have taken these विल्वादि to be the विल्वादि in P. IV., 3, 136, and P. VI., 4, 153 would have taught us the elision of the affix अण् of P. IV., 3, 136. Pâṇini was obliged to say विल्वकादिभ्यः in order to show, that he meant the विल्वादि of P. IV., 2, 91, and he adds ठस्य, because otherwise the क् of विल्वक would by the present Paribhâshâ have disappeared together with ठ. (The affix ठ of P. IV., 2, 91 is *pratipadokta* because the विल्वादि actually stand

Where however (the things which are taught together) are joined by the particle च 'and,' denoting community of reference, there this (Paribhâshâ) is established also by a maxim of ordinary life, because (in accordance with the practice of ordinary life) two things enjoined (in this manner) can exist only at one and the same time and in one and the same place.

When Kaiyaṭa[1] however on the rule P. VI., 4, 155 states: 'The fact[2] that (the Vârttika) णाविष्ठवत् (प्रातिपदिकस्य) is made to enjoin that (a Prâtipadika before णि) takes its masculine form, is meant to indicate that the present (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid; otherwise to enjoin this would have been clearly superfluous; as soon namely as in the formation of a nominal

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among the नडादि to which फ is added by that rule; but the affix अण् of IV., 3, 136 is even *more pratipadokta* because the very word विल्वादि is actually put down in the latter rule).—The correct interpretation of P. VI., 4 153 is according to Pâyagunda this: भाविकुगागमकविल्वादिशब्दपुरस्कारेण विहितस्य च्छस्य लुक्.

See for the above the *Bhâshya* on P. VI., 4, 153 where this Paribhâshâ is read thus: संनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतराभाव उभयोरप्यभावः.—Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 36 संनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापाये उभयोरप्यपायः । तद्यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्ताभ्यामिदं कार्यं कर्तव्यं देवदत्तापाये यज्ञदत्तोऽपि न करोति । (Kaiyaṭa: लौकिकोऽयं न्यायः । एकैकस्मिन्प्रयोजने येषां सहाधिकारस्तत्तान्यनरनिवृत्तावितरनिवृत्तिः); similarly on P. V., 1, 64.

1. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 155: णाविष्ठवत्प्रातिपदिकस्य । णौ प्रातिपदिकस्येष्ठवद्भावो वक्तव्यः । किं प्रयोजनम् । पुंवद्भावरभावटिलोपयणादिपरार्थम् । पुंवद्भावार्थम्। एनीमाचष्ट एतयति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: एतयतीति । तसिलादित्वादिष्ठे पुंवद्भावो विहित इति णावपि भवति । टिलोपेनैव संनियोगशिष्टत्वान्नकारनिवृत्तौ सिद्धायां पुंवद्वचनं संनियोगशिष्टपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वज्ञापनार्थं तेन श्यैनेय इत्यादि सिद्धं भवति ॥

2. P. IV., 1, 39 teaches that *e. g.* एत receives in the feminine the affix ङीष्, and that at the same time न् is substituted for त्. Kaiyaṭa

verb *e. g.* from एनी (the feminine affix) ङीप् of the latter would disappear by the elision of the final vowel, the न् (of एनी which has been taught together with ङीप् in P. IV., 1, 39) would likewise disappear again by the present Paribhâshâ (if it were universally valid), and we should thus arrive at the correct form एतयति (even if the above Vârttika did not enjoin that a Prâtipadika before णि takes its masculine form);'—this is incorrect. For it is necessary that the above Vârttika should enjoin that a Prâtipadika before णि takes its masculine form (even when the present Paribhâshâ *is* universally valid) because we can only thus account for the formation of *e. g.* ऐडबिडयति[1] 'he names Iḍabiḍ' (from इडबिड् 'a female descendant of Iḍabiḍ.') The forms ऐनेय, इयैनेय etc. (derived from एनी, इयैनी etc.) however are accounted for by the circumstance that (the elision of the feminine affix

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maintains now, that, if the present Paribhâshâ were universally valid, it would only have been necessary to teach that the ई of एनी disappears before णि, because by the Paribhâshâ the न् of एनी would have to disappear again together with ई; and that, when it has been stated besides on P. VI., 4, 155, that एनी before णि must take its mascul. form एत, this proves that the Paribhâshâ cannot be universally valid. He further states that by adopting this view concerning the Paribhâshâ we can account for the formation of *e. g.* इयैनेय (from इयैनी), in which न् has *not* disappeared together with ई.

1. It would be impossible to account for the formation of *e. g.* ऐडबिडयति (from इडबिड्, the Fem. of ऐडबिड) if it had not been stated on P. VI., 4, 155, that before णि a Prâtipadika must take its mascul. form.

See Chitprabhâ: तलेडबिडोऽत्यमित्यर्थे जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादञ् [४.१.१६८] इत्यञश्च [४.१.१७७] इति स्त्रियां लुकीडबिड्शब्दो हलन्तो निष्पन्नः । तस्मात्प्रातिपदिकादिति णिचि पुंवद्भावेन लुप्तिवृत्तबिडबिडयतीति प्रयोगो भवति । अन्यथेडबिडयतीति प्रयोगापत्तिः ॥

ङीप् of the latter) is *sthânivat*;[1] more hereof elsewhere.[2]

1. If the elision of the ई of एनी is regarded as *sthânivat*, *i. e.* ई as still present, there is no reason why न् should disappear by the present Paribhâshâ.

2. अन्यत्र *i. e.* स्थानिवत्सूत्रे विवरणे शेखरे च. Chitprabhâ.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXXVII.

One might say that, when (the affix) ण has by P. IV., 4, 61 and 62 been added *e. g.* to चुरा (and when in this manner चौर) 'one whose habit is to steal' (has been formed), there exists no rule by which to account for (the addition of the affix) ङीप् (to चौर) in the Feminine. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXXVII: (The same operations) which are occasioned by (the addition of the affix) अण्, take place whenever (the affix) ण is added in the sense of 'one whose habit is that' (or related to that which is denoted by the base to which ण is added).[1]

The fact that the word कार्मे (derived from कर्मन् by the addition of ण) has been put down (by Pâṇini) in (the rule) VI., 4, 172,

1. *I. e.* when ण is added to छत्र etc. by P. IV., 4, 62.— चौर, derived by the addition of the ण of P. IV., 4, 62 from चुरा, takes therefore by P. IV., 1, 15 ङीप् in the Femin., just as if it had been formed by means of the affix अण्.

Cf. Bhairavamis'ra: ननु ज्ञापनाय च्छत्रादिभ्योऽण्णित्येव कुतो न सूत्रितमिति चेत्। न। ज्ञापकसिद्धं न सर्वत्र [प० १।१६] इत्येतद्विषयत्वसूचनात्। तेन च्छात्रेत्यपि सिध्यति॥

in order to show that (the अन् of कर्मन् before ण) does contrary to P. VI., 4, 167 *not* remain unchanged, indicates (the existence) of this (Paribhâshâ).[1] Modern[2] (grammarians) say that one reason for (adopting) the present (Paribhâshâ) is this that we can account by it also for (the addition of the affix) फिञ् of P. IV., 1, 156, to a base ending in ण added in the sense of 'whose habit is that.'[3] As it has been stated (in the Paribhâshâ that ण must have been added in the sense of) 'whose habit is that,' (the Paribhâshâ does not apply) when ण is added by P. IV., 2, 57, (and the Fem. of दाण्ड can therefore) only be दाण्डा.[4] (The Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya on the rule P. VI., 4, 172.

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1. कर्मन् receives ण by P. IV., 4, 62. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, P. VI., 4, 167 would not apply to कर्मन् + ण and कार्म would be formed regularly by P. VI., 4, 144, *i. e.* the rule P. VI., 4, 172 would be entirely superfluous. But as the Par. does exist, P. VI., 4, 167 would have been applied also in the case of कर्मन्+ण, if Pâṇini had not put down कार्म in VI., 4, 172.—See the Bhâshya on this rule.

2. नव्याः *i. e.* दीक्षितादयः. P.

3. According to Nâgojîbhaṭṭa this is incorrect, because the अण् of P. IV., 1, 156 is not (like अण् in P. IV., 1, 15 or VI., 4, 167) अण् generally, but is the particular अण् which denotes 'a descendant,' and because by Par. CI. operations that may be occasioned by such a particular अण्, cannot be assigned to ण. P.

4. The ण in this Paribhâshâ is only the ण of P. IV., 4, 62, not the ण of *e. g.* P. IV., 1, 147; 150; IV., 2, 57 etc.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXXVIII.

One might say that there can be no reason why *e. g.* in the Instr. Dat. Abl. Du. of कंसपरिमृज्, Vṛiddhi should not be substi-

tuted (for the ऋ) of मृज् (by P. VII., 2, 114. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. LXXXVIII : When an operation (dependent on an affix) is taught concerning a root, it takes place (only when the root) is followed by such an affix[1] (as can be added to roots).[2]

The fact that (Pâṇini in VI., 4, 174) has put down भ्रौणहत्य (in order to show that when ष्यञ् by V., 1, 124 is added to भ्रूणहन्) न् is (irregularly) substituted (for the final of the latter), indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ).[3] The reading[4] भातौ: स्वरूपग्रहणे तत्प्रत्यये कार्यविज्ञानम् (' when some *individual*[5] root is put down in a rule, the operation which concerning that root is taught in the rule, is understood to take place only whenever the root is followed by such an affix as can be added to roots') however (of this Paribhâshâ) has been censured in the Bhâshya (on

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1. तत्प्रत्यये *i. e.* तत्प्रकृतिकप्रत्यये. P.

2. *E. g.* Vriddhi is by P. VII., 2, 114 substituted for the ऋ of मृज् in the Infin. मार्ष्टुम्, but not in the Instr. Du. of कंसपरिमृज् because मृज् is here followed by a case-affix which cannot be added to roots.

3. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, it would have been useless to put down भ्रौणहत्य in P. VI., 4, 174 because in that case न् would have been substituted for the final न् of भ्रूणहन् before ष्यञ् by P. VII., 3, 32 (which would have superseded P. VI., 4, 144).—P. When the author of the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 174 says that the putting down of भ्रौणहत्य indicates ' तद्धिते परे तत्वं न भवति' he states thereby merely what results from this Paribhâshâ, and Kaiyaṭa's remark ' भातौ: स्वरूपग्रहणे तत्प्रत्यये कार्यविज्ञानमित्यनपेक्ष्य ज्ञापकमुक्तं तदपेक्षायां तत्वस्याप्रसङ्गात्' is therefore incorrect.

4. पाठ: *scil.* वार्त्तिककृदुक्त:. P.

5. स्वरूप° *i. e.* विशेष°. P.

P. VII., 2, 114), on the ground that (in accordance with it the augment) भम् might (by P. VI., 1, 59) be inserted (after the radical vowel) *e. g.* in the Instr. Plur. of प्रसृज् (*viz.* because no *individual* root has been put down in that rule).[1]

This (Paribhâshâ) decides (the taking place or not taking place only of) those operations which are dependent on affixes,[2] (and the optional) substitution of क् (for the final of नश् which is taught) in P. VIII., 2, 63 does therefore take place *e. g.* in the Instr. Du. of प्रणश्,[3] because it depends (not on an affix but) on the circumstance that (नश्) is the end of a *Pada*. With the rules that teach (the substitution of) इयङ् etc.[4], however, it has no concern, because the prohibition P. VI., 4, 85 (regarding सुधी shows) that it is not universally valid.[5] It is found in the Bhâshya[6] on P. VII., 2, 114.

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1. *Scil.* and because the Paribhâshâ would accordingly not be applicable in P. VI., 1, 59.

2. P. The meaning of the Paribhâshâ is consequently: प्रत्यये परतो यद्धातोः कार्यमुच्यते तद्धातुसंज्ञशब्देनैव विहितप्रत्यये परतो वेधितव्यम्.

3. प्रनड्भ्याम् or प्रणग्भ्याम्.—But the augment नुम् of P. VII., 1, 60 cannot be inserted in the Instr. Du. of प्रणश् ; see Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 2, 114: नुमागमस्तु प्रत्ययापेक्षत्वादधातुप्रत्यये न भवति.

4. P. VI., 4, 77 ; the 'etc.' includes यण् (P. VI., 4, 82).

5. If it were universally valid, सुधी would not fall under P. VI., 4, 82 and the prohibition concerning सुधी in VI., 4, 85 would be superfluous.

6. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 2, 114: मृजेर्वृद्धिः । मृजेर्वृद्धिर्विधौ क्ङिति प्रतिषेधः । मृजेर्वृद्धिर्विधौ क्ङ्ग्न्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । कंसपरिमृड्भ्यां कंसपरिमृड्भिः । धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे वा तत्प्रत्ययविज्ञानात्सिद्धम् । अथवा धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे तत्प्रत्यये कार्यविज्ञानात्सिद्धं धातुप्रत्यये कार्ये भवतीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । कान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि । प्रयोजनं सृजिदृशिमरिजनशिहन्तिगिरत्यर्थम् । सृजि । रज्जुसृड्भ्यां रज्जुसृड्भिः (P. VI., 1, 58) । दृशि । देवदृग्भ्यां देवदृग्भिः (VI., 1, 58) । मरिज । उदकमग्भ्यामुद-

कमग्भिः (VII., 1, 60) । नद्भिः । प्रनड्भ्यां प्रनड्भिः (VII., 1, 60) । हन्ति । वार्त्रघ्नो भ्रौणघ्नः (VII., 3, 32) । गिरि । देवगिरौ देवगिरः (VIII., 2, 21) ॥ यदि स्वरूपग्रहण इत्युच्यते प्रसृड्भ्यां प्रसृड्भिरनुदात्तस्य चर्दुपधस्यान्यतरस्याम् [६.१.५९] इत्यम्प्राप्नोति । एवं तर्हीयं परिभाषा कर्तव्या । धातोः कार्यमुच्यमानं तत्प्रत्यये भवतीति । सा तर्ह्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । न कर्तव्या । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्येषा परिभाषा यदयं भ्रौणहत्ये तत्वं शास्ति ॥

Cf. also the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 58, VII., 3, 32 and VIII., 2, 22, where we find the reading धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे ; also Si. Kau. II., pag. 186.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXXIX.

One might say that, (when अकच् has by P. V., 3, 71 been inserted) *e. g.* (in सर्व and उच्चैः), सर्वक and उच्चकैः ought not to be termed *Sarvanâman* and *Avyaya* (by P. I., 1, 27 and I., 1, 37 respectively, because these rules teach only that सर्व and उच्चैः are termed *Sarvanâman* and *Avyaya* respectively, and that *e. g.* the Nom. Plur. Masc. of सर्वक ought therefore not to be सर्वके by P. VII., 1, 17. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. LXXXIX : (Any term) that may be employed (in grammar), denotes (not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when) something (is) inserted in that (which is actually denoted by it).[1]

(P. VII., 1, 11 teaches that in the Instr. Plur. of इदम् and अदम् ऐः shall not be substituted for the termination भिः ; when he) in

1. सर्व and उच्चैः in the Ganas on P. I., 1, 27 and 37 denote therefore not only सर्व and उच्चैः, but they denote also सर्वक and उच्चकैः, and the latter are therefore termed *Sarvanâman* and *Avyaya* respectively as well as the former.

the same rule (adds) the prohibition 'अकोः' (meaning, that the rule shall *not* be applied when इदम् and अदस् have क inserted in them, *i. e.* in the Instr. Plur. of इदकम् and अदकस्, his doing so) indicates (the existence) of the present (Paribhâshâ).[1] In the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 1, 72[2] (the Paribhâshâ) is read thus: तदेकदेशभूतं तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते '(any term) that may be employed (in grammar), denotes (not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when) something else has become part of (what is actually denoted by) it.'

1. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, the prohibition अकोः would have no sense, because in that case इदम् and अदस् would not denote also इदकम् and अदकस् and because the latter would consequently not fall under P. VII., 1, 11, even if that rule did not contain the word अकोः.—See Mahâbhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne, pag. 787, and the Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 13.—P. adds: If one objects that by adopting the restrictive rule इदमदसोः कात् the अकोः of P. VII., 1, 11 is rejected in the Bhâshya, then the prohibition अकोः in P. VI., 1, 132 may be taken to indicate the existence of this Paribhâshâ. See the Bhâshya in the Calcutta Ed. of Pânini on P. VII., 1, 11.

2. *Scil.* and on P. I., 4, 13.—In the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 27 and VII., 1, 52 we find तन्मध्यपतितत्वात्.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XC.

One might say that by P. II., 4, 77[1] सिच् ought to be elided (not only in the Aor. Par. of पा, पिबति 'to drink,' but) also in the Aor. Par. of पा, पाति 'to protect,' (and that the latter root

1. *Scil.* which rule teaches that सिच् is elided after पा in the Par.

ought therefore not to form) अगासीत् etc. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. XC : (When there is any doubt) as to (whether a term that may be employed in grammar, should denote a root) that has लुक् for its Vikarana (*i. e.* a root of the second class), or (a root) which has a Vikarana other than लुक् (*i. e.* a root of some other class, or both, then that term should be taken to denote only) such a (root) as has a Vikaraṇa other than लुक् (or, in other words, a root which belongs to any but the second class).[1]

The fact that (Pâṇini) in the rule VII., 2, 44 (where he says सूतिसूयति) has put down सू of the second class and सू of the fourth class separately, while (to denote both) he might have said (simply) सूङ् (instead of सूतिसूयति), indicates according to Kaiyaṭa (the existence) of this (Paribhâshâ.[2] But) this is in-

1. पा in P. II., 4, 77 denotes therefore only पा, पिबति, but not पा, पाति.—See Par. CVI.

2. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, सूङ् would, according to Kaiyaṭa, denote both सू, सूते and सू, सूयते; but as it does exist, सूङ् would (so Kaiyaṭa says) in accordance with it have denoted only सूयते, and Pâṇini was therefore obliged to say सूतिसूयति.

See Bhâshya on P. VII., 2, 44: अथ किमर्थं सूतिसूय्योः पृथग्ग्रहणं क्रियते । सुवतेर्मा भूत् ॥

Kaiyaṭa: अथ किमर्थमिति । सूग्रहणमेव क्रियतामिति भावः ॥ सुवतेरिति । अननुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्येति सुवतेरेव ग्रहणं स्यात् । सूङ्ग्रहणेऽपि क्रियमाणे लुग्विकरणालुग्विकरणयोरलुग्विकरणस्यैव ग्रहणमिति सूयतेरेव ग्रहणं स्यात् । अस्याश्च परिभाषायाः सूङ्ग्रहणे कर्तव्ये सूतिसूयतीति भेदेनोपादानमेव ज्ञापकम् ॥

correct; for as (सूङ्), because it would have been accompanied (in P. VII., 2, 44 by roots that have Vikaraṇas other than लुक्),[1] would (likewise) have denoted[2] only that (सू) which has a Vikaraṇa other than लुक् (*i. e.* only सू of the fourth class), the separate mention (in P. VII., 2, 44 of both सू) cannot indicate (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ).[3]

The (existence of the) Paribhâshâ is suggested however in the Bhâshya on P. VII., 2, 15. For when it is suggested on P. VII., 2, 15, that (that rule, if it were not restricted,) would forbid (the augment इट्) in the Past Pass. Ptc. of विद्, वेत्ति 'to know,'[4] (the author of the Bhâshya) states, that (P. VII., 2, 15) forbids (the addition of इट् to the affix of the Past Pass. Ptc.) after exactly the same (roots) after which (इट् is prefixed) optionally (to some other affix, and that it therefore cannot forbid इट् in the Past Pass. Ptc. of विद्, वेत्ति 'to know;' for, he says, 'विद्) in P. VII., 2, 68 denotes (the root विद्) which has श for its Vikaraṇa'[5] (*i. e.* विद्, विन्दति 'to find'), and (विद्, वेत्ति) has लुक् for its Vikaraṇa. च 'and' introduces here the reason, (and) the meaning of the (statement of the author of the Bhâshya is therefore) this that, as (विद्, वेत्ति) has the Vikaraṇa लुक्, (विद् in P. VII., 2, 68) denotes, because it stands near विश्, (that विद्) which has the Vikaraṇa श, but does not, because it stands (also) near हन्, denote also विद्, वेत्ति, for

1. *Viz.* by स्तु, स्वरति etc.

2. See Par. CIII.

3. *Viz.* because it would be absolutely necessary even if the Paribhâshâ did not exist.

4. *Viz.* because after विद् इट् is *optionally* prefixed to क्सु by P. VII., 2, 68.

5. My Ms. and the lithographed Edition of the Mahâbhâshya read शब्विकरणस्य; the right reading शविकरणस्य is found in the Calcutta Ed. of Pâṇini on VII., 2, 15.

the latter would be contrary to the present Paribhâshâ.[1] And it is because (the existence of the Paribhâshâ has thus been suggested in the Bhâshya, and is *not* indicated by सूतिसूयति in P. VII., 2, 44) that we read in the Paribhâshâ (अलुग्विकरणस्य, and) not लुग्विकरणस्य.[2] *Verbatim* however this (Paribhâshâ) is read in the Bhâshya nowhere. On P. II., 4, 77 the author of the Vârttikas says 'that it ought to have been stated that या (in II., 4, 77) denotes या, यियति,' and the author of the Bhâshya, 'that या wherever it is employed (in Pâṇini's grammar) denotes that (या) which has not the Vikaraṇa लुक्.'—By Kaiyaṭa (the Paribhâshâ) has been distinctly quoted on the rule P. VII., 2, 44.[3]

1. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, विद् in P. VII., 2, 68 would denote both विद् विन्दति, and विद्, वेत्ति, because it stands near a root (*viz.* विश्) which has श्ना as Vikaraṇa, and also near a root (*viz.* हन्) which has लुक् as Vikaraṇa; but as the Paribhâshâ does exist, विद् denotes in accordance with it only विद्, विन्दति the Vikaraṇa of which is not लुक्, and does not denote विद्, वेत्ति which has the Vikaraṇa लुक्.

2. If सूतिसूयति were really *Jnâpaka*, it might indicate the very reverse of what is taught in the present Paribhâshâ, *viz.* that such a term 'should be taken to denote only such a root as has the Vikaraṇa लुक्'.—See Râghavendrâchârya: अत एवेति । ज्ञापकसिद्धत्वाभावादेवेत्यर्थः । तस्सिद्धत्वे च लुग्विकरणस्यैवेति ज्ञापनेऽपि सूतिसूत्योः पृथङ्निर्देशस्य सार्थक्यसंभवात्तथापि ज्ञाप्यत इति भावः ॥

3. See above pag. 433, note 2.—Si. Kau. II., pag. 84.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XCI.

One might say that the substitution of a guttural (for the ह् of हि) which is taught in P. VII., 3, 56, ought not to take place (by that rule) *e. g.* in the Desid. of the Causal of हि (for the ह्

of the Causal base हापि, and that forms like प्रजिघापयिषति are consequently incorrect. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. XCI: A radical denotes whenever it is employed (in grammar, not only that radical itself, but it denotes) also whatever (base) may result from the addition to it of (the derivative affix) णि.[1]

The fact that (the substitution by P. VII., 3, 56 of a guttural for the ह् of हि) has by (the term) अचङि 'not before चङ्' in the same rule been (expressly) forbidden (for the Aor. of the Causal of हि), indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ);[2] the latter is applicable however only wherever the substitution of a guttural (may be taught in a rule). It is found in the Bhâshya on the rule P. VII., 3, 56.[3]

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1. हि in P. VII., 3, 56 denotes therefore not only the root हि, but also the Causal base हापि derived from हि.

2. I.e. because P. VII., 3, 56, even did it not contain अचङि, would not be applicable in the Causal of हि, if the present Paribhâshâ did not exist.

3. The Paribhâshâ itself is found nowhere in the Bhâshya. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 3, 56: हेरचङि । अचङीति किमर्थम् । प्राजिहियदुत्तम् । हेश्चङि प्रतिषेध नर्थक्यमङ्गान्यत्वात् । हेश्चङि प्रतिषेधो ऽनर्थकः । किं कारणम् । अङ्गान्यत्वात् । ण्यन्तमेतत् । अङ्गमन्यद्भवति । लोपे कृते नाङ्गान्यत्वम् । स्थानिवद्भावादङ्गान्यत्वम् । ज्ञापकं त्वन्यत्र ण्यधिकस्य कुत्वविज्ञानात् । एवं तर्हि ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽन्यत्र ण्यधिकस्य कुत्वं भवतीति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । प्राजिघापयिषतीत्यत्र कुत्वं सिद्धं भवति ॥

Kaiyata: अचङीति किमर्थमिति । यस्मिन्हिनोतिरङ्गं तस्मिन्नभ्यासे विज्ञायमाने णौ हिनोतिरङ्गं चङ्यभ्यास इति कुत्वं न भविष्यतीति मत्वा प्रश्नः ॥ अन्यत्रेति । सनादावित्यर्थः ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XCII.

One might say that *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Dat. Plur. of युष्मद् (from युष्मद्+भ्यस्), when the second word in P. VII., 1, 30 is taken to be भ्यम् and when accordingly भ्यम् has been substituted for भ्यस्, and when further the final (of युष्मद्) has been elided (by P. VII., 2, 90, *i. e.* when युष्मद्+भ्यः has been changed to युष्म+भ्यम्), ए ought to be substituted (for the अ of युष्म by P. VII., 3. 103. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. XCII: When (an operation which is) taught in the Angâdhikâra (P. VI., 4—VII., 4) has taken place and another (operation of the Angâdhikâra) is subsequently applicable, (this latter operation) is not allowed to take place.[1]

Besides (being indicated by the fact that Pâṇini in VII., 3, 79 teaches the substitution of जा for ज्ञा and जन्,[2] the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ) is indicated by the circumstance that (Pâṇini) in VI., 4, 160 teaches (the substitution of) आ (for the initial of ईयस् after ज्य; for) otherwise (to teach) this would have been clearly superfluous, because (the right form ज्यायस्) would

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1. *E. g.* When in युष्मद्+भ्यम् the द् of युष्मद् has been elided by P. VII., 2, 90, the final अ of युष्म is not allowed to be changed to ए by P. VII., 3. 103, because the latter rule stands likewise in the Angâdhikâra.

2 See Bhâshya on P. VII., 3, 79: दीर्घोच्चारणं (in जा) किमर्थं न ज्ञाजनोर्जे इत्येवोच्येत । का रूपसिद्धिः । जानाति जायते । अतो दीर्घो यञि [७.३.१०१] इति दीर्घत्वं भविष्यति । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यद्दीर्घोच्चारणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषाङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधिरिति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । पिबतेर्गुणप्रतिषेधश्चोदितः स न वक्तव्यो भवति ॥

have resulted from (the substitution of) लोप[1] for the letter ई (of ईयस्,) and the (subsequent) lengthening (of the अ of इय) by P. VII., 4, 25.[2] In consequence of this very (*Jnâpaka*) the (Paribhâshâ) concerns also such operations of the Angâdhikâra as would affect different portions (of a word-form).[3] That it is not universally valid, is proved by (the form) द्वयोः[4] which (Pâṇini) has put down (in the rules I., 2, 59 and V., 3, 92; and when) in the Bhâshya[5] on the rule P. VII., 1, 30[6] (the Paribhâshâ) is made to end with the word निष्ठितस्य (meaning, that the second operation is not allowed to take place 'provided the right forms of the language are accomplished' without it), it is made to end so only because (the author of the Bhâshya in

1. लोपः being valid from P. VI., 4, 158.

2. As the Paribhâshâ does exist, आत् in P. VI., 4, 160 is necessary, because in accordance with it P. VII., 4, 25 could not have taken effect after the substitution of लोप by P. VI., 4, 160.

See Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 160: किमर्थं ङ्यात्परस्येयस आत्त्वमुच्यते न लोपः प्रकृतः सोऽनुवर्तते । का रूपसिद्धिः । ङ्यायान् । अकृङ्यकार इति दीर्घत्वं भविष्यति । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यङ्ङ्यात्परस्येयस आत्त्वं शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषाङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधिरिति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । क्त्वितेर्गुणप्रतिषेधश्चोदितः स न वक्तव्यो भवति ॥

3. *Viz.* because the लोप of P. VI., 4, 160 would have affected the ई of ईयस् and the lengthening by P. VII., 4, 25 the अ of इय.

4. *Viz.* because in the formation of द्वयोः P. VII., 3, 104 *has* taken effect after the taking effect of P. VII., 2, 102.

5. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 30: अयसोऽयम् । किमयं अयम्शब्द आहोस्विदयम्शब्दः । कुतः संदेहः । समानो निर्देशः । किं चातः । यदि तावद्वयम्शब्दः शेषे लोपश्चान्त्यस्यैत्त्वं प्राप्नोति । अथायम्शब्दः शेषे लोपश्च टिलोप उदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरः प्राप्नोति । यथेच्छसि तथास्तु । अस्तु तावद्वयम्शब्दः शेषे लोपश्चान्त्यस्य । ननु चोक्तमेत्त्वं प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधिर्निष्ठितस्येति ॥ अथवा पुनरस्त्वयमशब्दः शेषे लोपटिलोपः । ननु चोक्तमुदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरः प्राप्नोतीति । नैष दोषः । उक्तमेतदादौ सिद्धमिति ॥

6. *Seil.* and on P. VII., 3, 78.

that passage) has included (in his statement) whatever may result from the fact that the Paribhâshâ is not universally valid.[1]

Some however say: 'The present Paribhâshâ (if it were really adopted) would not assist in the formation of any form whatsoever (that could not be formed without it; and) it is for this reason that, when on P. VII., 3, 79 and VI., 4, 160 the question is raised, as to what whould be the object (of the Paribhâshâ) in case (its existence were really) indicated (by ञ and श्नान् in P. VII., 3, 79 and VI., 4, 160), the object of it has been stated to be merely, "that it would enable us to dispense with the special rule forbidding the substitution (by P. VII., 3, 86) of Guṇa (for the इ) of विचि,[2] the adoption of which had been suggested (on P. VII., 3, 78)," but not (that it would assist in) the formation of certain forms (of the language which could not be formed without it. In view of) this[3] (it) has been stated, that, as has elsewhere been shown, the second word in P. VII., 1, 30 is (really) अभ्यम्; that the elision taught in P. VII., 2, 90 must be the elision of the *final* (of युष्मद् etc.); and that, (when युष्मद्+भ्यस् has accordingly been changed to युष्म+अभ्यम्,)

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1. *I. e.* If the correct forms of the language cannot be formed without the second operation, then the latter is, contrary to the present Paribhâshâ, allowed to take place; but where it is otherwise, there the Paribhâshâ is applied.

2. *Viz.* because by the Paribhâshâ P. VII., 3, 86 would not be allowed to take effect after the substitution of विच् for चि by P. VII., 3, 78.—If the substitute for चि is made to end in अ, the Paribhâshâ is even here unnecessary, because in that case P. VII., 3, 86 does not apply after the substitution of विच by P. VII., 3, 78.

3. *I. e.* In order to show that forms like युष्मभ्यम्, for the formation of which the Paribhâshâ was supposed to be necessary, can be formed without it.

the form युष्मभ्यम् results from the substitution by P. VI., 1, 97 of the second अ, (*i. e.* the initial अ of अभ्यम्, for both the अ of युष्म and the initial अ of अभ्यम्). And such being the case, the Bhâshya on both rules (VI., 4, 160 and VII., 3, 79 according to which आत् and जस् in these rules) should indicate (the existence of) this Paribhâshâ, and the Bhâshya on the rule P. VII., 1, 30, must be (regarded to contain) the statements of one who is only partly acquainted with the true state of the matter.'[1]

1. According to Pâyagunda some say that Nâgojibhaṭṭa has said कैचित् (in कैचित्...आहुः) in order to show that he does not approve of this view; but others maintain that कैचित् means भाष्यतत्त्वविदः. (See also Si. Kau. I., pag. 170; 171; II., pag. 234; 235.)

PARIBHÂSHÂS XCIII., 1-10.

(Some grammarians have said):

'The circumstance that (Pâṇini) in VI., 4, 146 (ओर्गुणः) has employed (the term) गुण, while he should have said ओरेत्, indicates (the existence of the Paribhâshâ):

P. XCIII., 1: A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it is denoted by a technical term.

This (Paribhâshâ applies) only where the technical term which occurs (in the rule) denotes that which is taught in the latter.[1]

1. Because such is the case in the *Jnâpaka*-rule P. VI., 4, 146. P. adds that the technical term must be one which has a meaning also in ordinary life.

Hereby we can account *e. g.* for (the absence of Guṇa in) स्वायंभुव.[1]

Similarly, the circumstance that (Pâṇini in VIII., 4, 16 आनि लोट्) has employed (the term) आनि,[2] while he would have attained his object by saying merely नि लोट्, indicates (the existence of the Paribhâshâ):

P. XCIII., 2: A rule which teaches (the addition of) an augment is not universally valid.

Hereby we can account *e. g.* for (the absence of the augment इट्[3] in तर्तुकाम, which occurs in) सागरं तर्तुकामस्य.

Similarly, the circumstance that (Pâṇini) in the rule III., 1, 79 (तनादिकृञ्भ्य उः) has put down कृञ्, while (the addition to this root of उ) would have resulted already from the fact that कृञ् is enumerated among the तनादि, indicates (the existence of the Paribhâshâ):

P. XCIII., 3: An operation which should affect a (whole) Gana (or class of words) need not necessarily take place.

Hereby we can account *e. g.* for (the presence of the Vikaraṇa श्नु[4] in विश्वसेत्, which we have in) न विश्वसेदविश्वस्ते.

1. Where Guṇa should have been substituted for the ऊ of स्वयंभू by P. VI., 4, 146.—See Si. Kau. I., pag. 412; II., pag. 161 (क्षिणु च । उपत्यय-निमित्तो लघूपधगुणः संज्ञापूर्वको विधिरनित्य इति न भवतीत्यालेयादयः । भवत्येवेत्यन्ये । क्षिणोति क्षेणोति ।); pag. 236.

2. In which आ is the augment आट् prefixed to नि by P. III., 4, 92.

3. Which should have been added by P. VII., 2, 35.—See Si. Kau. II., pag. 356 (क्षुब्धो राजेति त्वागमशास्त्रस्यानित्यत्वात्).—P. quotes besides अपि शाकं पचानस्य (for पचमानस्य).

4. For which लुक् should have been substituted by P. II., 4, 72.—See Si. Kau. II., pag. 121.

Similarly, the circumstance that चक्षिङ्[1] has been distinguished by an indicatory ङ्, indicates (the existence of the Paribhâshâ) :[2]

P. XCIII., 4 : (The rule P. I., 3, 12, so far as it teaches that a root is followed by the) Âtmanepada-(terminations) when it is distinguished by a gravely accented indicatory vowel, is not universally valid.

Hereby we can account *e. g.* for (the Parasmaipada form स्कायन्,[3] which we have in) स्कायन्निमोकः.

Similarly, the circumstance that (Pâṇini in VI., 1, 158 अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम्) has employed वर्जम्, while he would have attained his object if, having compounded (एक with) the privative नञ् (changed to अन्), he had simply said अनुदात्तं पदमनेकम्,—indicates (the existence of the Paribhâshâ) :

P. XCIII., 5 : (A rule) which contains (the negative) नञ् is not universally valid.

Hereby we can account for the Vocative सुभ्रु,[4] *viz.* because (by this Paribhâshâ) P. I., 4, 4 is not universally valid.'

But all this is incorrect, because (these Paribhâshâs) are not

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1. *Scil.* which is *anudâttet* and which would already on that account by P. I., 3, 12 take the Âtmanepada-terminations.

2. *I. e.* If the final ङ् of चक्षिङ् had not been intended to indicate this Paribhâshâ, it would have sufficed to put down the root चक्ष् as चक्ष *i. e.* with a final *anudâtta* अ.

3. From स्कायी which, being *anudâttet*, should have been followed by the Âtmanepada-terminations.—See Si. Kau. II., pag. 65; 112; 137.

4. From सुभ्रू which notwithstanding the rule P. I., 4, 4 may be termed *nadî*. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 137.

found in the Bhâshya; because we are not authorized to consider as correct any rule established by a *Jnâpaka*, when (that rule) is not given in the Bhâshya; (and) because the proper manner (to account for the presence) in a rule of grammar of certain letters the purport of which has not been discussed in the Bhâshya, can only be to assume (that they have been placed there for no other reason except in order) that he who may study them should acquire religious merit by doing so.[1]—Moreover, even if (the existence of Par. XCIII., 2) were indicated (by आनि in P. VIII., 4, 16), that आनि would still serve no purpose, because we know of no (Imperative) form which does not contain the augment आ, (and which for the absence of it might have been excluded from P. VIII., 4, 16 by the term आनि of that rule);[2] the presence of the augment आ (in आनि) however should be regarded in the same light as the presence of the term लोट् (in the same rule).[3] This very circumstance (that there is no such Paribhâshâ as आगमशास्त्रमनित्यम्) has enabled (the author of the Bhâshya) on P. VII., 3, 70 to state that the word वा '*optionally*' of that rule can be dispensed with; even when (the आ of या etc.) is (*always*) elided (by P. VII., 3, 70), we shall (still, instead of that radical आ,) have the augment आ, *viz.*, on the alternative that (by P. III, 4, 94) आ is prefixed (to the personal terminations,

1. Cf. herewith above pag. 341.

2. The आ of आनि would serve no purpose even if the existence of Par. XCIII., 2 were indicated by it and if that Paribhâshâ were adopted, and it can accordingly not be *Jnâpaka*. See above pag. 2, note 3.

3. *I. e.* The आ of आनि is as superfluous as लोट् in the same rule; nevertheless both have been put down by Pânini in order that he who may read both may acquire religious merit by doing so. See Bhâshya on P. VIII., 4, 16.

and shall thus arrive at) दधात्; (and when by P. III., 4, 94) भ is prefixed (to the personal terminations, we shall have) दधत्. But, if the rule (P. III., 4, 94) which teaches the addition of the augments (अट् and आट्) were (by the above Paribhâshâ) *not* universally valid, and if the augment आट् accordingly were *not* added, we should not be able to account for the formation of दधात् (provided P. VII., 3, 70 did not teach the *optional* elision of the आ of धा etc.); the word वा 'optionally' (in P. VII., 3, 70) would consequently be absolutely necessary, and the statement according to which it may be dispensed with, would clearly be incorrect.[1] The above shows that the statement of some (grammarians) which is recorded by Kaiyaṭa, according to which 'the word वा in P. VII., 3, 70 indicates that a rule which teaches the addition of an augment is not universally valid,' must likewise be received with caution, *viz.* because it is opposed to the Bhâshya in which (वा) has been rejected (as superfluous).—Moreover (कृञ् in P. III., 1, 79 cannot indicate the existence of Par. XCIII., 3, nor can the ङ् of चक्षिङ् indicate that of Par. XCIII., 4), because according to the Bhâshya (on P. III., 1, 79) कृञ् ought to be removed out of the rule III., 1, 79, and because the letter ङ् in चक्षिङ्, by making चक्ष् (a root) that does not end with the indicatory letter ङ्,[2] does serve a purpose (even when it does not indicate the existence of Par. XCIII., 4.)

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1. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 3, 70: वेति शक्यमवक्तुम् | कस्मान्न भवति तदग्निरग्नये ददात् | अस्त्वत्र लोपः | आटः श्रवणं भविष्यति | तेनोभयं भविष्यति | दधद्रत्नानि दाशुषे | दधात् ||

Kaiyaṭa: भाष्यकारेण वेति ग्रन्थाख्यातम् | केचित्त्वनित्यमागमशासनमित्यस्य ज्ञापकं वाग्रहणं वर्णयन्ति | अनित्यत्वात्तस्याट्यसति ददादिति न स्यादिति तत्सिद्धये वाग्रहणं क्रियमाणमेना परिभाषां ज्ञापयति ||

2. See P. VII., 1, 58.

The same opinion[1] should be held in regard to such (Paribhâshâs) as the following (three which are likewise) not mentioned in the Bhâshya:

P. XCIII, 6: Whatever (by a rule of grammar) is transferred (from one element to another) need not necessarily come to pass.[2]

P. XCIII, 7 and 8: A rule which teaches (the substitution of) *Lopa*,[3] and a rule which teaches the (addition of the augment) इट्,[4] possess greater

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1. *Viz.* this that they really are no Paribhâshâs at all.

2. Bhairavamis'ra: स्थानिवत्सूत्रेण सिद्धे प्रत्ययलोपे [१.१.६२] इति सूत्रारम्भादिति भावः । एतत्फलमुभय इति । अत्र स्थानिवद्भावेन सर्वनामसंज्ञाविकल्पो न । अन्तरङ्गत्वेन गतार्थमेतत् ॥

उभ by P. V., 2, 42 उभ+तयप्; this by P. V., 2, 44 उभ+अयच्=उभय. If here the substitute अयच् were equal to तयप्, उभय would in the Nom. Plur. by P. I., 1, 33 be *optionally* Sarvanâman; the fact that it is necessarily Sarvanâman, is accounted for by the above Paribhâshâ. In reality उभय is necessarily Sarvanâman because it is enumerated among the सर्वादि on P. I., 1, 27. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 98.

3. Bhairavamis'ra: अत्र ज्ञापकं प्रत्ययलोपसूत्रमेव । अन्यत्र तत्तत् तत्कार्यं कृत्वा लोप एतत्सूत्रवैयर्थ्यं स्यात् । कानि सन्ति को स्त इत्यत्र यणादेशात्पूर्वमलोपः फलम् (*i. e.* if the अ of अस् had not been elided first, the इ of कानि would have had to be changed to य्) । एतदप्यन्तरङ्गत्वेन गतार्थम् ॥.

4. Bhairavamis'ra: अत्र च ज्ञापकं सनि ग्रहगुहोश्च [७.२.१२] इत्यत्रोकोऽनुकर्षणाय चकारकरणम् । अन्यथा बुभूषतीत्यादौ पूर्वमिको झल् [१.२.९] इति कित्त्वे श्नुकः किति [७.२.११] इति सिद्धे तद्वैयर्थ्यं स्पष्टमेव ॥ फलमस्याः श्वयित्वेति । परिभाषाभावे पूर्वं संप्रसारणे रूपासिद्धिः । इडागमस्य पूर्वं प्रवृत्तौ तु न क्त्वः सेट् [१.२.१८] इति कित्त्वप्रतिषेधान्न संप्रसारणमिति ॥ एतदप्यन्यथा सिद्धं श्वयित्वेत्यत्र नित्यत्वादिटि कित्त्वनिषेधान्न च पूर्वं संप्रसारणे श्नुकः कित्त्वनिषेधः ॥

force than all other rules (which may be applicable simultaneously with the former).

(To employ forms such as) स्वायंभुव etc. in the ordinary language, is decidedly incorrect; more hereof elsewhere.[1]

(Other grammarians have) further (said):

'One might maintain that in the Benedictive of the Parasmai. Frequent. (of हन्) वध ought not (by P. II., 4, 42) to be substituted for (the Parasmai. Frequent. base जङ्घन् of) हन्.[2] (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. XCIII, 9: A radical denotes whenever it is employed (in grammar, not only that radical itself, but it denotes) also the Parasmai. Frequentative base derived from it.[3]

The established fact that the reduplication which is taught in the sixth (book of Pâṇini's grammar) consists in the twofold employment (of the original which is reduplicated), tells us that the whole form which results from such reduplication has the nature of the original (which is reduplicated), and thereby (the statement contained in) this (Paribhâshâ) is naturally established (as correct.) The above shows[4] why *e. g.* in (the formation of) the 2. Sing. Pres. Imperat. Par. of हु, धि is rightly substituted (by P. VI., 4, 101 for the termination हि), when (the root हु) has been reduplicated (by P. VI., 1, 10).'—

But this is likewise incorrect because it is not found in the

1. अन्यत्र *i. e.* वह्नीतशेखरादौ. P.
2. *Scil.* because जङ्घन् is not हन्.
3. *E. g.* हन् in P. II., 4, 42 denotes not only हन्, but also जङ्घन्.
4. अत एव *i. e.* सिद्धान्तेन समुदाये प्रकृतिरूपत्वनोभनादेव. P.

Bhâshya. Moreover, although the above-mentioned fact may teach us that both (the original and the reduplicative syllable) partake either by itself of the nature of the (original), there is no authority for its teaching us that the whole (reduplicated form likewise) partakes of the nature of the (original which is reduplicated). It is for this very reason[1] that, when on P. VII., 4, 9 the objection is raised[2] that 'when (in the formation of the Red. Perf. of अस् 'to be,' from अस्+लिट्, where two rules are applicable, *viz.* P. II., 4, 52 which teaches the substitution of भू for अस्, 'आर्धधातुके', and P. VI., 1, 8 which teaches the reduplication of अस्, 'लिटि परे'), अस् is (first) reduplicated because (the rule which teaches the reduplication) follows (upon P. II., 4, 52, and) when the (radical) अस्[3] is then changed to भू, the first (reduplicative अस्) ought to remain audible,' this objection is refuted in the Bhâshya by the statement that the Locative (आर्धधातुके of P. II., 4, 52 does not mean आर्धधातुके परे 'when an Ârdhadhâtuka [such as लिट्] follows upon अस्', but) means आर्धधातुकविषये 'wherever an Ârdhadhâtuka may have to be added to अस् at some time or other.'[4] If, on the other hand, a reduplicated form did in the above-mentioned fashion possess the nature of the original which is reduplicated, then (भू) would (by P. II.,

1. अत एव *i. e.* तेन तस्य तत्त्वबोधनस्य मानाभावेनासत्त्वादेव. P.

2. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 9: अथ द्विःप्रयोगो द्विर्वचनं परस्य भूभावे कृते पूर्वस्य श्रवणं प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । आर्धधातुकीयाः सामान्येन भवन्त्यनवस्थितेषु प्रत्ययेषु । तत्रार्धधातुकसामान्ये भूभावे कृते यो यतः प्राप्नोति स ततो भविष्यति ॥

Kaiyata: .....तत्रार्धधातुकसामान्य इति । द्विर्वचननिमित्तस्य लिटोऽनुपजातत्वादसति विप्रतिषेधे पूर्वे भूभावः पश्चाल्लिटि परतो द्विर्वचनमित्यदोषः ।.....

3. *Scil.* of अस्+अस्.

4. अस् is first changed to भू; subsequently लिट् is added to भू, and the latter is then reduplicated.

4, 52) have had to be substituted for the *whole* (अस्+अस्) and the (above Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 9) would evidently be incorrect. Accordingly, the various operations, as (concerning a radical) they may be taught in a rule, must be understood to take place (after the root has been reduplicated) only in so far as (they are caused by or affect) the latter (*i. e.* radical) portion (of the reduplicated form).[1] The statement[2] that the substitution of Guṇa (for the ऊ of the Parasmai. Frequent. base बोभू before the personal termination तु) is forbidden already (by P. VII., 3, 88, and that when Pâṇini nevertheless puts down) बोभूतु (in VII., 4, 65, his doing so can have no other object than) to restrict (the absence of Guṇa to the Veda), is not contrary to the above, because P. VII., 3, 88 conveys the meaning (that Guṇa shall not be substituted for the ऊ) of a base that *ends* with भू, (and because the substitution of Guṇa for the ऊ of बोभू is therefore really forbidden by that rule).[3] As then (the above Paribhâshâ does not exist) Frequentative forms such as वध्यात् of हन् which have been given by Mâdhava and others,[4] should certainly be regarded with suspicion. More hereof elsewhere.[5]

(Other grammarians have) further (said):

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1. *E. g.* If in the formation of the Red. Perf. of अस् this root were first reduplicated, भू would by P. II., 4, 52 have to be substituted only for the second *i. e.* radical अस् of अस्+अस्, not for the whole अस+अस्.

2. Bhairavamis'ra: ननूत्तरकाण्डादेरङ्गत्वाभावे भूसुवोस्तिङीति बोध्यगुणाभावस्य बोभूत्वित्यत्वाप्राप्तौ दाधर्तीति सूत्रे बोभूत्विति निपातनं विध्यर्थमेव भविष्यतीति तस्य नियामकत्वकथनासंगतिरत आह । भूसुवोरित्यस्येति ॥

3. Cf. Si. Kau. II., pag. 212.

4. Si. Kau. II., pag. 214.

5. अन्यत्र *i. e.* शेखरादौ. P.

'One might maintain that, if the Paribhâshâ[1] P. I., 1, 3 (इको गुणवृद्धी) were to unite (with the term वृद्धिः) in P. I., 1, 73, (such words as शाला would not be termed *vriddha* by that rule, and in that case) it would be impossible to form शालीय (from शाला by P. IV., 2, 114. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. XCIII, 10: A Paribhâshâ unites with what is taught in a rule, not with that (portion of it) which (simply) states (that concerning which something is taught in the rule).[2]

1. The meaning which P. I., 1, 3 is here supposed to convey, is this: गुणवृद्धिशब्दौ यल्लोचर्येते तल्लेक इति पदमुपतिष्ठते. If this Paribhâshâ were to unite with the word वृद्धिः in P. I., 1, 73, the meaning of that rule would be, यस्याचामादिरिकः स्थाने वृद्धिस्तद्वृद्धम्, and as the Vriddhi vowel आ of शाला does not stand in the place of an original इक् *i. e.* इ, उ, ऋ or ऌ, शाला would not be termed *vriddha* by P. I., 1, 73. In reality however the meaning of P. I., 1, 3, is, as will be stated below, गुणवृद्धिशब्दाभ्यां गुणवृद्धी यत्र विधीयेते तल्लेक इत्युपतिष्ठते, and according to this interpretation P. I., 1, 3 cannot unite with वृद्धिः in P. I., 1, 73.

2. Accordingly P. I., 1, 3 unites *e. g.* with P. VII., 2, 114 because वृद्धि is taught in that rule and we have to explain P. VII., 2, 114, मृजेरिकः (स्थाने) वृद्धिः; but it does not unite with P. I., 1, 73 because there the word वृद्धिः forms part of that portion of the rule which tells us what shall be termed *vriddha* by it, and we cannot explain P. I., 1, 73 by इकः (स्थाने) वृद्धिर्यस्य.... Similarly, we have by P. I., 1, 49 to supply स्थाने *e. g.* in P. VI., 4, 36 (हन्तेः स्थाने जः) because that rule teaches the substitution of ज for हन्; but in P. VII., 3, 46 the word स्थाने could not have been supplied by P. I., 1, 49 but had actually to be put down in the rule, because P. VII., 3, 46 does not teach the substitution of अत् for आत् but teaches the substitution of इत् for an अत् which stands in the place of an आत् (आतः स्थाने योऽन्तस्य...); see below.

The meaning of the words (नानुवादे) is this, that a Paribhâshâ does not unite with whatever qualifies[1] that which is (simply) stated (in a rule, and) regarding which it would give certain directions (if it were to unite with it). This (Paribhâshâ) is based on the following reasoning: although Paribhâshâs which (by their nature) are auxiliary[2] to the rules (of grammar), cannot unite with that which is taught (in the latter) because this has as yet no existence, they nevertheless serve a purpose when they are made to give directions regarding that which qualifies what (is taught in a rule),[3] and there is accordingly no reason why they should be made to give directions (also) regarding that which (again) qualifies that (which qualifies what is taught in the rule).[4] Besides, the employment of the word स्थाने in the rule P. VII., 3, 46 indicates (the existence) of this (Paribhâshâ; for) in case this Paribhâshâ did not exist, the (actual employment of स्थाने in P. VII., 3, 46) would evidently be superfluous, because we should supply स्थाने already by the Paribhâshâ P. I., 1, 49.'[5]

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1. *E. g.* वृद्धि: in P. I., 1, 73 is a *Vis'eshana* of such a word, as by that rule is termed *vriddha*.

2. अङ्ग = उपकारक. See above pag. 222, note 1.

3. *E. g.* हन् in P. VI., 4, 36 is a *Vis'eshana* of ज which is taught in that rule (हन्स्थानिको ज:), and accordingly we apply P. I., 1, 49 (हन्ते: स्थाने ज:).

4. The अत् which is valid in P. VII., 3, 46 is a *Vis'eshana* of the इत् which is taught in that rule (अत्स्थानिक इत्) and we therefore apply P. I., 1, 49 (अत: स्थान इत्); but to the आत् of the same rule we cannot apply P. I., 1, 49 because आत् is a *Vis'eshana* of the *Vis'eshana* अत् (आत्स्थानिकोऽत्, and is not a *Vis'eshana* of इत्); Pânini was therefore obliged to say स्थाने in VII., 3, 46, आत: स्थानेऽत: [स्थाने] इत्.

5. See above note 4, and pag. 449, note 2.

This is (likewise) incorrect; for this (Paribhâshâ) would have to be abandoned in (the interpretation of rules) such as P. VIII., 2, 4,[1] and also in (the case of) P. VI., 4, 134 etc., as is apparent from the manner in which (that rule) has been explained in the Bhâshya[2] on P. VI., 1, 13; besides, it is not given in the Bhâshya; and it is moreover impossible that (the word स्थाने in P. VII, 3, 46) should, as was maintained above, indicate (the existence of this Paribhâshâ), because it has been distinctly stated in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 49 that we do not want the Paribhâshâ (P. I., 1, 49) to teach us that we must supply स्थाने 'in place of' (for all those Genitives concerning which P. I., 1, 49 has been given);[3] the word स्थाने however in P. VII., 3, 46

1. *Scil.* where by P. I., 1, 49 we have to supply स्थाने for यण्, although the latter is not taught in that rule (उदात्तस्य स्वरितस्य च स्थाने यो यण्...).

2. *Scil.* where the Paribhâshâ P. I., 1, 66 has been applied in regard to the अन् of P. VI., 4, 134, although the latter is a *Vis'eshana* of अतृ, which again is a *Vis'eshana* of लोप: taught in VI., 4, 134.

See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 13: अन्कारान्तस्याङ्गस्य प्रयोजनम् (*viz.* of Par. XCV.) | तक्ष्ण इति | तस्यापि प्राप्नोति | अनन्यविकारेऽन्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवतीति न दोषो भवति | एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् | अनाकारं विज्ञोपयिष्यामोऽनो योऽकार इति || एवमप्यनसानस इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति | अन्कारेणाङ्गं विज्ञोपयिष्यामोऽनाकारम् | अन्कारान्तस्यानो योऽकार इति || एवमप्यनस्तक्ष्णानस्तक्ष्ण इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति | एवं तर्हि कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषं यत्र कार्यं तत्रोपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् | भस्येति तत्रोपस्थितं भवति यच्च भमिति | तत्र यजादिपरतयान्कारं विज्ञोपयिष्यामोऽनाकारम् | यजादिपरस्यानो योऽकार इति || See below Par. XCV.

3. If we do not want Paribhâshâ P. I., 1, 49 to teach us that स्थाने has to be supplied, and if that rule (in so far as it would convey that meaning) is accordingly given up, the actual employment of स्थाने in P. VII., 3, 46 can at any rate not indicate the existence of the above Paribhâshâ, because स्थाने could not have been supplied by P. I., 1, 49.—See above pag. 68, note 1.

has been employed solely for the sake of clearness.[1] And (lastly,) what has been stated in the above Paribhâshâ, follows (already) from the fact that the word विधीयते 'is taught' is supplied both in (Paribhâshâ)[2] P. I., 1, 3 and in P. I., 2, 28, for in the case of no other (Paribhâshâ besides those two) would any result accrue from the above (Paribhâshâ if it were really adopted). More hereof elsewhere.[3]

P. स्थानेति । स्थानशब्दार्थेनिरूपितसंबन्ध इत्यर्थः ॥ परेति । षष्ठी स्थान इत्यर्थः । किंत्वन्तरङ्गत्वलभ्यः । तथा सत्यन्यार्थज्ञापनसंभवेऽपि नोक्तार्थज्ञापनसंभव इति भावः ॥

1. *Scil.* and not, to indicate that P. I., 1, 49 or the Antaranga-paribhâshâ is *anitya*.

2. See above pag. 449, note 1.

3. अन्यत्र *i. e.* उद्द्योतादौ. P.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XCIV.

One might say that there can be no reason why (when one wishes to say) *e. g.* ('he adores the gods') देव should, after नमस्करोति or नमस्यति, not receive the termination of the Dative case by P. II., 3, 16 (according to which rule नमः governs the Dative.[1] The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. XCIV: A case-termination, which (if it were added to a base would show that the person or thing denoted by that base) is (instrumental

1. See Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 19: नमसः क्यचि द्वितीयानुपपत्तिः । नमसः क्यचि द्वितीया नोपपद्यते । नमस्यति देवानिति । किं कारणम् । नमःशब्देन योगे चतुर्थी विधीयते सा प्राप्नोति । प्रकृत्यन्तरत्वात्सिद्धम् । नमःशब्देन योगे चतुर्थी विधीयते नमस्यतिशब्दश्चायम् । ननु च नमस्यतिशब्दे नमःशब्दोऽस्ति तेन योगे प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । अथवानो नमःशब्दस्य ग्रहणं न च नमस्यतिशब्दे नमःशब्दोऽर्थवान् ॥ अथवोपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसीति द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भविष्यति ॥—Si. Kau. I., pag. 282.

in) bringing about the action (denoted by the verb of a sentence), possesses greater force than a case-termination (which might be added to the same base) because of the presence (in the same sentence) of a word (requiring the addition of that particular termination, and it accordingly is added in preference to the latter).[1]

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1. Accordingly देव has in नमस्यति देवान् received the termination of the Accusative case by P. II., 3, 2, because the Accusative shows that the gods are the object of the action denoted by नमस्यति; and it has not received the termination of the Dative which case according to P. II., 3, 16 is governed by the word नमः.

Similarly, in गाः स्वामी व्रजति, गो has for the same reason received the termination of the Accusative, and not the termination of the Genitive or Locative which cases according to P. II., 3, 39 are governed by the word स्वामिन्.

[See Bhâshya on P. II., 3, 19: सहयुक्तेऽप्रधानवचनमनर्थकमुपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयस्त्वादन्यत्रापि । सहयुक्तेऽप्रधानवचनमनर्थकम् । किं कारणम् । उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयस्त्वात् । अन्यत्राप्युपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसीति प्रथमा भवति । एवमत्राप्युपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसीति प्रथमा भविष्यति । क्वान्यत्र । गाः स्वामी व्रजतीति ॥

Kaiyata: सहयुक्त इति । अप्रधानवचनं प्रधाननिवृत्त्यर्थं क्रियते प्रधानस्य चान्तरङ्गत्वात्कारकविभक्तिर्भविष्यतीति नार्थस्तन्निवृत्त्यर्थेनाप्रधानवचनेनेत्यर्थः । शिष्येण सहोपाध्यायस्य गौरित्यत्रापि गवा संबन्धोऽन्तरङ्ग इत्युपाध्यायात्षष्ठ्येव भविष्यति न तृतीया ॥ गाः स्वामी व्रजतीति । अत्रापि व्रजिक्रियायां गवां कर्मत्वात्तन्निबन्धना द्वितीया स्वामीश्वरेति प्राप्ते उपपदविभक्तौ षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ बाधित्वा प्रवर्तते ॥]

In अन्तरा त्वां मां च कमण्डलुः, कमण्डलु has received the termination of the Nominative which shows that कमण्डलु is the agent of the action 'to be,' (denoted by अस्ति which has to be supplied), not the termination of the Accusative which case according to P. II., 3, 4 is governed by अन्तरा.

A[1] *Kâraka*-termination is (here) a case-termination which shows that (the person or thing denoted by the base to which it is added) is (instrumental in) bringing about an action; and as the termination of the Nomin. case likewise does show this, it too is a *Kâraka*-termination (in the sense in which that term is employed in this Paribhâshâ). This has been suggested in the Bhâshya on the rules P. II., 3, 19 etc.

This (Paribhâshâ is not based on any more general maxim[2] but) is quite an independent statement. It is this circumstance[3] which has enabled (the author of the) Bhâshya on the rule P. V., 1, 96 to hint, (and) Kaiyaṭa to state distinctly, that by this

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[See Bhâshya on P. II., 3, 4: अन्तरान्तरेणयुक्तानामप्रधानवचनम् (refuted by the present Paribhâshâ); and Kaiyaṭa: अस्तीति क्रियानुषङ्गात्कमण्डलोः कर्तृत्वं तच्च तिङभिहितमिति प्रथमा कारकविभक्तिः सा चान्तरङ्गा क्रियाकारकयोः संबन्धस्यान्तरङ्गत्वात् । उपपदार्थेन तु क्रियाद्वारकः संबन्ध इति तन्निमित्ता बहिरङ्गा विभक्तिः ॥]

Cf. also the Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 96 (अपि सर्पिषो विन्दुः स्यात्, where विन्दु stands by the present Par. in the Nom. case, not in the Genitive which would be governed by अपि); and Kaiyaṭa: सर्वत्रैव वाक्येऽनश्यमाख्यं क्रियया ततः सत्तया । तत्र विन्दोः प्रथमं स्यादित्यनेन संबन्धोऽन्तरङ्गः पश्चात्तु तद्वारको ऽपिशब्देन ॥. See also Bhâshya on P. II., 3, 9.

1. P.: कारकाधिकारपठितसंज्ञानिमित्तकविभक्तित्वं कारकविभक्तित्वमिति भ्रमनिरासायाह कारकेति ॥ The term *Kâraka* of this Paribhâshâ cannot be equivalent to *Kâraka* in P. I., 4, 23 because otherwise the termination of the Nomin. case would not have been treated as a *Kâraka*-termination in the Bhâshya on P. II., 3, 19; 4; etc.; कारक is taken here simply in its etymological sense.— उपपदविभक्ति which Bhairavamis'ra explains by उपपदविभक्तित्वं पदयोगनिमित्तकविभक्तित्वम्, appears to be any case-termination which is not a *Kârakavibhakti*.

2. Such as the *Antaranga*-nyâya; see above Kaiyaṭa on P. II., 3, 4; 19 etc.

3. *Viz.* that the Paribhâshâ is an independent statement and is not based *e. g.* on the *Antaranga*-nyâya.

maxim the Locative which results from P. II., 3, 36 possesses greater force than the Locative resulting from P. II., 3, 37;[1] thereby the statement,[2] that *Kâraka* is that which is connected with an action, is refuted, *viz.* because (a person or thing denoted by a base which ends with) the Locative-termination resulting from P. II., 3, 37, is likewise connected with an action.[3]

Those[4] however who maintain, that *Kâraka*-terminations possess greater force because their addition (to a base) depends on the connection (of the person or thing denoted by that base) with an action, and because the latter is more important[5] (than

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1. *I. e.* that by this Paribhâshâ तत्र in P. IV., 3, 53 is the Loc. of P. II., 3, 36, not of P. II., 3, 37. If the Paribhâshâ were based *e. g.* on the *Antaranga*-nyâya, the Bhâshya and Kaiyaṭa would be wrong because, the Loc. of P. II., 3, 36 not being *antaranga* in regard to the Loc. of P. II., 3, 37, the present Par. could not have been applied.

See Bhâshya on P. V., 1, 96: किमिदं भवान्कार्यग्रहणमेव प्रत्याचष्टे न पुनर्दीयतेग्रहणमपि । यथैव हि यन्मासे कार्यं तन्मासे भवं भवत्येवं यदपि मासे दीयते तदपि मासे भवं भवति । तत्र तत्र भवः [४.३.५३] इत्येव सिद्धम् । न सिध्यति । न तन्मासे दीयते । किं तर्हि । मासे गते । एवं तर्ह्यौपश्लेषिकमधिकरणं विज्ञास्यते ।....

Kaiyaṭa: मासे गते ॥ मासे दीयत इति नैषाधिकरणसप्तमी । किं तर्हि । यस्य च भावेनेति । तत्र भव इत्यत्र चाधिकरणसप्तम्याश्रितोपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसीति न्यायादिह त्वतिदेशसामर्थ्याद्भावलक्षणसप्तमीपरिग्रहः ॥ औपश्लेषिकमिति । मासेऽतिक्रान्ते यदीयते तस्य मास औपश्लेषिकमधिकरणामिति तत्र भव इत्यनेनैव सिद्धमित्यर्थः । कारकप्रकरणे च गौणस्यापि संज्ञा भवतीत्युक्तम् ॥

2. Of Bhaṭṭojîdîkshita and others. P.

3. *Scil.* and would, contrary to the Bhâshya on P. V., 1, 96, likewise be a *Kâraka* if Bhaṭṭojîdîkshita's statement were correct.

See P. तथा चोभयोरपि कारकविभक्तित्वादुक्तभाष्यासंगतिरेवेति भावः ॥

4. प्रधानन्यायमूलिकेयमिति सीरदेवादुक्तिं खण्डयति । ये त्विति । सीरदेवादय इत्यर्थः । P.

5. See Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 4, 96, above pag. 454; and S'abdavyutpattikaumudî by Râjârâmas'âstrin: above pag. 389.

whatever else may be denoted by the words of a sentence), they (too) evidently come in conflict with the above (Bhâshya on P. V., 1, 96) because both (the addition of the Locative-termination resulting from P. II., 3, 36 and that resulting from P. II., 3, 37) are dependent on the connection (of the persons or things denoted by the bases to which they are added) with an action;[1] and they come in conflict also with the Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 19, where, to prevent the addition of the Dative-termination to देव, after नमस्याति etc., (the present Paribhâshâ) has been made use of.[2] Hereby (another statement) is refuted (too, *viz.* this) that,[3] 'because the relation which obtains between an action and that which is instrumental in bringing about that action, is *antaranga*,[4] a case-termination (the addition of which is) caused by such (a relation) is (likewise) *antaranga*; whereas (a case-termination the addition of which would be) caused by a relation (obtaining between that which is denoted by the base to which it is added and) that which is denoted by the word (which would require its addition), is *bahiranga*, because such a relation is always preceded by some relation or other obtaining between an action and something which is instrumental in bringing about that action';[5] for

1. *Scil.* and because the one could therefore not possess more force than the other.

2. नमःपदार्थेऽत्र देवस्य क्रियाकारकभावेनैवान्वयेन तुल्यत्वादिति भावः । P.

3. See Kaiyata above pag. 453, note 1.

4. अन्तरङ्ग इति । तद्विना पदार्थान्तरानन्वयात् ॥ P.

5. यत्किंचिदिति । सर्वत्र संबन्धस्य किंचित्क्रियाकारकभावमूलकत्वात् । यथा स्वं क्रयादिनिबन्धनमिति भावः ॥ P.— यथा राज्ञः पुरुष इत्यत्र पुरुषनिष्ठस्य राजपदार्थनिरूपितस्वस्वामिभावात्मकसंबन्धस्य क्रयणपोषणादिक्रियाकर्मभावो निमित्तं तद्वत् ॥ Bhairavamis'ra.

in the case of नमस्यति the relation obtaining (between 'the gods' and) what is denoted by the word नमः is likewise no other than 'a relation obtaining between an action and something which is instrumental in bringing about that action';[1] here namely what is denoted by the word नमः is too of the nature of an action, just as (what is denoted by) मुण्ड is of the nature of an action in मुण्डयति.[2] Besides in the Bhâshya on P. II., 3, 19 etc. the present (Paribhâshâ) has been made use of to prove that that to which the main importance attaches takes the termination of the Nominative case.[3] More[4] hereof elsewhere.

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1. *I. e.* If the Accus.-termination after देव were *antaranga*, the Dative-termination would be so likewise, and the Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 19 would be incorrect. This is explained in the following: 'here namely'..

2. Bhairavamis'ra: ननु नमःपदस्य नामत्वेन तदर्थस्याक्रियात्वात्तत्र क्रियाकारकभावसंबन्धेनान्वय इत्यननुपपन्नमित्यत आह । अत्र चेति । नमस्यतीत्यत्रेत्यर्थः ॥ मुण्डस्येवेति । यथा तत्र णिजन्तस्य धातुत्वात्तद्घटकमुण्डशब्दार्थस्य क्रियात्वं तथा नमस्यतीत्यत्र यजन्तस्य धातुत्वात्तद्घटकनमःपदार्थस्य क्रियात्वमिति भावः ॥

3. Which shows that it is an independent Paribhâshâ.

4. न चैवं नमश्चकार देवेभ्यो रावणाय नमस्कुर्या इति भट्टिप्रयोगासंगतिः । अनुकूलयितुमित्यर्थेन निर्वाहात् । नमःस्वस्ति [२.३.१६] इति चतुर्थीति जयमङ्गलोक्तिस्तु चिन्त्यैवाकहेतोः । तदाह । अन्यत्रेति । उद्द्योतादावित्यर्थः ॥ P.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XCV.

One might say that, (when) *e. g.* (अच् has been added to अदस्, and when subsequently अद्रि has by P. VI., 3, 92 been substituted for the अस् of अदस्), मु ought (by P. VIII., 2, 80) to be substituted (not only for the द् of अदद्रि+अच्, but) also for the

preceding (द.[1] The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. XCV: When a change (which is taught in a rule) does not concern a final (letter), then (it must be understood to concern) that which immediately precedes the final.[2]

The meaning of (अन्त्यसदेशस्य) is this that, whenever (a change taught in a rule of grammar) would in one and the same form have to affect both something which immediately precedes the final letter and also something which is separated from the final (by another letter or other letters,[3] it is allowed to affect) only that which immediately precedes the final. If such were not (the meaning of अन्त्यसदेशस्य), न् and स् which (by P. VI., 1, 65 and 64) are substituted for initial (ण् and ष्) of a root, would (by the present Paribhâshâ) have to be substituted only *e. g.* in णी, षु etc., (where ण् and ष् immediately precede the final), but not in णम्, षिच् etc. (because the ण् and ष् of these latter roots are sepa-

1 *I. e.* अदाद्रि+अच् ought to be changed to अमुमुयच्, whereas अदमुयच् is supposed to be the correct form.

2. Accordingly मु can by P. VIII., 2, 80 be substituted only for the द्र् of अदाद्र, and not also for the द preceding it.—Others however say that मु is substituted both for द्र् and for द, and others, that it is not substituted at all. See Kârikâ on P. VIII., 2, 80:

अदसोऽद्रेः पृथङ्मुत्वं केचिदिच्छन्ति लत्ववत् ।
केचिदन्त्यसदेशस्य नेत्यकेऽसीह दृश्यते ॥

Kaiyaṭa: य न सिः असिरिति सकारान्तप्रतिषेधमाश्रयन्ति नान्त्यसदेशपरिभाषां ते अमुमुयङ्डीनीच्छन्ति यथा चलीकृप्यत इति रेफद्वयस्य लत्वम् । अन्त्यसदेशपरिभाषाश्रये त्वदमुयङ्डिति ॥ ये तु त्यदाद्यत्वविषय एव मुत्वमिच्छन्ति तेऽदद्यङ्डिति मन्यन्ते । असेर्हीति । अः सेर्यस्य सोऽसिस्तस्येत्यर्थः ॥ .—Si. Kau. I., pag. 180.

3. In अदाद्रि+अच् मु would have to be substituted by P. VIII., 2, 80 both for द्र् and for द; but by the present Paribhâshâ it is allowed to be substituted only for द्र्.

rated from the final by another letter.) The (Locative) अनन्त्यविकारे shows (where the Paribhâshâ is applicable, *viz.* that it is applicable wherever the change taught in a rule does not concern a final letter.[1] A letter is) अन्त्यसदेश when it stands in the same place[2] where the final stands ;[3] and such must be understood to be the case when it is not separated from the final by another letter. For this very reason (the present Paribhâshâ cannot teach us that the Samprasâraṇa which by P. VI., 1, 16 is substituted in व्यच्, is substituted only for the य् of that root, for, य् *being* separated from the final by the letter अ, the Paribhâshâ cannot be applied here; and accordingly, in enabling us) to account for forms like विद्ध etc., the rule P. VI., 1, 37 does serve a purpose.[4]

Facts such as these that *e. g.* in the Instr. Sing. of अनस्यक्षन् the first, (second, and third) अ are not elided by P. VI., 4, 134, result likewise from this (Paribhâshâ. If the latter were not applied in the case of अनस्यक्षन्, the first, second and third अ of this base would certainly have to be elided by P. VI., 4, 134;) for, as an affix postulates as its complement that portion (of the word which

1. P. The meaning of the Paribhâshâ is therefore : यत्रानन्यविकारस्तत्रान्यसदेशस्येत्युपतिष्ठते.

2. The स in सदेश is equivalent to समान, not to सह.

3. Or, in other words, when it is uttered at the same time at which the final is uttered.

4. In the Past Pass. Ptc. Samprasâraṇa has by P. VI., 1, 16 to be substituted in व्यच् ; and as व्यच् contains two letters for which Samprasâraṇa can be substituted, *viz.* व् and य्, Samprasâraṇa ought to be substituted for व् as well as for य्. Now one might say that by the present Par. Samprasâraṇa ought to be substituted only for य because it is nearest to the final ; but this would be incorrect. As य् does not precede the final *immediately*, the Par. cannot be applied here, and we want the rule P. VI., 1, 37 to teach us that Samprasâraṇa is substituted only for य्, not for व्.

is called) 'the base,' the true meaning (of P. VI., 4, 134) can only be this that 'Lopa (is substituted) for the letter अ of a base ending in अन् provided (that base) be followed by any one of those (of the affixes) सु etc. that begin with य् or with a vowel (and are not *sarvanâmasthâna*.' And that *e. g.* the non-elision of the first, second, and third अ of अनस्तक्षत् is rightly regarded as one of the results accruing from this Paribhâshâ,) follows from the circumstance that it is simpler to employ the (Paribhâshâ) than to have repeatedly recourse to such forced interpretations as that is (according to which P. VI., 4, 134 is made to convey the meaning that 'Lopa is substituted for the अ) of an अन् which forms part of a base and is immediately followed by any one of those (of the affixes) सु etc. that begin with य् or with a vowel (and are not *sarvanâmasthâna*).'[1]

And one ought not to err so far as to believe that this (Paribhâshâ) has been rejected in the Bhâshya[2] on P. VI., 1, 13; for although (the author of the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 13) has shown that those forms (the correct formation of which had by the author) of the Vârttikas been stated to result (from this Paribhâshâ) can be formed without it, if namely certain forced interpretations (of some of Pâṇini's rules) are resorted to, he nevertheless winds up with the statement that the Paribhâshâ should be adopted for the sake of those (forms which cannot be formed without it and) for which therefore it is necessary, (but) that it should not be applied whenever any wrong forms would result (from its application); and that, to show where it should not be applied, an Udâtta should be assigned (in the rules where it *is* appli-

1. See above pag. 451, note 2.

2. See extract from the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 13 below.

cable.)[1] Moreover (the Paribhâshâ must be adopted) for (the correct formation of) मिमार्जिषति (the Desid. of मृज्); when namely (मृज्) has here been reduplicated (and this must be done before Vṛiddhi is substituted (for ऋ by P. VII., 2, 114), because (the reduplication is) *antaranga*[2] (in regard to the substitution of Vṛiddhi)], and when then the various operations that concern the reduplicative syllable have taken place, (and they likewise must take place before the substitution of Vṛiddhi by P. VII., 2, 114) because (the rules VII., 4 59 etc. that teach them) follow upon (P. VII., 2, 114,—the Paribhâshâ) is necessary to prevent (the substitution of) Vṛiddhi for the letter इ of the reduplicative syllable (which would have to take place if the Paribhâshâ were not applied). Nor can one account for the formation (of मिमार्जिषति) by saying that, when Vṛiddhi has been substituted (for the इ of the reduplicative syllable, the rule P. VII., 4, 59 which teaches) the substitution of a short vowel for the vowel of a reduplicative syllable takes effect a second time; for by the maxim[3] 'that in the formation of one and the same form a rule can be applied only once' (*P.* VII., 4, 59) cannot be applied a second time.

The words नैतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि, however, which we read

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1. P. यथा स्वरितेनाधिकारस्तथा प्रतिज्ञाप्रयितेनोदात्तेनैतत्परिभाषाप्रवृत्तिः। तथा चानन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्योदात्तनिर्देश इति पाठ्यम्। तथा च न तदुक्तसकलफलानामन्यथासिद्धिः किंतु केषांचिदेवेति तदर्थमप्यावश्यकीयमिति भावः॥

Bhairavamis'ra': यथा यथासंख्येति सूत्रे स्वरितेनेत्यस्य संबन्धादत्र यथासंख्यमभिप्रेतं तत्र स्वरितत्वं प्रतिज्ञातमिति कल्पना तथेहाप्यनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्योदात्तनिर्देश इति पठनीयमिति। अनन्त्यविकारबोधकशब्दश्च तत्तल्लोदात्तगुणकः पठनीय इति भावः॥

2. *Viz.* अपरानिमित्तकत्वात्, सन्यङोः in P. VI., 1, 9 being a Genitive. See above pag. 52.

3. See Par. CXI.

in the Bhâshya[1] on P. VI., 1, 37, have this meaning: 'The objects for which this rule (P. VI., 1, 37) has been given, are not the objects of this Paribhâshâ, because the semivowels य् etc. in व्यङ् etc. do not immediately precede the final.' In some books we find the different reading नैतान्येतस्याः प्रयोजनानि (which admit of no other interpretation but the one just given).

This (Paribhâshâ is established neither by a Jnâpaka nor by a Nyâya but) is an independent statement; and it is found in the Bhâshya on the rule P. VI., 1, 13,[2] and on the rule P. VIII., 2, 80 (in which latter passage it is quoted in the words of the Kârikâ)[3] केचिदन्यसदेशस्य. More elsewhere.[4]

1. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 37: एवं तर्ह्यनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्येति। अनन्त्यसदेशो यो यण् तस्य कार्यं भविष्यति। नैतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि ॥

2. Also on P. I., 1, 3.

3. See above pag 458, note 2.

4. अन्यत्र *i. e.* भाष्यादौ. P.

Extract from the Bhâshya[1] on P. VI., 1, 13:

व्यङन्ते यावन्तो यणस्तेषां सर्वेषां संप्रसारणं प्राप्नोति। वाराहीपुत्रः। तार्णकर्णीपुत्रः। तत्राप्रत्ययस्थस्य प्रतिषेधः। तत्राप्रत्ययस्थस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः। यथागृहीतस्यादेशवचनादप्रत्ययस्थे सिद्धम्। निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्येवमप्रत्ययस्थस्य न भविष्यति ॥ अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य वा। अथवानन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवतीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या। कः पुनरत्र विशेष एषा वा परिभाषा क्रियेताप्रत्ययस्थस्य वा प्रतिषेध उच्येत। अवश्यमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या। बहून्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि। कानि। प्रयोजनं न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम्। न संप्रसारणे

1. Kaiyata: हंसशिरांसीति। अनुस्वारस्यासिद्धत्वाद्धकारोकारस्य दीर्घप्रसङ्गः ॥

संप्रसारणम् [६.१.३७] इत्येतन्न वक्तव्यं भवति । कथं व्यधेर्विद्ध इति । अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवतीति न दोषो भवति । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । क्रियते न्यास एव ॥ सान्तमहतो दीर्घत्वे प्रयोजनम् । पयांसि यशांसि । प य इत्यस्यापि प्राप्नोति । अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवतीति न दोषो भवति । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । नोपधायाः [६.४.७] इति तत्र वर्तते । एवमप्यनांसि मनांसीत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । सान्तसंयोगेन नोपधां विशेषयिष्यामः । सान्तसंयोगस्य नोपधाया इति । एवमपि हंसशिरांसि ध्वंसशिरांसि अत्रापि प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । हृन्मतेर्हंसः । कः पुनराह हृन्मतेर्हंस इति । किं तर्हि । हन्तेर्हंसो हन्त्यष्वानमिति । एवं तर्हि सर्वनामस्थान इति वर्तते । सर्वनामस्थानपरतया सान्तसंयोगं विशेषयिष्यामः सान्तसंयोगेन नोपधां विशेषयिष्यामः । सर्वनामस्थानपरस्य सान्तसंयोगस्य नोपधाया इति ॥ अन्कारान्तस्याल्लोपे प्रयोजनम् । See above pag. 451, note 2. योऽकार इति ॥ मृजेर्वृद्धिविधौ प्रयोजनम् । न्यमार्ट् । अटोऽपि वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति । अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवतीति न दोषो भवति । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । यथापरिभाषितमिको गुणवृद्धी इतीक एव वृद्धिर्भविष्यति । एवमपि मिमार्जिषतीत्यत्र प्राप्नोति । अस्तु । अभ्यासनिर्ज्ञानेन इस्वो भविष्यति ॥ वसोः संप्रसारणे । वसोः संप्रसारणे च प्रयोजनम् । विदुषः पश्य । विदिवकारस्यापि प्राप्नोति । अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्येति न दोषो भवति । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणमिति प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति । इद्कारेण व्यवहितत्वान्न प्राप्नोति । एवं तर्हि निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीति न भविष्याति ॥ युवादीनां च संप्रसारणे प्रयोजनम् । यूनः पश्य यूना यूने । यकारस्यापि प्राप्नोति । अनन्त्य-

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हन्तेरिति । वृतृवदिहनि [उण० ३.६२] इति लक्षणसद्भावात् ॥ हन्तीति । गच्छतीत्यर्थः ॥ यथापरिभाषितमिति । परिभाषितानतिक्रमेणेत्यर्थः ॥ अभिभरिति । उभृञो लङ्लिटोर-

विकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्येति न दोषो भवति । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणमिति न भविष्यति । उकारेण व्यवहितत्वान्न प्राप्नोति । एकादेशे कृते नास्ति व्यवधानम् । एकादेशः पूर्वविधौ स्थानिवद्भवतीति स्थानिवद्भावाद्व्यवधानमेव । एवं तर्हि समानाङ्ग्रहणं तत्र चोदयिष्यति ॥ वोरुपधाग्रहणं च । वोरुपधाग्रहणं न कर्तव्यं भवति । वोरुपधाया दीर्घ इकः [८.२.७६] इति । इह कस्मान्न भवति । अबिभर्भवान् । अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्येति न दोषो भवति । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । क्रियते न्यास एव ॥ आदित्यदादिविधिसंयोगादिलोपकुत्वढत्वभष्भावषत्वणत्वेष्वतिप्रसङ्गः । आदिविधावतिप्रसङ्गो भवति । धात्वादेः षः सः [६.१.६४] णो नः [६५] । इहैव स्यात् । नेता सोता । इह न स्यात् । नमति सिञ्चतीति ॥ त्यदादिविधिः । इहैव स्यात् । तद् सः । त्यद् स्य इत्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ संयोगादिलोपः । इहैव स्यात् । मङ्क्ता । मङ्क्तव्यमित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ कुत्वम् । इहैव स्यात् । पक्ता । पक्तव्यमित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ ढत्वम् । इहैव स्यात् । लेढा । लेढव्यमित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ भष्भावः । इहैव स्यात् । अभुत्सि । अभुत्सातामित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ षत्वम् । इहैव स्यात् । द्रष्टा । द्रष्टव्यमित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ णत्वम् । इहैव स्यात् । माषवापेण । माषवापाणामित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ एते दोषाः समा भूयांसो वा । तस्मान्नार्थोऽनया परिभाषया । न हि दोषाः सन्तीति परिभाषा न वक्तव्या लक्षणं वा न प्रणेयं न हि भिक्षुकाः सन्तीति स्थाल्यो नाधिश्रीयन्ते न च मृगाः सन्तीति यवा नोप्यन्ते । दोषाः खल्वपि साकल्येन परिगणिताः प्रयोजनानामुदाहरणमात्रम् । कुत एतत् । न हि दोषाणां लक्षणमस्ति । तस्माद्यान्यतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि तदर्थमेषा

न्यतरः शप्श्लुः द्विर्वचनम् । भृञामित् [७.४.७६] इतीत्त्वम् ॥ सोतेति । धात्वन्त्यसदेशस्यैव सत्वनत्वप्रसङ्गः ॥ स्य इत्यत्रेति । तदोः सः सावनन्त्ययोः [७.२.१०६] इति सत्वं नकारस्यान्त्यसदेशत्वाभावान्न प्राप्नोति ॥ मङ्क्तव्यमिति । पदान्त्यसदेशत्वाभावात्संयोगादिलोपाप्रसङ्गः ॥ माषवापाणामिति । विभक्तिस्थस्य नकारस्य पदान्त्यसदेशत्वाभावाण्णत्वाप्रसङ्गः ॥

परिभाषा कर्तव्या प्रतिविधेयं दोषेषु ॥ इदं प्रतिविधीयत **उदात्तनिर्देशा**-त्सिद्धम् । यत्रैषा परिभाषेष्यते तत्रोदात्तनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः । ततो वक्तव्य-मनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवत्युदात्तनिर्देश इति । स तर्ह्युदात्त-निर्देशः कर्तव्यः । **न कर्तव्यः** । **यत्रैवान्त्यसदेशश्चानन्त्यसदेशश्च** युगपत्समवस्थितौ तत्रैषा परिभाषा भवति दोषेषु चान्यत्रान्त्यसदेशो ऽन्यत्रानन्त्यसदेशः प्रयोजनेषु पुनस्तत्रैवान्त्यसदेशश्चानन्त्यसदेशश्च । तथाजातीयकानि खल्वप्याचार्येण प्रयोजनानि पठितानि यान्युभयवन्ति भवन्ति । **इदमेकं** यथा दोषास्तथा वोरुपधाग्रहणमिति अविभर्भवान् तच्चापि क्रियते न्यास एव ॥

उदात्तनिर्देशादिति । यथा स्वरितेनाधिकार एवमुदात्तेनैषा परिभाषेत्यर्थः ॥ न कर्तव्य इति । सर्वत्रापि परिभाषोपस्थाने दोषाभावात् ॥ यत्रैवेति । विधिनिषेधयोरेकविषयत्वाश्रयणात् ॥ इदमेकमिति । अविभरित्यत्रान्त्यसदेशस्येकोऽसंभवादनन्त्यसदेशस्येकः प्राप्नोति दीर्घ उपधा-ग्रहणेन निवर्त्यते ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XCVI.

P. VI., 1, 98 teaches that when the imitative name of an inarticulate sound ending in अत् is followed by इति, the initial इ of इति is substituted for अत् and the इ by which it is followed. Now one might say that, when this rule is applied *e. g.* in the case of पटत्+इति, (इ would) by P. I., 1, 52 have to be substituted for the *final* (of पटत् and the initial इ of इति, in other words, that the result of the combination ought to be पटेति and not) पटति. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. XCVI: The rule P. I., 1, 52, by which a substitute should take the place of only the final letter (of

that which is exhibited in the Genitive case), is not (valid) where (what is exhibited in the Genitive) is meaningless, provided (the rule teaching the substitution) does not teach a change in a reduplicative syllable.[1]

In consequence of the expression अनभ्यासविकारे 'provided (the rule teaching the substitution) does not teach a change in a reduplicative syllable,' the इ *e. g.* (the substitution of which is taught) in P. VII., 4, 76, has in बिभर्ति etc. (taken the place) of only the final (of and not of the whole of the reduplicative syllable of भृ etc.). Elsewhere[2] it has been shown that a reduplicative syllable is meaningless because the meaning (of the root) is not repeated (when the latter is reduplicated), and that only that portion (of a reduplicated form) which follows (the reduplicative syllable, *i. e.* the radical portion of it,) conveys a meaning. This (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya[3] on P. I., 1, 65, and has there been rejected too, on the ground that whatever is supposed to result from it, can be accounted for otherwise; this may be ascertained from the (Bhâshya) itself.

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1. अभ्यासविषयभिन्नानर्थके स न. P.—Accordingly, पटत्+इति becomes पटिति. Similarly, the Lopa taught in P. VI., 4, 119 is substituted for the *whole* Redupl. syllable; the Lopa taught in P. VII., 2, 113 is substituted for the *whole* इद्; the Lopa taught in P. VII., 4, 58 is substituted for the *whole* Redupl. syllable.—Si. Kau. I., pag. 153.

2. अन्यत्र *i. e.* शेखरादौ. P.

3. Ed. Ballantyne pag. 732. See also Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 123: अनर्थकेऽलोऽन्त्यविधिर्नेत्येवं न प्राप्नोति । नैतस्याः सन्ति परिभाषस्याः प्रयोजनानि ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XCVII.

One might maintain that in (stead of) *e. g.* ब्राह्मणवत्सा च ब्राह्मणीवत्सश्च one ought (to be allowed) to employ by P. I., 2, 67 simply the one (masculine form ब्राह्मणवत्सौ),[1] because (ब्राह्मणवत्सा and ब्राह्मणीवत्स) differ in nothing except this that one is feminine and the other masculine. To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. XCVII: When of two things one is more important than the other, an operation (which is applicable to both) is understood to have reference only to that which is more important.[2]

Accordingly (we are) not (by P. I., 2, 67) allowed (to say ब्राह्मणवत्सौ instead of ब्राह्मणवत्सा च ब्राह्मणीवत्सश्च), because (ब्राह्मणवत्सा and ब्राह्मणीवत्स) differ not only in this that the more important (word वत्स) is feminine in the one and masculine in the other, but differ besides also in this that the less important (word ब्राह्मण) is (likewise) feminine in the one and masculine in the other.[3] This (Paribhâshâ is made use of) in the Bhâshya on P. I., 2,

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1. Just as one by P. I., 2, 67 may say ब्राह्मणश्च ब्राह्मणी च = ब्राह्मणौ, or वत्सश्च वत्सा च = वत्सौ.

2. This Paribhâshâ is *Lokanyâya-siddhâ*; see Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 2, 69 below; and especially the Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 1 which is not quoted by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa: प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययाद्वा सिद्धम्.... तद्यथा बहुषु यासु कश्चित्कंचित्पृच्छति कौ यानीति स आह राजेति राजन्युक्ते प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययाद्यः पृच्छति यश्च कथयत्युभयोः संप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. See Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 67:.... एवं च कृत्वेहापि प्राप्तिः । ब्राह्मणवत्सा च ब्राह्मणीवत्सश्चेति । एवं तर्हीदमिह व्यपदेश्यं सदाचार्यो न व्यपदिशति । किम् । तदित्यनुवर्तते । तदित्यनेन प्रकृतौ स्त्रीपुंसौ प्रतिनिर्दिश्येते । कौ च प्रकृती । प्रधाने । प्रधानं या शब्दस्त्री प्रधानं यार्थस्त्रीति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: एवं तर्हीति । निरपदं न व्यपदिशतीत्यर्थः ॥ सूत्रोपात्त एवायमर्थो येनात्र न

67 and on[1] P. I., 2, 69. From the Bhâshya and Kaiyaṭa's (commentary) on P. III., 1, 26 it appears that that which is more important possesses greater force even than something else which is *antaranga* (in regard to it), or something else on which its own existence is dependent.[2]

भवत्येकशेष इत्याह तदित्यनेनेति ॥ स्त्रीपुंसयोः सहविवक्षायामेकशेषः स च प्रधानयोरेव भवतीति यत्र प्रधानस्त्रीपुंसकृतो विशेषस्तत्रैकशेषः । इहाप्रधानकृतोऽपीत्येकशेषाभावः ॥

1. See Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 69: अयं योगः शक्योऽवक्तुम् । कथं शुक्लश्च कम्बलः शुक्लं च वस्त्रं तदिदं शुक्लं ते इमे शुक्ले शुक्लश्च कम्बलः शुक्ला च बृहतिका शुक्लं च वस्त्रं तदिदं शुक्लं तानीमानि शुक्लानि । प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययाच्छेषः । प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययाच्छेषो भविष्यति । किं च प्रधानम् । नपुंसकम् । कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते नपुंसकं प्रधानमिति । एवं हि दृश्यते लोके । अनिर्ज्ञातेऽर्थे गुणसंदेहे च नपुंसकलिङ्गं प्रयुज्यते । किं जातमित्युच्यते द्रव्यं चैव हि जायते स्त्री वा पुमान्वा । तथा विदूरेऽव्यक्तरूपं दृष्ट्वा वक्तारो भवन्ति महिषीरूपमिव ब्राह्मणीरूपमिव । प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययान्नपुंसकस्य शेषो भविष्यति ॥ इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् । एकवचनस्यान्यतरस्यामिति वक्ष्यामीति । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । आकृतिवाचित्वादेकवचनम् । आकृतिवाचित्वादेकवचनं भविष्यति । यदा द्रव्याभिधानं तदा द्विवचनबहुवचने भविष्यतः ॥

Extract from Kaiyaṭa: प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययादिति । शब्देनार्थस्याभिधानमिह कार्यम् । तच्च नपुंसकानपुंसकसंनिधौ नपुंसकस्यैव भविष्यतीति नार्थः सूत्रेणेत्यर्थः ॥ कथमिति । यथा लोके बहुषु गच्छत्सु राजा गच्छतीति प्रधानं राजा व्यपदिश्यते । राज्ञश्च प्राधान्यं तदधीनप्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तित्वादन्येषाम् । इह तु नपुंसकस्य किंकृतं प्राधान्यमिति प्रश्नः ॥

2. In the case of a Causal like पाचि 'to cause to cook' the action of 'cooking' is *antaranga* in regard to the 'causing to cook' and it is also *upajîvya* because the '*causing* to cook' cannot exist independently of the 'cooking'; but as the 'causing' is here *pradhâna i. e.* of more importance than the cooking, only he who *causes* to cook should be termed कर्तृ, whereas he who cooks, being less important, would, in reference to him who causes to cook, have to be termed कर्मन्, had Pânini not given the restrictive rule I., 4, 52.

See Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 26:.... अस्तु तर्हि प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणम् । यदि प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणं पाचयत्योदनं देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तेनेति प्रयोज्ये कर्तरि कर्मसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति । भवति हि तस्य तस्मिन्प्रीप्सा ॥ ..... नैष दोषः । यत्तावदुच्यते पाचयति.. प्राप्नोतीति

गतिबुद्धि [१.४.५२] इत्येतन्नियमार्थं भविष्यति । एतेषामेवाण्यन्तानां यः कर्ता स णौ कर्मसंज्ञो भवति नान्येषामिति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: भवति हीति । ण्यर्थस्य प्राधान्यात्तद्व्यापारेणेप्सिततमत्वात्प्रयोज्यस्येत्यर्थः । प्रकृत्यर्थविशेषणत्वे तु द्वयोरपि प्रयोज्यप्रयोजकव्यापारयोरेकधातुवाच्यत्वाद्धातुवाच्यव्यापारापेक्षया द्वयोरपि कर्तृत्वान्नेनाभिधानं प्राप्नोतीति दोष उक्तः ॥ ... एतेषामेवेति । ण्यर्थस्य प्राधान्यात्तेनेप्सिततमस्य प्रयोज्यस्य सिद्धा कर्मसंज्ञा । न च स्वव्यापारापेक्षया स्वातन्त्र्यात्प्रयोजकस्यैव कर्तृसंज्ञा प्राप्नोतीति वक्तुं युक्तम् । प्रयोज्यव्यापारस्याप्राधान्यात्प्रधानाप्रधानव्यापारसंनिधौ च प्रधाननिमित्तस्य कार्यस्य युक्तत्वात् । नियमेन तु प्रधानप्रयुक्तकार्यव्यावृत्तौ गुणनिमित्तकार्यसद्भावात्कर्तृत्वं भवत्येव । तदुक्तं हरिणा ।

गुणक्रियायां स्वातन्त्र्यात्प्रेषणे कर्मतां गतः ।
नियमात्कर्मसंज्ञायाः स्वातन्त्र्येणाभिधीयते ॥ इति ।

Cf. also Si. Kau. I., pag. 256, note 40.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XCVIII.

One might say that the prohibition (of the addition) to the word मातृ of (the feminine affix) ङीष् which results from the fact that (मातृ) is one of (the words) स्वसृ etc. (in P. IV., 1, 10), ought to extend also to the word मातृ denoting 'a measurer'. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. XCVIII : The (conventional) meaning which a word conveys when taken as a whole, is stronger than the (etymological) meaning derived from (a division of the word into) its parts.

Accordingly the word (मातृ referred to in P. IV., 1, 10) can only be the purely conventional (term मातृ) denoting 'a mother', not (the word मातृ) denoting 'a measurer.' The purely conventional meaning (of a word), which has no connection with the

etymological meaning[1] (of the latter), prevents, because it presents itself (first to our minds), our taking (that word) in its etymological sense ;[2] (and), such being the case, it is solely the (circumstance that the one meaning is, and that the other meaning is not, derived from) etymology, which gives rise to the present (Paribhâshâ). What[3] we have stated here, is established by the maxim according to which in the chapter treating of the *Rathakâra* (this word does not denote 'a chariot-maker,' but denotes a member of a particular mixed caste *viz.* the son of a Karaṇî by a Mâhishya).[4]

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1. P. शुद्धेत्यस्य व्याख्या तदनेति । यौगामिश्रेतेत्यर्थः । यद्वा यतस्तदनालिङ्गितत्वमतः शुद्धत्वमित्यर्थः । तथा च यौगिकरूढस्थले ऽयं प्रतिबन्ध्यप्रतिबन्धकभावो न यौगरूढस्थल इति बोध्यम् ॥

Words are divided into four classes; *yaugika, e. g.* पाचक 'cooking'; *rûdha, e. g.* गो 'a cow'; *yogarûdha, e. g.* पङ्कज 'a lotus' so called because 'it grows in pools'; and *yaugikarûdha i. e.* words which convey both an etymological and a conventional meaning, both being however independent of each other; *e. g.* उद्भिद् which means 'sprouting' and denotes also a particular sacrifice. (See Muktâvali, Ed. Roer, pag. 83). This Paribhâshâ has reference only to words of the last class.

2. *Viz.* unless there are particular reasons to the contrary.

3. अयमर्थः *i. e.* अयं प्रतिबन्ध्यप्रतिबन्धकभावः. P.

4. Chitprabhâ: रथकाराधिकरणेति । तत्र हि षष्ठस्य प्रथमे द्वादशाधिकरण आधानप्रकरणे वर्षासु रथकार आदधीतेति श्रुतं वाक्यं विषयीकृत्य तत्र रथकारो रथं करोतीति व्युत्पत्त्या कश्चित्त्रैवर्णिको ग्राह्य उत कश्चित्संकीर्णजातिविशेष इति विचारे प्रसक्ते तत्र प्रथमस्यैव ग्रहणं त्रैवर्णिकस्योपनीतत्वेन विद्याधिकारादाधानेऽप्यधिकारसंभवात्संकीर्णजातिविशेषस्य त्वनुपनीतत्वेन विद्याधिकाराभावादाधानासंभवः । न च तस्य संकीर्णजातिविशेषे रूढौ मानाभावः । माहिष्येण करण्यां तु रथकारः प्रजायत इति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तेस्तत्र प्रमाणत्वात् ॥ तथा हि वैश्यायां क्षत्रियादुत्पन्नो माहिष्यः शूद्रायां वैश्यादुत्पन्ना करणी तस्यां करण्यां माहिष्यादुत्पन्नो रथकारः । तस्मान्नास्ति रथकारस्याधाने ऽधिकार इति प्राप्ते । योगाद्रूढेर्बलीयस्त्वात्संकीर्णजातिविशेष एव रथकारो ग्राह्यः । न च तस्यानुपनीतत्वेन विद्यासद्भावात्कथमा-

One (scholar)[1] however maintains that by the present Paribhâshâ (दीङीवेवी) in P. I., 1, 6 denotes only (two roots, *viz.*) दीङी and वेवी, not (the four roots) दी, ङी, वे, and वी; others[2] say, that (for) this (the Paribhâshâ) would not have been (necessary because), had (Pâṇini) intended (to denote) those (four roots दी, ङी etc.), he would (to prevent all doubts) have said दीवेङीवीटाम् (instead of saying, as he does, दीङीवेवीटाम्).[3]

धानमिति वाच्यम्। तथा सत्येतद्विधिसामर्थ्यादेव वषर्तुषु तस्याधानकल्पनादिति सिद्धान्तः। तथा चैतदधिकरणन्यायसिद्धोऽयमर्थोऽनयप्रसिद्धेरिति सिद्धम्॥

1. *Viz.* Siradeva who, as appears from the manner in which he applies the Paribhâshâ, ascribes to it a different meaning.

2. अन्ये, *i. e.* न्यासकृदादयः. P.

3. Others say that the Paribhâshâ is unnecessary so far as regards मातृ in P. IV., 1, 10, because that term can, on account of its proximity to स्वसृ, already by Par. CIII. denote only the word मातृ 'mother.' (See note 37 on Si. Kau. I., pag. 138). Pâyagunda, referring to this, states that in such a case पाण्डुकम्बल in P. IV., 2, 11 would offer an instance for the present Paribhâshâ.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XCIX.

One might say that as (the substitution of) अव (for the ओ of गो which has taken place) in गवाक्ष, meaning 'a window,' is (by P. VI., 1, 123) optional, one should (be allowed to) form also गोक्ष etc.[1] (in the same sense). (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. XCIX: Occasionally operations which are stated to be optional, are not optional in the formation

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1. The आदि 'etc.' includes गोभक्ष.

of one and the same form, but must in particular instances necessarily take place, while in others they are not allowed to take place.[1]

(An optional operation) must be regarded to be (always optional) or (optional only in particular instances), according as the various forms (which have to be formed, or the formation of which has to be accounted for, by the rules of Pâṇini's grammar,) require (either one or the other. The Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya[2] on the rule P. VII., 4, 41 and on P.

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1. व्येति । विशिष्टविषयेऽवस्थितया विभाषया विकल्पेनेत्यर्थः । अपिः सार्वत्रिकाव्यवस्थितविभाषासमुच्चायकः । क्रियन्त इति क्वचिदिति शेषः ॥. P.—In गो+अक्ष अत्र is accordingly by P. VI., 1, 123 necessarily substituted for the ओ of गो.

See Chitprabhâ: तेन गवाक्ष इत्यत्र वातायने नित्यमवङ् । प्राण्यङ्गे तु गोक्षीत्यत्र न भवति । अन्यत्र तु सर्वत्र विकल्पः ॥ For other examples see below.

2. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 41: इयतेरित्वं व्रते नित्यम् । इयतेरित्वं व्रते नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् । संशितं व्रतम् । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् ।

देवलातो गलो ग्राह इतियोगे च सद्विधिः ।
मिथस्ते न विभाष्यन्ते गवाक्षः संशितव्रतः ॥

Kaiyaṭa: इयतेरिति । व्रत इति विषयो निर्दिश्यते न तूत्तरपदं तेन संशितो ब्राह्मण इत्यत्रापि नित्यमित्वं भवति । यद्येवमित्वेन व्रतस्य द्योतितत्वात्संशितव्रत इति व्रतशब्दस्य प्रयोगो न प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । अन्यत्रापीत्वविधानात्संशितशब्दः सामान्यशब्द इति विशेषप्रतिपादनायाविरुद्धो व्रतशब्दप्रयोगः । व्रते तु नित्यमित्वं विधीयते ॥ न वक्तव्यमिति । साधारणेन न्यायेन सिद्धत्वात् । अत एव तुल्यधर्मणः शब्दानुपन्यस्यति ॥ देवलात इति । नुदविदोन्दत्रा [८.२.५६] इति नत्वं संज्ञायां न भवति । देवग्रहणं संज्ञाविषयोपलक्षणार्थं तेन भवलात इत्यादावपि संज्ञात्वान्नत्वाभावः । यदा तु क्रियाशब्दस्तीर्णं लात इति तदा नत्वविकल्पः ॥ गल इति । अचि विभाषा [८.२.२१.] इति लत्वं प्राण्यङ्गे नित्यं भवति विषे तु गर इति लत्वाभावः क्रियाशब्दे तूभयं भवति गरो गलं इति ॥ ग्राह इति । विभाषा ग्रहः [३.१.१४३] इति णप्रत्ययो जलचरे नित्यं भवति ज्योतिषि पचाद्यच् । ग्रह इति ॥ इतियोग इति । लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः [३.२.१२६] इति शतृशानङित्यिहन्तीति

III., 2, 124 etc.[1]

पलायते वर्षतीति भवतीत्यादाविनिप्रयोगे न भवति ॥ मिथ इति । एकस्मिन्विषये न विकल्पन्ने किंतु विषयभेदेन । एतच्चाकृतिपक्ष उपपद्यते । तत्र हि सर्वं लक्ष्यमेकध्यमापाद्यैोभयमुपदिश्यते ततश्चोभयं भवतीत्येतावतैव लक्षणस्य व्यापारः । असंकीर्णत्वं तु प्रयोगवशात्प्रतीयते ॥ गवाक्ष इति । अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य [६.१.१२३] इति नित्यमवङ् भवति प्राण्यङ्गे तु गोरक्षि गोक्षीति भवत्यन्यत्र तु विकल्पेन ॥ एतच्चोदाहरणं न तु व्यवस्थितविभाषाणां परिगणनमन्यासामपि संभवात् ॥

1. Chitprabhâ : अचादिशब्दादजेर्ध्यण्यतोः [२.४.५६] इत्यादिसूत्रस्थं भाष्यं ग्राह्यम् ॥ —Cf. also Si. Kau. II., pag. 273; 348; 367 etc.

1. सर्वं लक्ष्यमेकध्यमापाद्य in the above is the reading of my own MS. which is supported by Nâgojibhaṭṭa's gloss on Kaiyaṭa's words: ऐकध्यम् । एकरूपत्वम् । बुद्ध्या युगपदभिसमीक्ष्येत्यर्थः । The lithographed Edition of the Mahâbhâshya reads सर्वं लक्ष्यमेकविध्यमापाद्य.

PARIBHÂSHÂ C.

P. C: When (there arises the question as to whether) a rule enjoins something (new), or contains (merely) a restriction (regarding something which is enjoined in another rule), either being possible, (such a rule should be considered) to enjoin something (new) in preference to (being regarded a restrictive rule).[1]

1. *E. g.* When य् in P. VI., 4, 49 is taken to denote $y + a$, the question arises whether P. VI., 4, 49 enjoins the elision of $y + a$ which has not been taught before, or restricts, so far as य् is concerned, the elision of a taught already in P. VI., 4, 48 to instances in which य् is preceded by a consonant; by the present Paribhâshâ this question has to be answered in favour of the former alternative. See below.

Such[1] should be understood to be the case because (a rule which enjoins something new) is less cumbrous (than a restrictive rule); for, as regards a restrictive rule, its very nature obliges us to assume, although this is not actually stated, that what is taught in it, does beyond (the particular cases to which it is restricted) *not* take place; and besides (a restrictive rule is liable to) the objection that it states something which has already been stated (elsewhere).[2] This (Paribhâshâ) is found (applied) in the Bhâshya[3] on P. VI., 4, 49.

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1. नियमे हीति । यतस्तत्रेत्यर्थः ॥ परिसंख्याप्यत्र शास्त्रे नियमपदेन गृह्यत इति न न्यूनता ॥ नियमशास्त्राणां विधिमुखेनैव प्रवृत्तेः सिद्धान्तितत्वादाह सामर्थ्यादिति ॥ चेन प्राप्तबाधसमुच्चयः । तथा च दोषत्रयम् ॥. P.

2. *E. g.* P. VII., 1, 67 which is a restrictive rule teaches that लभ् before खल् and घञ् receives नुम् only then when it is preceded by a preposition; from this it follows that before खल् and घञ् it does *not* receive नुम् when it is *not* preceded by a preposition; and moreover the addition of नुम् which is taught in VII., 1, 67, has been taught already in P. VII., 1, 64.

3. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 49: अस्तु तर्हि संघातग्रहणम् (*i. e.* य = य् + अ) । यदि संघातग्रहणमन्त्यस्य लोपः प्राप्नोति । सिद्धोऽन्त्यस्य पूर्वेणैव तत्रारम्भसामर्थ्यात्सर्वस्य भविष्यति । एवमपि तेनातिप्रसक्तमिति कृत्वा नियमो विज्ञास्यते यस्य हल एव नान्यतः । क्व मा भूत् । लोलूयिता पोपूयिता । कैमर्थक्यान्नियमो भवति । विधेयं नास्तीति कृत्वा । इह चास्ति विधेयम् । किम् । अन्त्यस्य लोपः प्राप्तः सर्वस्य विधेयः । तत्रापूर्वो विधिरस्तु नियमो वेति । अपूर्व एव विधिर्भविष्यति न नियमः ॥

Similarly in the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 4, 32, where Kaiyaṭa remarks: नियमे प्राप्तबाधः सिद्धस्य पुनरुपादानादनुवाददोषश्च । विधौ तु न प्राप्तबाधो नाप्यनुवाददोष इति विधिनियमसंभवे विधिरेव ज्यायानिति भावः ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ CI.

P. III., 3, 132 (teaches that to denote a wish the same affixes may be added to a root which would be added to it to denote

past time); now one might say that, as by that (rule the affix) लुङ् (of P. III., 2, 110) may be added (to a root to denote a wish) just as (it would be added to denote past time), so should also (the affixes) लङ् and लिट् (of P. III., 2, 111 and 115) be added by it (for the same purpose, because they likewise denote past time.[1] The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CI: When (operations dependent on the) general properties (of one thing) are transferred (to something else, operations dependent on) special properties (of the former) are not (thereby) transferred (to the latter).[2]

What gives rise to this (Paribhâshâ) is the fact that at the time when a thing presents itself to us with its general properties, the various limiting circumstances which would make us aware of its special properties have as yet no existence (for us). Accordingly लङ् and लिट् cannot (by P. III., 3, 132) be added (to a root to denote a wish) because they are according to (Pâṇini's) teaching added (to a root, not to denote past time generally, but) to denote that particular past time which precedes the current day.[3] (The fact that Pâṇini has given the

1. *I. e.* That one should be allowed to say *e. g.* not only देवश्चेदवर्षीत्, but also देवश्चेद्वर्षत् or देवश्चेद्वर्ष.

2. See Bhairavamis'ra: अनिर्दिश्यत इत्यनिर्देशः। सामान्यस्यानिर्देशः सामान्यानिर्देशः। सामान्यपदं सामान्यधर्मावच्छिन्नपरम्। तन्निमित्तकत्वं षष्ठ्यर्थः। एवं च सामान्यधर्मावच्छिन्ननिमित्तककार्ये ऽनिर्दिश्यमाने सति विशेषधर्मावच्छिन्ननिमित्तककार्यानिर्देशो नेति फलितम्॥

3. When Pâṇini in III., 3, 132 says भूतवत्, he means therefore that those affixes shall be added which would be added भूते, *i. e.* लुङ्, but not those which would be added भूतानद्यतने, *i. e.* लङ् and लिट्.—See also

rule) VI., 4, 69 shows that the present (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid ;[1] in consequence thereof (operations dependent on) special properties (of one thing) may likewise by P. I., 1, 56 be transferred (to something else). All this is found in the Bhâshya[2] on P. I., 1, 56.

above pag. 373, note, Extract from Kaiyaṭa; and pag. 428, note 3.

1. The addition of ल्यप् *e. g.* to या would cause the substitution (by P. VI., 4, 66) of ई for the आ of या only, if ल्यप्, like स्त्रा for which it is substituted, could be regarded as distinguished by an indicatory क्. Now, if the Paribhâshâ were universally valid, the latter would not be allowable, because कित्त्व is a *special* property of स्त्रा; there could accordingly be no reason for the substitution of ई before ल्यप्, and P. VI., 4, 69, which forbids that substitution, would be superfluous. Nevertheless P. VI., 4, 69 does serve a purpose because ल्यप्, contrary to the present Paribhâshâ, has by Pâṇini been regarded as distinguished by an indicatory क्.—See Pâyagunda: अन्यथा न स्त्रा सेट् [१.२.१८] इति निषेधेन सेटस्तदभावात्कित्त्वस्य स्त्राविशेषधर्मत्वादनतिदेशेनेत्त्वाप्राप्त्या निषेधवैफल्यं स्पष्टमेवेति भावः ॥

2. See Mahâbhâshya Ed. Ballantyne pag. 616 etc. ; also Bhâshya on P. VI., 3, 68 ; and Si. Kau. II., pag. 285.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CII.

P. VI., 1, 185 (teaches that that which is distinguished by an indicatory त्, is *svarita*). Now one might say that accordingly a *svarita* accent ought to be assigned *e. g.* also (to the first ई) in किरति, (because that ई, which has been substituted for the ऋ of कॄ by P. VII., 1, 100, *is* distinguished in the latter rule by an indicatory त्. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. CII : (Whenever a term is employed in grammar which might denote) both an affix and also

something else, it should be taken to denote an affix (only).[1]

This (Paribhâshâ) is given (as an independent rule) in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 1; that it (however) does not concern (terms denoting) a single letter which may be employed (in grammar), is clear from Kaiyaṭa's (commentary) on the same (rule).[2] In consequence of (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ the terms सन्) in P. III., 2, 168 and (वल) in P. VI., 3, 118 denote (only) the *affixes* सन् and वल.

Others however, (and they are right), say, that according to the statement of Kaiyaṭa on the rule[3] P. VI., 1, 185, this Paribhâshâ is nowhere in the Bhâshya had recourse to (to account) for the formation of any form whatsoever; that in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 1 it has been quoted by one who is only partly acquainted with the true state of the matter, for the purpose of showing that that (rule) may be dispensed with; that,

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1. As therefore the term तिङ् in P. VI., 1, 185 denotes only affixes distinguished by an indicatory ङ् (such as यङ् etc.) and cannot denote इङ् in P. VII., 1, 100, no *svarita* accent can by the former rule be assigned to the first इ of किरति etc.

2. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 1: नैतानि सन्ति प्रयोजनानि । कथम् । अर्थवद्ग्रहणप्रत्ययग्रहणाभ्यां सिद्धम् । अर्थवद्ग्रहणप्रत्ययग्रहणाभ्यामेतानि सिद्धानि । क्वचिदर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्येत्येवं भविष्यति । क्वचित्प्रत्ययाप्रत्ययोर्ग्रहणे प्रत्ययस्य ग्रहणं भवतीति ॥

Kaiyaṭa:.... इयङुवङोस्तु नायं परिहारो वर्णग्रहणेषु परिभाषाद्वयस्यानुपस्थानात् । यथैको यण्वचि [६.१.७७] इति दध्याशयतीत्यादावप्रत्ययेऽप्यनर्थकेऽप्यचि यणादेशो भवति...॥ See above pag. 83, note 2.

3. See the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 185, above pag. 110, note 2.—Kaiyaṭa: प्रत्ययाप्रत्ययोः प्रत्यये संप्रत्यय इति परिभाषा भाष्यवार्त्तिककाराभ्यां न क्वचिदाश्रिता ॥.

in accordance herewith,[1] the author of the Vârttikas has given it as his opinion (on P. VI., 1, 185) that the term प्रत्यये ought to have been employed (in P. VI., 1, 185 to show that the *svarita* accent is by that rule assigned only to *affixes* distinguished by an indicatory ञ्); and that it is (the interpretation (of the learned) which tells us that (सन् and वल्) in the above-mentioned rules (III., 2, 168 and VI., 3, 118) denote only the affixes (सन् and वल).[2]

1. अत एव *i. e.* परिभाषाया अनाश्रयणादेव. If the Paribhâshâ did exist, it would be superfluous to employ the word प्रत्यये in P. VI., 1, 185.

2. The Paribhâshâ is accordingly rejected.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CIII.

One might say (that, as P. I., 3, 19 teaches that) the Âtmanepada-terminations (are added to जि after वि and परा, those terminations) should by that rule have been added (to जि also) in परा जयति सेना 'the superior army conquers.' (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CIII: (Whenever a term is employed in grammar which might denote) both[1] (something resembling) that in company with which it is (mentioned), and also something else (which would) not (resemble that) in company with which it is (mentioned), it should be taken to denote only the former.

1. *E. g.* परा in P. I., 3, 19 might denote the preposition परा and it might also denote the feminine of the pronominal adjective पर.

Accordingly the word परा (in P. I., 3, 19) denotes, as appears from the Bhâshya on that (rule),[1] only the preposition परा, because (only) this resembles the वि together with which परा is put down (in P. I., 3, 19).

The[2] word सहचरित 'accompanying' denotes (here) that which resembles something else, because only two (things) that resemble each other are (mentioned) in company with each other; (for) when we say *e. g.* 'Râma and Lakshmaṇa', it is likewise nothing but their mutual resemblance which makes (us mention the two together); and besides the rule is that only (things or words) resembling each other should be spoken of together and that they only should be put down together (in a rule). This much we are given to understand in the Bhâshya[3] on the rule P. II., 3, 8; for there the opinion that the Ablative case would by the rule P. II., 3, 10 have to be employed after परि (also) where the latter might convey any one of the meanings 'about' etc. (assigned to it in P. I., 4, 90) is refuted in the following words: 'Although the (*Karmapravachanîya*) परि (which occurs in P. II., 3, 10) is

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1. See Bhâshya on P. I., 3, 19: विपराभ्यां जेः । उपसर्गग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत् । परा जयति सेनेति । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । यद्यपि तावदयं पराशब्दो दृष्टापचार उपसर्गेश्चानुपसर्गेश्चायं खलु विशब्दोऽदृष्टापचार उपसर्ग एव तस्यास्य कोऽन्यो द्वितीयः सहायो भवितुमर्हत्यन्यदत उपसर्गात् । तदयास्य गोर्द्वितीयेनार्थ इति गौरेवोपादीयते नाश्वो न गर्दभ इति ॥

2. अस्या लोकसिद्धत्वं प्रतिपादयति । सहेति ॥ सहगमनं सहप्रयोगादिरूपामित्यर्थः ॥ P.

3. See Bhâshya on P. II., 3, 8: कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया । कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते प्रत्यादिभिश्च लक्षणादिषूपसंख्यानं सप्तमीपञ्चम्योः प्रतिषेधार्थम् । कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते प्रत्यादिभिश्च लक्षणादिषूपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । वृक्षं परि विद्योतते विद्युत् । साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति । साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं परि । साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरमनु । किं प्रयोजनम् । सप्तमीपञ्चम्योः प्रतिषेधार्थम् । सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ मा भूतामिति । साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्चायां सप्तमी [२. ३.४३] इति सप्तमी । पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः [२.३.१०] इति पञ्चमी ॥ तदायमर्थः ।

not restricted[1] to the one meaning ("away from," but is employed) both in this and in other senses, yet the word अप, (together with which it is put down in P. II., 3, 10), is certainly, where it is used as *Karmapravachanîya*, restricted to the one meaning "away from;"[2] (such being the case), by what other (परि) can the latter be accompanied (in P. II., 3, 10) except by that (परि) which conveys the sense "away from"? (If in ordinary life somebody were to say) "I want the fellow of this ox," only an ox would be brought to him, not a horse, nor a donkey; and the case is similar (in grammar).' From this (passage of the Bhâshya) we learn namely that only (words) that resemble each other are put down together (in a rule).

When (Pâṇini) in the rule VIII., 3, 43 employs (the expression) कृन्वोऽर्थे 'in the sense of "so many times", this shows that the present (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid; otherwise the circumstance that (चतुः in that rule) must convey the meaning 'four times', would (in accordance with the present Paribhâshâ) have resulted already from the fact that it is accompanied (in that rule by द्विः and त्रिः which can only mean 'twice' and 'three times').[3] Accordingly (the term इट्) in P. I., 1, 6

अप्रतेरिति न वक्तव्यम् ॥ तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । उक्तं वा । किमुक्तम् ॥ एकत्र तावदुक्तम् । अप्रतेरिति ॥ इतरत्रापि । यद्यपि तावदयं परिर्दृष्टापचारो वर्जने चावर्जने चायं खल्वपशब्दोऽदृष्टापचारो वर्जनार्थ एव तस्य कोऽन्यो द्वितीयः सहायो भवितुमर्हत्यन्यदतो वर्जनार्थात् । तद्यथास्य गोर्द्वितीयेनार्थ इति गौरेवानीयते नाश्वो न गर्दभः ॥

Kaiyaṭa: यदि सामान्येन कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीयेति लक्षणं क्रियते तदा वृक्षं परि विद्योतत इत्यत्र विशेषविहितत्वात्पञ्चम्याऽपरिभिरिति पञ्चमी प्राप्नोति साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं प्रतीत्यत्र च साधुनिपुणाभ्यामिति परत्वात्सप्तमी प्राप्नोति तत्राप्रतेरिति वक्तव्यं भवतीति मत्वाह प्रत्यादिभिश्च लक्षणादिष्यते । ततश्च पुनर्द्वितीयाविधानात्पूर्वोक्तदोषानवतारः ॥ शिष्टं स्पष्टम् ॥

1. दृष्टापचारः, दृष्टव्यभिचारः, अनियतार्थक इति यावत्. Bhairavamis'ra.
2. P. I., 4, 88.
3. See Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 22.

denotes (contrary to the present Paribhâshâ) the *augment* (and not the root) इट् although it is accompanied by roots. More hereof elsewhere.[1]

1. अन्यत्र *i.e.* उद्द्योतादौ P.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CIV.

One might say that अनङ्, (which) by P. VII., 1, 75 (before certain case-terminations is substituted for the final of अस्थि, दधि, सक्थि etc.), ought not (by that rule) to have been (substituted) in प्रियसक्थ्ना ब्राह्मणेन because here the base (प्रियसक्थि) is not neuter (but masculine.[1] The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. CIV : (Wherever in a rule a qualifying term might be connected) both with something that is read (in the rule) and also with something else suggested (*e. g.* by the heading-rule of the chapter in which the former rule occurs), its connection with that which is read (in the rule) is

1. नपुंसकस्य is valid in P. VII., 1, 75 from P. VII., 1, 72 ; and अस्थि etc. in P. VII., 1, 75 denote by Par. XXIX. not merely अस्थि etc. by themselves, but also any bases that end in अस्थि etc. The meaning of P. VII., 1, 75 might therefore seem to be, that 'अनङ् is substituted for the final of neuter bases ending in अस्थि etc.', and according to this interpretation it ought not to be substituted for the final of the *masculine* base प्रियसक्थि.

stronger (than its connection with what is suggested *e. g.* by such heading-rule);[1]

i. e., it is connected with that which is read[2] (in the rule), not with that which is suggested by, or in other words, is supplied *e. g.* from, (the heading-rule of) the chapter (in which the former rule occurs), *viz.* because the fact that a word is actually read (in a rule) carries more weight with it than *e. g.* the circumstance that a word is supplied from a heading-rule.[3] Accordingly the (term नपुंसक 'neuter) gender' (which is valid in P. VII., 1, 75) qualifies there (the words) अस्थि etc. (which we actually read in the rule, and does) not (qualify the term) अङ्गस्य (which is supplied in P. VII., 1, 75 from the heading-rule P. VI., 4, 1).[4] In those rules[5] however that teach (the substitution of) शि, शी, लुक्, (or the insertion of) नुम्, (नपुंसक) can qualify only (the term) अङ्गस्य supplied from the heading-rule (VI., 4, 1) because in them nothing is actually put down (that could be qualified by it).

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1. नपुंसकस्य which is valid in P. VII., 1, 75, might qualify either the words अस्थि etc. which are actually read in the rule, or the term अङ्गस्य supplied from the heading-rule P. VI., 4, 1; such being the case, we must, in accordance with the present Paribhâshâ, make it qualify अस्थि etc., and the meaning of P. VII., 1, 75 becomes therefore this, that 'अनङ् is substituted for the final of bases ending in the neuter अस्थि etc.' According to this interpretation अनङ् has been correctly substituted in प्रियसक्थ्ना ब्राह्मणेन.

2. श्रुतत्वं साक्षादुच्चारितत्वमन्यश्राकाङ्क्षारूपस्थानप्रमाणलब्धत्वं च । अनुमितत्वं तूभयाकाङ्क्षारूपप्रकरणप्राप्तत्वम् । P.—See below गृह्यमाणस्य शलन्तस्य.

3. श्रुतिलिङ्गवाक्यप्रकरणस्थानसमाख्यानां पारदौर्बल्यमूर्ध्वविप्रकर्षादिति न्यायेनेति भावः ॥ P.

4. Cf. also Schol. on P. VII., 2, 99.

5. *E. g.* in P. VII., 1, 20; 73 etc.

It is on account of (the existence of) this[1] (Paribhâshâ) that (Pâṇini) has not worded his rule VII., 1, 79 (वा नपुंसकस्य) 'वा शौ'; for there नपुंसकस्य has been employed (by him) in order that (it may qualify the reduplicated participles ending with शतृ) which is put down[2] (in VII., 1, 78 and) must necessarily be supplied from it in P. VII., 1, 79, but not the term अङ्ग supplied from P. VI., 4, 1, and that नुम्) may (accordingly) be (optionally inserted) in a base that ends with a (reduplicated) neuter participle ending in शतृ, (but not in a neuter base that ends with a redupl. participle in शतृ which is not neuter; *e. g.* नुम्) shall not be (optionally inserted) in the Nom. Plur. of the neuter base बहुददत् when conveying the sense of बहवो ददतो येषु; but it shall be (inserted) in the Nom. Plur. of the masculine base बहुददत् when the latter is employed in the sense of बहूनि ददन्ति येषु.—The above we find in the Bhâshya[3] on P. VII., 1, 23.

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1. अत एव i. e. एतद्वचनसत्त्वादेव. P.—Had Pânini worded the rule VII., 1, 79, 'वा शौ,' the meaning of that rule would have been अभ्यस्तात्परो यः शतृप्रत्ययस्तदन्तः शब्दोऽन्तो यस्याङ्गस्य तस्य शौ परे वा नुम्, and we should accordingly have formed the Nom. Plur. of the neuter base बहुददत् (बहवो ददतो येषु) बहुददति or बहुददन्ति, which would have been wrong. See below.

2. शतृ is not actually put down in P. VII., 1, 79 but it must necessarily be supplied from the preceding rule to make the rule VII., I, 79 complete.

3. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 23: इदं विचार्यते । शिशीलुग्रुम्मिषिषु नपुंसकग्रहणं शब्दग्रहणं वा स्यादर्थग्रहणं वेति । कश्चात्र विशेषः । शिशीलुग्रुम्मिषिषु नपुंसकग्रहणं शब्दग्रहणं चेदन्यपदार्थे प्रतिषेधः । शिशीलुग्रुम्मिषिषु नपुंसकग्रहणं शब्दग्रहणं चेदन्यपदार्थे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । बहुलपुः । बहुलपू । बहुलेपव इति । अस्तु तर्ह्यर्थग्रहणम् । यद्यर्थग्रहणं प्रियसक्थना ब्राह्मणेनेत्यत्रानङ् प्राप्नोति । अस्तु तर्हि शब्दग्रहणमेव । ननु चोक्तं शिशीलुग्रुम्मिषिषु नपुंसकग्रहणं शब्दग्रहणं चेदन्यपदार्थे प्रतिषेध इति । सिद्धं तु प्रकृतार्थविशेषणत्वात् । सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । प्रकृतस्यार्थो विशेष्यते । किं च प्रकृतम् । अङ्गम । अङ्गस्य शिशीलुग्रुमो भवन्ति नपुंसके वर्तमानस्य । कथं प्रियसक्थना ब्राह्मणेन ।

Some however give another example (for this Paribhâshâ. When the question should arise as to whether by P. VIII., 4, 46 र्, should only *cause* the doubling of a consonant contained in the Pratyâhâra यर्, or should also itself by that rule be doubled after ह्, they say) that it can (by P. VIII., 4, 46) only be the *cause* (of the doubling of a consonant) but cannot itself be doubled (by that rule), because (so far as it *causes* the doubling) it is actually read (in P. VIII., 4, 46), whereas it would be doubled only because it is suggested to us by (the Pratyâhâra) यर् in which it is contained.[1] This (however) is incorrect; for (what is here supposed to result from this Paribhâshâ) results (in

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अस्थ्यादिषु शब्दग्रहणम् । अस्थ्यादिषु नपुंसकग्रहणं शब्दग्रहणं द्रष्टव्यम् । युक्तं पुनरिदं विचारयितुम् । नन्वनेनासंदिग्धेनार्थग्रहणेन भवितव्यं न हि नपुंसकं नाम शब्दोऽस्ति । किं तर्ह्युच्यतेऽस्थ्यादिषु शब्दग्रहणमिति । अलाप्यर्थग्रहणमेव । अलैतावान्संदेहः । क्व प्रकृतस्यार्थो विशेष्यते क्व गृह्यमाणस्येति । शिशीलुग्रुम्बिधिषु प्रकृतस्यार्थो विशेष्यतेऽस्थ्यादिषु गृह्यमाणस्य ॥

The Paribhâshâ itself I have found nowhere in the Mahâbhâshya.

1. P VIII., 4, 46 teaches that a consonant contained in the Pratyâhâra यर् (*i. e.* य्, व्, र्, ल् etc.) may optionally be doubled after र् or ह् when these are preceded by a vowel. Now there arises in such instances as महाह्रद the question whether by the above rule र्, which is contained in the Pratyâhâra यर्, should be doubled after ह्. This question is answered in the negative and it is stated that by the present Paribhâshâ र् can only cause the doubling of a following consonant (as *e. g.* अर्क, अर्क्क) but cannot itself be doubled after ह्. Nâgojibhatta evidently quotes in the above Śrâdeva, who has the Paribhâshâ श्रुतानुमितयोः श्रौतः संबन्धो बलीयान्, on which he comments thus: तेनाचौ रहाभ्यां द्वे इत्यत्र रहाभ्यामिति साक्षाच्छ्रुतेन निमित्तभावेन यरन्तभावादनुमितं कार्यित्वं बाध्येत । ....अयं च लौकिकन्यायलब्धोऽर्थः । तथा च पठन्ति । साक्षाच्छ्रुतेनानुमितं बाध्यते प्रत्यक्षानुमितयोः प्रत्यक्षस्यं बलीय इति । ....

reality) from the maxim of Kaundinya and the buttermilk.[1] More hereof elsewhere.[2]

1. See above pag. 322.—Bhairavamiśra: तक्रकौण्डिन्येति। ननु येन-नाप्राप्तिन्यायनिरूपणावसरे तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्यायोऽनवकाशविषयो विधेयविषयश्चेत्युक्तम् (See above pag. 327)। अत्र तु तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्यायेन सिद्धेरित्युच्यते। एतन्मूलोक्तविरुद्धं निमित्तत्वस्याविधेयत्वादिति चेत्। न। तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्यायस्थलीयो यो न्यायो युक्तिरनवकाशत्वरूपा तया सिद्धेरित्यर्थात्। यत्रयत्र रेफस्य निमित्तत्वं तत्र सर्वत्र वाक्यान्तरेण कार्यित्वस्य प्रसक्त्या निमित्तत्वमनवकाशमिति तेन न्यायेन तद्वीत्येत्यर्थात्॥

2. अन्यत्र *i. e.* उद्द्योतादौ. P.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CV.

(P. VI., 2, 2 teaches that in a Tatpurusha-compound the first member retains its original accent, provided it would stand in the Instrumental case, if the compound were dissolved; P. II., 4, 77, that the Aorist affix सिच् is dropped after पा in the Parasmaipada). Now one might say that the accent taught in the former rule should be (assigned by that rule also) *e. g.* (to परम) in परमकारकेण (where the latter conveys the sense of) परमेण कारकेण;[1] and that by the latter rule (सिच्) should be dropped after पा also when it, in consequence of the substitution (by P. VI., 1, 45) of आ (for ऐ), stands for पै 'to dry'.[2] (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

1. परमेणेति। अत्र परिनिष्ठितविभक्तया विशेषणं विशेष्येण [२.१.५७] इति समानाधिकरणसमासः। अत्र तृतीयासमाससत्त्वात्तत्प्रयुक्तस्तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीया [६.२.२] इति स्वरः स्यादिति भावः॥ Chitprabhâ.

2. *I. e.* that the Aor. Par. of पै 'to dry' should by P. II., 4, 77 likewise be अपात्, just as it is अपात् of पा 'to drink.'

P. CV : (Whenever[1] a term is employed which might denote) both something original and also something else resulting from a rule (of grammar),—or (when a term is employed in a rule which might denote) both something (formed by another rule) in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule,—such a term should be taken to denote, (in the former case) only that which is original,[2] and (in the latter case) only that (which is formed by that rule) in which the same individual term has been employed.[3]

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1. अत्र लक्षणं च प्रतिपदं चेति द्वन्द्वं कृत्वोक्तशब्देन वा तृतीयासमासः । द्वन्द्वान्ते श्रूयमाणत्वात्प्रत्येकं संबन्धः । लक्षणशब्देन च सामान्यलक्षणमत्र प्रतिपदोक्तसमभिव्याहारादिति बोध्यम् । तदाह लक्षणेनेत्यर्थ इति । एकदेशस्थेति भावः ॥. P.

2. *E. g.* पा in P. II., 4, 77 denotes only the original पा 'to drink', but not the form पा of पै 'to dry,' because the latter results from a rule *viz.* from P. VI., 1, 45. (Si. Kau. II., pag. 96).—सखि in P. VII., 1, 92 denotes only the original word सखि 'a friend,' but not the सखि of अतिसखि (*i. e.* सखीमतिक्रान्त), because the latter सखि results from P. I., 2, 48. (Si. Kau. I., pag. 113).

3. *E. g.* The Tritiyâ-tatpurushas in P. VI., 2, 2 can be only the Tatpurushas formed by P. II., 1, 30 in which the term तृतीया has been employed by Pâṇini, not compounds formed by the general rule II., 1, 57.—The *Dik*-samâsas in P. I., 1, 28 can be only the compounds formed by P. II., 2, 26 in which the term दिश् actually occurs, not compounds formed by the general rule II., 2, 24. (Si. Kau. I., pag. 128).—The compounds commencing with महत् spoken of in P. VI., 3, 46 would by

(लक्षण in लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः) means '(resulting) from a rule' or '(formed) by a general rule.' (Accordingly such a term as '*Instrumental*' Tatpurusha-compound in P. VI., 2, 2, can denote only those compounds the formation of which is taught in P. II., 1, 30, because in that rule the individual term तृतीया 'Instrumental' has been actually employed by Pâṇini; and the term पा in P. II., 4, 77 can denote only the root पा 'to drink.') For (Instrumental Tatpurusha) compounds etc., formed (by rules like P. II., 1, 30 etc.) in which the individual terms 'Instrumental' etc. have been employed (by Pâṇini), are *pratipadokta;* and they alone are denoted (by the expressions 'Instrumental' Tatpurushas etc. in P. VI., 2, 2 etc.), because they present themselves to us at once (when we hear the words 'Instrumental Tatpurushas' etc.), while such other (compounds as परमकारकेण, being formed by general rules like P. II., 1, 57,) present themselves to us later. (Similarly, when we hear the term पा,) the form पा of पै does not present itself to us until (पै), after the ap-

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the present Paribhâshâ be only those compounds that are formed by P. II., 1, 61 (सन्महत् etc.) had Pâṇini not employed the term समानाधिकरण in the rule VI., 3, 46. (Si. Kau. I., pag. 388.)—Cf. also Si. Kau. II., pag. 574; 579 (P. VI., 2, 57 and II., 1, 63); 581 (P. VI., 2, 68 and II., 1, 54) etc.

See also the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 13; I., 1, 20; I., 1, 28; and on many other rules. The Bhâshya on P. VI., 2, 2 runs thus: तत्पुरुषे विभक्तिप्रकृतिस्वरत्वे कर्मधारये प्रतिषेधः। तत्पुरुषे विभक्तिप्रकृतिस्वरत्वे कर्मधारये प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः। परमं कारकं परमकारकम्। परमेण कारकेण परमकारकेण। परमे कारके परमकारक इति। सिद्धं तु लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणात्। सिद्धमेतत्। कथम्। लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैवेति प्रतिपदं यो द्वितीयासप्तमीतृतीयासमासस्तस्य ग्रहणं लक्षणोक्तश्चायम्॥

Kaiyaṭa: विशेषणसमासो न प्रथमान्तानामिव भवत्यपि तु द्वितीयाद्यन्तानामपीति भावः॥ लक्षणोक्त इति। विभक्तिविशेषमनुपादाय सामान्यलक्षणेनायं समासो विहित इत्यर्थः॥

plication (to it) of the rule (P. VI., 1, 45, has been changed to पा), whereas पा 'to drink' presents itself to us at once. For it is this very circumstance (that one thing presents itself to us at once when we hear a particular term, and that another thing does not present itself till later), which gives rise to the present Paribhâshâ.[1]

This (Paribhâshâ is applicable) also to (terms) denoting single letters, for it has been made use of in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 15 (to prove that the term ओत् in that rule denotes only an original ओ).[2] How the contrary opinion, that this (Paribhâshâ has) *no* (concern) with (terms) denoting *single* letters, (which is supposed to be) proved by the fact that (Pâṇini) has employed[3] the word उपदेशे in the rule VI., 1, 45, has in the S'abdendus'ekhara on the very rule (P. VI., 1, 45) been shown to be faulty, may be ascertained from that (work).—The circumstance that (Pâṇini) in VIII., 2, 71 (has qualified भुवः) by the expression महाव्याहृतेः 'when it is the great mystical word (भुवः)'[4], shows that

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1. तथा च लौकिकलाघवगौरवमूलकोऽयं न्यायः. P.

2. ओत् in P. I., 1, 15 denotes only the final ओ of Nipâtas like अहो etc. that originally end in ओ, but it does not denote *e. g.* the ओ of अदो in अदोभवत् (*i. e.* अनदोऽदोऽभवत्, see P. I., 4, 61) because the latter stands for original अस्.

See Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 15: ओतश्चिप्रतिषेधः । ओदन्तस्य निपातस्य च्व्यन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । अनदोऽदोऽभवत् अदोभवत् । तिरोभवत् । न वक्तव्यम् । लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्येत्येवं भविष्यति ॥

3. *I. e.* that Pâṇini has stated that आ is substituted for the final of a root which 'in an original enunciation' *i. e.* 'originally' ends in ए, ऐ, or ओ.

4. Pâṇini has employed the word महाव्याहृतेः in order to prevent the application of the rule VIII., 2, 71 *e. g.* to the Nom. Plur. भुवः of भू. If

this (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid. More hereof elsewhere.[1]

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the present Paribhâshâ were universally valid, महाभ्याम्: would be superfluous, because in that case भुव्: would by the Paribhâshâ denote only the original mystical word भुव्:, not also *e. g.* the Nom. Plur. भुव्: of भू.

1. अन्यत्र *i. e.* शेखरादौ. Chitprabhâ.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CVI.

Now one might say that, (if) then (the preceding Paribhâshâ were adopted, दा in P. I., 1, 20 ought not to denote the दा which by P. VI., 1, 45 stands for original दे or दो, and that accordingly) neither देङ् nor the root दो ought to be termed घु, although their (final vowel) is changed to आ; that similarly (मा in P. VIII., 4, 17 ought not to denote the मा which) by the same substitution of आ (for ए stands for original मे, and that) ण् ought (therefore) not by P. VIII., 4, 17 to be substituted (for the न् of नि) *e. g.* in the Periphr. Fut. of भ्रू+नि+मेङ्; and that (गा in P. VI., 4, 66 ought not to denote the गा which) by the substitution of आ (for ऐ stands for original गै, and that) ई ought (accordingly) not by P. VI., 4, 66 to be substituted for (the final of) गै. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CVI: The terms गा, मा, or दा, when they are employed (in grammar, denote) both (the original roots गा, मा, दा, and also the roots which are changed to गा, मा, दा).

The fact that दैप् has an indicatory प् attached to it, indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ); for the (indicatory प् has been

attached to दै) in order that both (दाप् and दैप्) may be denoted by (the दाप् of) अदाप् (in P. I., 1, 20, and that the latter as well as the former may be excluded from that rule. If) on the other hand (the present Paribhâshâ did not exist), it would have been useless to attach an indicatory प् (to दै) for the sake of including the latter in the exception (अदाप्); for in that case (दै) could (in accordance with Par. CV.,) not have been denoted (by the दा) in दाधा घु (and could therefore not possibly have been termed घु by that rule), because (दा is not the original form of दै, but) results from a rule (of grammar).[1] The (indicatory प् of दैप्) proves then (the correctness of part[2] of this Paribhâshâ) and by doing so it indicates (the existence of) the whole Paribhâshâ. And this (Paribhâshâ) which supersedes[3] (not only) Par. CV., (but also) Par. LXXXI. and XC., is found in the Bhâshya[4] on the rule P. I., 1, 20.—(गति) in the rule P. II., 4, 77 should in accordance with the Bhâshya[5] be taken to denote

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1. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, दा in दाधा घु would by the preceding Paribhâshâ denote only the original दा, but not दै; it would consequently have been superfluous to attach a प् to दै for the sake of preventing its being termed घु by दाधा घु in P. I., 1, 20.

2. *Viz.* of that portion of it which relates to दा.

3. लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तपरिभाषानन्तरमस्या उल्लेखेन तदपवादत्वमेवेति भ्रमस्य तदनिश्चयादेव सिद्धे वैफल्यस्य च निरासायाह । इयं चेति । अत्रैवोल्लेखस्तु ज्ञापकानुरोधादशोकवनिकान्यायात्सर्वान्त औचित्याच्चेति भावः ॥ वाधिकेति । वाध्यसामान्यचिन्तया येननाप्राप्तिन्यायादिति भावः ॥. P.

4. See Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 20: दीप एवैतस्याः परिभाषाया लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैवेति गामादाग्रहणेष्वविशेष इति ॥

5 See Bhâshya on P. II., 4, 77: गापोर्ग्रहण इण्विक्योर्ग्रहणम् । गापोर्ग्रहण इण्विक्योर्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । इणो यो माशब्दः पिबतेर्यः पाशब्द इति वक्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत् । अगासीन्नटः । अपासीद्धनमिति । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । इण्ग्रहणे तावत्

only that गा which is substituted for (the root) इण्. More hereof elsewhere.[1]

द्वार्त्ते निर्देशादेव व्यक्तं लुप्तिकरणस्य ग्रहणमिति । पाग्रहणे चापि वार्त्तिमुक्तमेतत्सर्वत्रैव पाग्रहणेऽलुप्तिकरणस्य ग्रहणमिति ॥

1. लक्ष्यानुरोधादर्थवत्परिभाषानया न वाध्यते । अत एव दाशृशब्दे दाशब्दस्य घुसंज्ञार्थं दाग्रहणेन न ग्रहणम् । साहचर्यपरिभाषाया अपि न बाधः । तेन ह्लावामश्च [3.2.2] इत्यत्र साहचर्यान्माङ्मेङ्होरेव ग्रहणं न मा मान इत्यस्येत्याह । अन्यत्रेति । उदश्रोतादावित्यर्थः ॥. Chitprabhâ.

PARIBHÂSHÂS CVII. AND CVIII.

One might say that, (when) *e. g.* (P. I., 1, 1 'वृद्धिरादैच्' teaches that 'आत्, *i. e.* आ, and ऐच्, *i. e.* ऐ and औ, are termed Vriddhi,') the term *Vriddhi* ought (by that rule) to denote the collection (of vowels आ+ऐ+औ. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CVII: What is stated (in grammar of several things) must be understood (to have been stated thereby) of each of them separately;[1]

just as in (the sentence) 'let Devadatta and the others be fed' the feeding (is enjoined of every individual denoted by the words 'Devadatta and the others').[2]

Now one might say that, (when P. I., 1, 7 'हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः' teaches that 'consonants unseparated by vowels are termed Sam-

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1. *Vriddhi* denotes therefore each of the vowels आ, ऐ, औ by itself.

2. The Paribhâshâ is consequently *Lokanyâya-siddhâ*.

yoga,' or when he teaches that 'words compounded are termed Samâsa,' or when he in VI., 1, 5 'उभे अभ्यस्तम्' teaches that 'both the reduplicative syllable and the root are termed Abhyasta'), the terms *Samyoga*, *Samâsa*, and *Abhyasta* ought likewise in accordance (with the preceding Paribhâshâ) to denote, (the first) each (of such consonants) by itself, (the second each of the words compounded, and the last the reduplicative syllable by itself and also the root by itself. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CVIII: Sometimes (it) also (happens that what is stated in grammar of several things, must be understood to have been stated thereby) of all of them collectively;[1]

just as *e. g.* (the sentence) 'the kings being desirous of gold, the Gârgyas should be fined a hundred', (enjoins that all the Gârgyas together, not that every Gârgya) should be fined (a hundred).[2] The one or the other (of these two Paribhâshâs is adopted) according as the various forms (that have to be formed, or the formation of which has to be accounted for, by the rules of Pâṇini's grammar, require the adoption of one or the other).[3]

1. *Samyoga* denotes accordingly the collection of consonants unseparated by vowels etc.

1. This Paribhâshâ is therefore likewise *Lokanyâya-siddhâ*.

3. See the Bhâshya and Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 1 (below); on I., 1, 7; and on several other rules.

Extract from the Bhâshya[1] on P. I., 1, 1:

प्रत्येकं गुणवृद्धिसंज्ञे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । समुदाये मा भूतामिति । अन्यत्र सहवचनात्समुदाये संज्ञाप्रसङ्गः । अन्यत्र सहवचनात्समुदाये वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञयोरप्रसङ्गः । यत्रेच्छति सहभूतानां कार्यं करोति तत्र सहग्रहणं तद्यथा सह सुपा [२.१.४] उभे अभ्यस्तं सहेति [६.१.५] । प्रत्ययवयवं च वाक्यपरिसमाप्तेः । प्रत्ययवयवं च वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिर्दृश्यते तद्यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तविष्णुमित्रा भोज्यन्तामिति । न चोच्यते प्रत्येकमिति प्रत्येकं च भुजिः परिसमाप्यते । ननु चायमप्यस्ति दृष्टान्तः समुदाये वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिरिति तद्यथा गर्गाः शतं दण्डयन्तामर्थिनश्च राजानो हिरण्येन भवन्ति । न च प्रत्येकं दण्डयन्ति । सत्येतस्मिन्दृष्टान्ते यदि तत्र सहग्रहणं क्रियत इहापि प्रत्येकमिति वक्तव्यम् । अथ तत्रान्तरेण सहग्रहणं सहभूतानां कार्यं भवतीहापि नार्थः प्रत्येकमिति वचनेन ॥

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1. Extract from Kaiyaṭa: उभे अभ्यस्तं सहेति । अत्र सहग्रहणं वार्त्तिककारस्य कर्तव्यत्वेन स्थितं भाष्यकारस्तूभेग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनं स्थापयिष्यति ॥ प्रत्ययवयवं चेति । अत्र वाक्यशब्देन वाक्यार्थः फलमुच्यते । तच्च देवदत्तादीनां भोजनम् । तस्य चैतदेव रूपं यत्प्रत्येकपरिसमाप्त्या संपद्यतेऽन्नादनादिरूपत्वान्तृप्तिफलत्वाच्च भोजनस्य । नाटच्क्रिया तु समुदाये समाप्यते गीतादिक्रियासमुदायरूपत्वात्तस्याः । संयोगसंज्ञा त्वन्वर्थत्वात्समुदाये प्रवर्तते । वृद्धिसंज्ञा तु लक्ष्ये पृथगादेशां दक्षीनान्मालादीनां च [६.२.८८] इति लिङ्गाच्च प्रत्येकं व्यवतिष्ठते ॥ गर्गाः शतं दण्डयन्तामिति । अत्र शतस्यैप्सिततमत्वात्प्राधान्यमपादानस्थानप्राप्ता गर्गा गुणकर्म न च गुणभेदेन प्रधानस्य भेद इति शतदण्डनं समूहे परिसमाप्यते ॥ अर्थिनश्चेति शतस्य प्राधान्यं प्रतिपाद्यते दण्डपरायां हि चोदनायां शतस्य प्राधान्यमतो वाक्यादवगम्यते ॥ अथ तत्रान्तरेणेति । न्यायादन्वर्थत्वाच्च समासंज्ञायाः समुदाये परिसमाप्तौ सिद्धायां योगविभागार्थं तत्र सहग्रहणं स्थितमिति तत्रान्तरेणेत्युक्तम् ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ CIX.

(ई and ऊ) in P. I., 4, 3 (may either be some individual ई and ऊ, or they may represent any and every ई and ऊ); now one might say that, if on the former alternative they were pronounced (in P. I., 4, 3) with a particular accent, a differently accented (ई or ऊ) would not be termed (*nadî* by that rule), for the rule P. I., 1, 69 (according to which a vowel contained in the Pratyâhâra अण् denotes also all vowels homogeneous with it) would not be applicable to the *long* (vowels ई and ऊ) put down (in P. I., 4, 3), because the latter are *not* contained in (the Pratyâhâra) अण्.[1] (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CIX: (When the same letters have different qualities, these different) qualities do not render them different (letters).[2]

I. e. A (particular) quality which without a special effort[3] is

1. *I. e.* when ई and ऊ in P. I., 4, 3 represent every ई and ऊ, then the term *nadî* is assigned to *udâtta* ई and ऊ, *anudâtta* ई and ऊ etc.; but when ई and ऊ in P. I., 4, 3 are *e. g. udâtta* ई and ऊ, then *anudâtta* ई and ऊ cannot be termed *nadî* by that rule.

2. *E. g.* The ई which is pronounced as *udâtta*, is not regarded as different from the ई pronounced as *anudâtta* or *svarita*; nor is the nasalized ई regarded as different from the unnasalized ई. *Udâtta* ई denotes therefore also *anudâtta* ई and *svarita* ई, unnasalized ई also nasalized ई, and *vice versâ*.

3. A quality is assigned to a letter *without a special effort*, when it is assigned to it in accordance with the ordinary rules of grammar; but where it has been assigned to it against the ordinary rules of the language, there it is assigned to it by a special effort, and in that case a letter so qualified is meant to denote only that particular letter and not also the same letter differently qualified. See below.

assigned to a letter while the latter is being pronounced,[1] does not render (that letter) different, or in other words, is not assigned (to it) for the purpose (of distinguishing it, from letters differently qualified). The circumstance that (Pâṇini) employs the (separate) word उदात्तः[2] *e. g.* in (the rule) VII., 1, 75,[3] indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ; for, if the Paribhâshâ did not exist, the word उदात्तः would be superfluous), because (in that case the object for which उदात्तः has been employed in P. VII., 1, 75 etc.) might have been attained by simply pronouncing (the initial अ of) अनङ् etc. as *udâtta*. From our explanation 'a quality assigned to a letter while the latter is being pronounced' it follows, that when in (rules like) P. IV., 2, 44, VI., 1, 169 etc. (a particular quality) is assigned (to a letter) by means of such separate words as *udâtta* etc., (the qualities denoted by the latter) *are* intended (to distinguish letters so qualified from letters differently qualified). When (Pâṇini) in I., 1, 18, where the *non*-nasal (ऊ) should have been put down (as substitute for the non-nasal ङ), by a special effort puts down the *nasal* (ऊँ), his doing so shows that (ऊँ) *is* meant (to denote only the nasal ऊँ, not also the non-nasal ऊ); and when he *e. g.* in VII., 1, 85 puts down the *non*-nasal (आ), while the *nasal* (आँ) should have been put down (as substitute) for original (न्), it follows (similarly) that that (*non*-nasal आ) *is* meant (to denote only the non-nasal आ, and

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1. *I. e.* the quality must be actually pronounced while the letter is being pronounced, which would be the case *e. g.* if ई or ऊ in P. I., 4, 9 were pronounced as *udâtta*; but it must not be assigned to the letter by separate words such as उदात्त etc.

2. *Scil.* in order to show that the vowel अ् of the substitute अन् is always to be *udâtta*.

3. See also P. VII., 1, 98.

not also nasal अँ).[1] This is the reason why we have said above 'without a special effort.'

And one cannot object that, as अस्थि etc. (in P. VII., 1, 75) are by the Phiṭ-sûtra II., 3 *ádyudátta*, and as the substitute अन् for their original final (*anudátta* vowel) should therefore likewise have been pronounced as *anudátta*, the actual pronunciation of it (in P. VII., 1, 75) as *udátta* would (because it would have required a special effort) sufficiently have shown (that only the *udátta* अन् is substituted for the final of अस्थि etc.), just as (the nasal ऊँ in P. I., 1, 18 has been said to show that only that ऊँ is allowed to be substituted for उ), and that accordingly the (employment of the word उदात्तः in P. VII., 1, 75) cannot be said to indicate (the existence of the present Paribhâshâ)[2]; for as (अन् is not only substituted for *anudátta* इ, but) is, in the case of (compounds) like परमास्थि which are *antodátta*, substituted also for *udátta* (इ, the actual pronunciation of it in P. VII., 1, 75 as *udátta* would not have required a special effort and) could (therefore) not have shown (that only the *udátta* अन् is substituted for the final of अस्थि etc.).

Passages in the Bhâshya such as (we find on P. VII., 2, 99, I., 1, 56, VI., 3, 52 and 78,) 'that चतसृ shall be put down as *ádyudátta*, the substitute चत as *ádyudátta*, that पद etc. are put down as *antodátta*, and स as *udátta*,' imply according to Kaiyaṭa and others that, when

1. According to what will be stated below, the present Paribhâshâ would not be applicable at all in P. I., 1. 18 and VII., 1, 85 because ऊँ and आ are *taught* in those rules. Bhairavamis'ra remarks therefore: इदं संप्रदायमतेन वस्तुतस्तु विधेयाण्विषये वक्ष्यमाणैव रीतिर्बोध्या.

2. *I. e.* The fact that the pronunciation of अन् as *udátta* would require a special effort, would prevent the *udátta* अन् from denoting also *anudátta* अन्, and the separate word उदात्तः would serve no purpose after having indicated the existence of this Paribhâshâ.

the words of Pâṇini's grammar are read *without* accents, the occasional pronunciation of (a term *with*) a particular accent *is* meant to distinguish (that term so accentuated from the same term differently accentuated;[1] and the same scholars maintain) that (the author of the) Bhâshya makes (the word उदात्तः in P. VII., 1, 75) indicate (the existence of the present Paribhâshâ only) on the alternative that (all the words of Pâṇini's grammar) are read with the three accents.

Others however, (and they are right,) say: '(The words) निपातनम् (निपात्यते etc. which occur in the above-mentioned passages of the Bhâshya, do not mean simply that a certain form *is put down* in a rule, but they) mean that a form is put down which (according to the ordinary rules of the language) should have been formed differently; (to put down something) in this manner requires a special effort, from which it follows that (when) a particular accent (has been so put down), it is meant to render (the term so accentuated different from the same term differently accentuated). When (चतसृ in तिसृचतसृ of P. VII., 2, 99) is (then) made *ádyudátta*, while तिसृचतसृ as a Dvandva-compound should have been put down as *antodátta*, and when (वन्, पद and स) are differently accentuated from what they should have been as substitutes for (हन्, पाद, and सह), it follows that (चतसृ in P. VII., 2, 99) is meant to denote (only the *ádyudátta* चतसृ, वर्ध only the *ádyudátta* वन् etc.). There is nothing to prove

1. In other words, Kaiyaṭa etc. consider that the present Paribhâshâ must not be adopted in case the words of Pâṇini's grammar are (as a rule) read without accents. See below pag. 499, note 3. Cf. P. नन्वेवमपि निपातनस्थले यत्नविशेषाभावाच्चतसरीत्यादिभाष्यासंगतिरत आह । चतेति ॥ नन्वेवं ज्ञापकपरभाष्यासंगतिः स्वल्पाप्युक्तरीत्या तदुच्चारणस्य विवक्षार्थत्वसंभवादत आह । त्रैस्वर्येणेति ॥

that all (the words of) Pâṇini's grammar have been left by him unaccented, (though) occasionally a word may have been given by him without any accents, as *e. g.* ऐक्ष्वाक[1] in the rule P. VI., 4, 174. Although those who study the Angas read them certainly, as one does the Brâhmaṇas, without distinguishing the three accents, yet they know from the explanation (of the learned) where an *udâtta* etc. has been put down, just as they know from it that (a letter) is *anunâsika* etc.'

Where a letter is *taught* (in a rule), there it does in consequence of the prohibition अप्रत्ययः (in P. I., 1, 69) not denote (also) the homogeneous letters which it (otherwise) would denote by the present Paribhâshâ;[2] for this reason it is not the nasal वँ् which *e. g.* in पटवत् has (been substituted) for the म् of (the affix) मतुप्;[3] (and) it is for the same reason that (Pâṇini) has put down तद्वान् in the rule IV., 4, 125. (If) on the other hand (a letter which is taught in a rule did likewise denote also those letters that differ from it only in quality, then the substitute for the म् of मतुप् ought to have been *nasal* वँ्, and in that case the final द् of तद् would) by the rule प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यम्[4] have been changed necessarily to the nasal (न् before वँ्).

On the alternative however that (a letter is regarded) as the

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1. *Scil.* which is either *âdyudâtta* when formed by P. IV., 1, 168, or *antodâtta* when formed by P. IV., 2, 132.

2. See above pag. 105.

3. The व्, the substitution of which is taught in P. VIII., 2, 9, denotes only the *niranunâsika* व्, not also the *anunâsika* वँ्; if it did denote the latter, the latter ought to have been substituted for the nasal म् of मतुप् in the formation of पटवत् from पट + मतुप्.

4. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 60.

representative of all (the individual letters) of its kind,[1] the present (maxim) must be considered unnecessary ; (and) when[2] *e. g.* (in P. I., 4, 3) ई and ऊ are (so) put down as representatives of all long (ई's an ऊ's, the term *nadi*) cannot (by that rule) be assigned (to any letters) that should not be (termed *nadi*). More hereof elsewhere.[3]

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1. See above pag. 494 note 1.

2. See Râghavendrâchârya: ननु जातिपक्षे यू इत्यनेन ह्रस्वयोरपि नदीसंज्ञा स्यादित्यादिजातिस्तत्रापि सत्त्वादित्यत आह । यू इति ॥

3. अन्यत्रेति । अ इ उण्सूत्रस्थभाष्यप्रदीपोद्द्योतादावित्यर्थः ॥ Chitprabhâ.

See Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 1: उभयमिदं गुणेषूक्तं भेदका अभेदका इति । किं पुनरत्र न्याय्यम् । अभेदका गुणा इत्येव न्याय्यम् । कुत एतत् । यदयमस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्ष्णामनङुदात्त इत्युदात्तग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽभेदका गुणा इति । यदि भेदका गुणाः स्युरुदात्तमेवोच्चारयेत् । यदि तर्ह्यभेदका गुणा अनुदात्तादिरन्तोदात्तश्च यदुच्यते तस्वरितादेः स्वरितान्तात्च प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । आश्रीयमाणो गुणो भेदको भवति तद्यथा शुक्लमालभेत कृष्णमालभेत तत्र यः शुक्ल आलभ्यते कृष्णमालभते न हि तेन यथोक्तं कृतं भवति ॥

Kaiyata:..... उदात्तमेवेति । तस्माद्गुणरहितस्योच्चारणाभावान्नान्तरीयकत्वादुच्चार्यमाणोऽपि गुणः प्रयत्नमन्तरेण न विवक्षित इत्यर्थः । यद्येवं कथमन्यत्रोक्तमुदात्तनिपातनं करिष्यत इति यावता तत्रापि विवक्षा प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । तत्रापि स्थानेऽन्तरतमवचनादादेशस्य यः स्वरः प्राप्तस्तस्मिन्नुच्चारयितव्य उदात्तोच्चारणं प्रयत्नेन विवक्षार्थं विज्ञायते । एवमनुनासिकस्य प्रयत्नाधिक्येनोच्चारणं तद्विवक्षार्थमेव । उञः उँ इति यथा । अन्ये त्वाहुः । एकश्रुत्या सूत्राणि पठन्त इति क्वचिदुदात्तोच्चारणं तद्विवक्षार्थमिति ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ CX.

One might say that, although in सर्वनामन्, as put down in P. I., 1, 27, (the initial न् of नामन्) has (contrary to P. VIII., 4, 3) not been changed to ण्, yet in the ordinary language the form with ण् ought to be (considered) the correct form. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CX : When forms (which are contrary to the ordinary rules of grammar) are put down (in a rule, those ordinary rules) are superseded thereby altogether ;[1]

for (those forms) are so put down, while (by the ordinary rules of grammar which apply in their formation,) they should necessarily have been formed differently.[2] It should be understood that, although the word पुराण which is put down in P. IV., 3, 105, should (by this Paribhâshâ) have superseded (the rule P. IV., 3, 23 which would teach the formation of) the word पुरातन, it has not done so, because the latter is (put down) among (the words) पृषोदर etc. (in P. VI., 3, 109) ; according to others पुराण belongs to (the words) पृषोदर etc. as well as पुरातन. This (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya[3] on the rule P. I., 1, 27. To say that (the ordinary rules of grammar) are not necessarily superseded by the fact that forms (contrary to them) are put down (in a rule),[4] is contrary to the Bhâshya.

1. When सर्वनामन् is in P. I., 1, 27 put down with dental न्, while the latter according to P. VIII., 4, 3 should have been changed to ण्, this shows that the rule P. VIII., 4, 3 is not to be applied in the case of सर्वनामन्. The word निपातन has been explained above pag. 497.

2. P. तथा च येननाप्राप्तिमूलकत्वमस्या इति भावः. See above pag. 321.

3. See Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 27 : इह सर्वनामानीति पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः [८. ४. ३] इति णत्वं प्राप्नोति । तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । सर्वनामसंज्ञायां निपातनाण्णत्वाभावः । सर्वनामसंज्ञायां निपातनाण्णत्वं न भविष्यति । किमेतन्निपातनं नाम । अथ कः प्रतिषेधो नाम । अविशेषेण किंचिदुक्त्वा विशेषेण नेत्युच्यते । तत्र व्यक्तमाचार्यस्याभिप्रायो गम्यत इदं न भवतीति । निपातनमप्येवंजातीयकमेव । अविशेषेण णत्वमुक्त्वा विशेषेण निपातनं क्रियते । तत्र व्यक्तमाचार्यस्याभिप्रायो गम्यत इदं न भवतीति । ननु च निपातनाच्चाणत्वं स्याद्यथाप्राप्तं च णत्वम् । .... बाधकान्येव हि निपातनानि भवन्ति ॥

4. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 525.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXI.

One might say that, as (*e. g.* in the formation of the 3. Plur. of the Red. Perf. Par. of) उख् where this root is reduplicated (*i. e.* changed to उखुख्), the (rule P. VII., 4, 59 by which) the vowel of a reduplicative syllable is shortened, cannot be applied before (the change of उखुख् to उ+उख् and ऊख्), because (the vowel उ of the reduplicative syllable) is short already, it would have to be applied after (उखुख्) has by P. VII., 4, 60 been changed (to उ+उख्) and this (to ऊख्) by P. VI., 1, 101, (the result of which would be उखुः, instead of the correct form ऊखुः.[1] The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. CXI: The rules of grammar are like the rain (in this that they are) applied (both where they produce a change and where they do not, just as the rain falls upon that which already is full of water as well as upon that which is empty).

When accordingly the rule P. VII., 4, 59 has been applied to (the vowel उ of the reduplicative syllable of उखुख्), although (that vowel) is short already, it cannot be applied again (after उखुख् has been changed to ऊख्), for there is a maxim that in (the formation of) one and the same form a rule is applied only once. This[2] is expressed in the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 2, 9 in the words 'surely (we can say that) a rule may effect what

1. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 45.

2. P. इयं च शब्दान्तरेण भाष्यारूढेन्याह । तदुक्तमिति । दृष्टान्तेन लोकसिद्धत्वमस्या दर्शितम् ॥

See Bhâshya on P. 1., 2, 9: कृतकारि खल्वपि शास्त्रं पर्जन्यवत् । तद्यथा पर्जन्यो यावदूनं पूर्णं च सर्वमभिवर्षति ॥ The same words occur in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 127.

is effected (already), resembling therein the rain (which falls upon that which is filled with water as well as upon that which is empty)', *i. e.* that it *e. g.* may make a vowel short though the latter be short already.

Nor can one object that there is nothing to prove (the correctness of the maxim) that in (the formation of) one and the same form a rule is applied only once; for while (in the absence of that maxim) we might have formed (all the three forms सँस्कर्ता or संस्कर्ता, सँस्स्कर्ता or संस्स्कर्ता, and सँस्स्स्कर्ता or संस्स्स्कर्ता *without* the rule P. VIII., 3, 5, *viz.* the first) with one स् by dropping (the म् of सम्+स्कर्ता) in accordance with (the rule) समो वा लोपमेके, (the second) with two स् by doubling (the स् of स्कर्ता in सँस्कर्ता or संस्कर्ता by P. VIII., 4, 47, and the third) with three स् by again doubling (the first स् of स्कर्ता in सँस्स्कर्ता or संस्स्कर्ता) by the same rule, the very (circumstance that Pâṇini has given the) rule VIII., 3, 5 proves (the existence of that maxim;[1] it is) besides (proved by the fact) that it has been distinctly stated in the Bhâshya[2] on P. VI., 1,

1. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 66. When the maxim is adopted, we are not allowed to apply the rule P. VIII., 4, 47 twice, and we cannot account for the three forms सँस्कर्ता, सँस्स्कर्ता, and सँस्स्स्कर्ता, without the rule P. VIII., 3, 5. By the rule समो वा लोपमेके we obtain सँस्कर्ता, by P. VIII., 3, 5 सँस्स्कर्ता, and by P. VIII., 4, 47 सँस्स्स्कर्ता.

2. See the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 108: कार्यकृतत्वाद्वा | अथवा सकृत्कृतं पूर्वत्रमिति कृत्वा पुनर्न भविष्यति तद्यथा वसन्ते ब्राह्मणोऽग्निनादधीतेति सकृदाधाय कृतः शास्त्रार्थ इति कृत्वा पुनः प्रवृत्तिर्न भवति ॥

In the Bhâshya on P. VII., 2, 1 the maxim has not been distinctly stated, but the author of the Bhâshya must have adopted it, because (in the formation of अवोदाम् etc). he allows the rule which teaches the substitution of Vṛiddhi to apply only once; he states that Vṛiddhi is substituted first for the अ of वह्, that subsequently औ is substituted for that Vṛiddhi by P. VI., 3, 112, and that afterwards Vṛiddhi cannot be

108, VII., 2, 1 etc.; (and) from the Bhâshya[1] on P. VII., 2, 1 we learn that, so far as this (maxim is concerned), a change which a form may undergo does not render the latter a different form. More hereof elsewhere.[2]

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again substituted for ओ, notwithstanding, as we may add, that the original form might be considered to have become a different form by the substitution of ओ.

1. ननु लक्ष्ये लक्षणस्येति न्यायस्य ग्रामणिकर्मण्येऽपि प्रकृते विकारकृतलक्ष्यभेदाद्ग्राह्या-वुक्तदोषस्तदवस्थ एवात आह । अत्रेति । लक्ष्य इति प्रोक्तन्याय इत्यर्थः ॥ विकारकृत इति पाठः । विकारागमकृत इत्यपाठ आगमकृतलक्ष्यभेदाङ्गीकारात्तद्ग्राह्यात्तदलाभाच्च ॥ भाष्या-दिति । तत्र ह्युदवोढामित्यादावोत्वात्परत्वाद्वृद्धदत्वज [७.२.३] इति वृद्धौ वर्णपदसामर्थ्येनौत्वे-नेटं साधितम् (See P. VI., 3, 112) । अन्यथा पुनर्वृद्ध्यापत्त्या भाष्यासंगतिः स्यादेव ॥ P.—Râghavendra reads विकारागमकृतः and explains: आगमेति । तेन सर्वेषा-मित्यत्र सुटि कृते न पुनः सुट् । भूयादित्यादौ तु स्थानिभेदात्पुनःपुनर्लोपः । एवं चात्र लक्ष्यपदेन साक्षात्कार्यभागेव गृह्यत इति तत्त्वम् ॥

2. अन्यत्र *i. e.* उद्द्योतादौ, P.; शब्दरत्नादौ, Chitprabhâ.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXII.

(P. VII., 2, 44 enjoins the optional addition of the augment इट् to *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes commencing with one of the letters contained in the Pratyâhâra वल्, after roots characterized by an indicatory क; and P. VII., 2, 59 prohibits the addition of इट् to *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes commencing with स्, after the roots स्यन्दू etc., *in the absence of the Âtmanepada-terminations.* Such being the case,) one might say that *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Sim. ple Fut. Par. of the root स्यन्दू, (characterized by the Anubandha क), इट् ought (by the former rule) to be optionally prefixed (to the affix स्य), because (the rule P. VII., 2, 44 which enjoins

its optional addition) is *antaranga* in regard to P. VII., 2, 59 which prohibits इट्, the latter rule being *bahiranga* because (the taking effect of it) depends on the absence of any reasons for the Âtmanepada-terminations.[1] (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. CXII : Surely[2] prohibitory rules possess greater force;

viz. greater force even[3] than (rules which are) *antaranga*[4] (in regard to them) or than (rules) on which their own existence is dependent, (*i. e.* rules in the absence of which they themselves would not have been given.[5] What results from this Paribhâshâ so far as the prohibitory rule P. VII., 2, 59 is concerned, cannot be said to result already from the employment of the word चतुर्थ्यः in that rule, for) चतुर्थ्यः has been added (to वृद्ध्यः) simply for the sake of clearness; and herewith it agrees, when that word is in the Bhâshya rejected as superfluous.—As then (by this Paribhâshâ a prohibitory rule possesses greater force even than a rule

1. P. सकेति । सकारादित्वरूपो यो विशेषस्तदपेक्षत्वादित्यर्थः । ननु तलापि (*i. e.* in P. VII., 2, 44) वलादित्वापेक्षत्वेन समत्वमत आह । आत्मन इति । इति केचित् ॥ वस्तुनस्तु °तीत्यादावात्मनेपदनिमित्तत्वाभावानिमित्तत्वान्न वृद्ध्य इति पाठः । तत्र पूर्वनिमित्तकत्वस्योभयत्र तुल्यत्वादाह °वात्मनेपदेति । तथा चाधिकनिमित्तत्वेनात्र तत्त्वं बोध्यम् ॥ Bhairavamis'ra : एतच्चात्यपेक्षमन्तरङ्गमिति प्राचीनरीत्या ॥ See above pag. 228.

2. P. चो ह्यर्थे । स चात्र हेतोः प्रसिद्धत्ववाचकः । स चानुपदमेव व्यक्तीभविष्यति ॥ See below.

3. अन्तरिति । अन्तरङ्गादुपजीव्याच्चेत्यर्थः । अपिः परादिसमुच्चायकः ॥ P.

4. Accordingly the prohibitory rule P. VII., 2, 59 supersedes in the above example the *antaranga* rule P. VII., 2, 44.

5. *E. g.* P. I., 1, 10 supersedes P. I., 1, 9 entirely, although it would not have been given if P. I., 1, 9 had not been given, or in other words, although it owes its existence to the fact that P. I., 1, 9 has been given. See below.

on which its own existence is dependent,) such terms as *savarṇa* etc. cannot be optionally assigned where (a rule) prohibiting them may be applicable.[1] (If the Paribhâshâ) on the other hand (did not convey the above meaning), it would, as has been fully shown in the Manjûshâ,[2] be difficult to say why those (terms) should not be optionally assigned (where a rule prohibiting them might be applicable); for the rule that enjoins them would, in accordance with the doctrine of the Mîmânsakas, possess greater force (than the prohibitory rule) because the latter owes its existence to the former, which on that account ought not to be entirely superseded (by the latter). Owing to the fact (however, that such a rule is superseded entirely by a prohibitory rule) the rule P. I., 1, 32 really serves a purpose[3] notwithstanding (the existence of the prohibitory rule) P. I., 1, 31.—What[4] proves the validity of this (Paribhâshâ), is the circumstance that (prohibitory rules) are applied for the purpose of preventing the taking effect of rules which enjoin (that which is prohibited by the former.) It is found in the Bhâshya[5] on P. I., 1, 63 and III., 1, 30.

1. *I. e.* One cannot say *e. g.* that a vowel and a consonant *are savarṇa* by P. I., 1, 9 and at the same time *not savarṇa* by P. I., I, 10, or in other words, that they are *optionally savarṇa*; for P. I., 1, 10 supersedes by the present Paribhâshâ P. I., 1, 9 entirely.

2. मञ्जूषायां नञ्वादे. P.

3. Were the prohibitory rule P. I., 1, 31 to supersedo P. I., 1, 27 only *optionally*, then the rule P. I., 1, 32 would be superfluous. P. adds: न च नियमार्थं तदिति वाच्यं विधिनियमसंभवे विधेरेव ज्यायस्त्वादिति भावः ॥

4. इयं च परिभाषा लोकसिद्धन्यायमूलिकेत्याह। विध्युन्मूलनायेति। प्राप्तस्य निषेधनिवर्तनायेत्यर्थः। एतेनैतेननाप्राप्तन्यायेन विधिशास्त्रस्य निषेधशास्त्रेण बाध इति दर्शितम्। लोकेऽपि यस्योन्मूलनाय यस्य प्रसक्तिर्भवति ततस्तस्य बलवत्त्वं कंसकृष्णस्येव ॥. Bhairavamiśra.

5. Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 63: प्रतिषेधाश्च बलीयांसो भवन्ति; on P. III., 1, 30 एवमप्युभयोः सावकाशयोः प्रतिषेधस्य बलीयस्त्वात्प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति.

PARIBHÂSHA CXIII.

One might say that the term *Pratyaya* which implies that that which is termed so, conveys a meaning, ought properly not to be applied to those (affixes) which convey no meaning whatever.[1] (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CXIII: Pratyayas or affixes, to which no meaning has been assigned (in grammar), convey the meaning of the (bases) to which they (are added).

As we hold (not only that a Pratyaya *conveys* a meaning, but hold) likewise[2] that that the meaning of which *is conveyed* by the base (to which it is added), too may be termed a Pratyaya, it cannot be improper to apply the term Pratyaya to the latter (*i. e.* to affixes which convey no meaning of their own). स्वार्थे (in this Paribhâshâ) means, that they convey the meaning of their bases.[3] What[4] gives rise to the present (Paribhâshâ) is this: when (Pâṇini) adopts so long a technical term (as प्रत्यय), his doing so shows, that (what is denoted by that term) must, (in accordance with the etymological meaning of the latter, necessarily convey) a meaning;[5] and as no other (meaning) can be conveyed (by the

1. Such as क् in P. V., 4, 28.

2. *Viz.* in accordance with the Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 1: प्रत्यय इति महतीं संज्ञां क्रियते संज्ञा च नाम यतो न क्वचीत्। कुत एतत्। लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम्। तन्न महत्याः संज्ञायाः करणं एतत्प्रयोजनमन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत प्रत्याययतीति प्रत्ययः। यदि प्रत्याययतीति प्रत्ययोऽविकादीनां प्रत्ययसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति न हि ते किंचित्प्रत्याययन्ति। एवं तर्हि प्रत्याय्यत इति प्रत्ययः। एवमपि सनादीनां न प्राप्नोति। एवं तर्ह्युभयसाधनोऽयं कर्तृसाधनः कर्मसाधनश्च॥

3. *I. e.* स्व stands in the sense of स्वीय.

4. अस्या न्यायसिद्धत्वमाह। महति॥ P.

5. See also above pag. 95 and note 1.

affixes spoken of in this Paribhâshâ, they must convey the meaning of the bases to which they are added). This (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya on P. III., 2, 4 and other rules.[1]

1. *Viz.* P. III., 3, 19 ; III., 4, 9 etc.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXIV.

P. CXIV : From (a rule which we have obtained by) taking part (of a rule) as a separate rule, we (are allowed to) derive (only) such results as may be desirable.

I. e. we (are allowed to) derive (from such a rule) only such results as may be desirable, but we must not derive (from it) any results that may be undesirable ; for, and this proves (the correctness of this Paribhâshâ), the new rule obtained in such a manner is shown to be not universally valid by the fact that there exists a second rule which teaches the same (thing) as the (new rule).[1]

1. *E. g.* If the new rule अङ्यम्, which we obtain by taking अङ्यम of P. II., 1, 6 as a separate rule (See Si. Kau. I., pag. 321), were universally valid, Pânini's rule II., 1, 6 would be superfluous ; the existence of Pânini's rule II., 1, 6 shows that the new rule अङ्यम् is not universally valid, and we are accordingly allowed to derive from the latter only such results as may be desirable.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXV.

P. CXV: (In the employment) of synonyms the question as to their shortness or length is not taken into consideration.[1]

This is shown by the fact that in some rules अन्यतरस्याम् has been employed (by Pâṇini), in others विभाषा, and again in others वा.[2]

1. Elsewhere it *is* taken into consideration and shorter terms are employed in preference to longer ones. See Par. CXXII.

2. If the shortness or length of these synonyms had been taken into consideration by Pâṇini, he would everywhere have employed वा instead of अन्यतरस्याम् and विभाषा.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXVI.

P. CXVI: What is established by a Jnâpaka, is not universally (true).

I. e. When we are left to infer something which should have been distinctly stated, this is done to show that (what is inferred so) is not universally true; accordingly the import (of this Paribhâshâ) is this that we are not to derive from a Paribhâshâ which is established by a Jnâpaka, any results that may be undesirable. This[1] is suggested also in the Bhâshya on the rule P. IV., 1, 1 and elsewhere. The (word) Jnâpaka denotes here

1. Chitprabhâ: नन्वियं न भाष्यसंमता तत्र क्वाप्यदर्शनादित्यतो भाष्यसंमतत्वमाह। भाष्येऽपीति। ङ्याप्सूत्रादौ। तत्र हि प्रातिपदिकग्रहण इति परिभाषां समर्थयितुं व्याख्याय ततोऽनित्यसङ्केषु दार्ढ्यनेषु प्रतिविधेयं दोषेष्वित्युक्त्या ध्वनितम्॥ See above Par. LXXI.

by implication also a Nyâya or maxim from ordinary life. When some (rules) such as P. I., 1, 56 have been actually given (by Pâṇini), although they are established by Jnâpakas and Nyâyas, they mu st be understood (to have been given by him) for the purpose of informing us that other rules[1] (which are similarly established but have not been actually given by him) are not universally valid; (in the case namely of the above-mentioned rule P. I., 1, 56, what has been stated by Pâṇini in the words) स्थानिवदादेशः, is established by the general maxim according to which one who takes the place of somebody else takes upon himself also the functions of the latter; and the (restriction) अनल्विधौ of the same (rule) is established by a Jnâpaka.[2]

1 अन्येषाम् *i. e.* परिभाषार्थानाम्. P.

2. *Viz.* by the employment in P. II., 4, 36 of ल्यप् which would be superfluous if the restriction अनल्विधौ did not exist. See the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 56, and also above Par. LIV.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXVII.

One might say that, as *e. g.* in the case of द्रोग्धा or द्रोदा the substitution (by P. VIII., 2, 33) of घ् (or द् for ह् and the subsequent operations by which द्रोग्धा or द्रोदा are formed out of द्रोह्+ता) are (by P. VIII., 2, 1) *asiddha* (in regard to the doubling of द्रोग्धा or द्रोदा by P. VIII., 1, 4,—in other words, that, as both द्रोग्धा and द्रोदा are in regard to P. VIII., 1, 4 still equivalent to द्रोह्+ता), one would (in case द्रोग्धा or द्रोदा should have to be doubled by P. VIII., 1, 4, really) have to double (द्रोह्+ता, and that when द्रोह्+ता should thus have been changed to द्रोह्+ता द्रोह्+ता,) one would have the option of changing one (द्रोह्+ता) to द्रोग्धा and

the other to द्रोदा (by P. VIII., 2, 33 etc.[1] The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. CXVII : (An operation) which by P. VIII., 2, 1 would (have to) be (considered as) *asiddha* (in regard to an operation taught in a preceding rule), is (contrary to P. VIII., 2, 1) *not* (considered *asiddha*, when the preceding rule teaches) that something is doubled.[2]

It is characteristic of this (Paribhâshâ) that it is applicable in the case of any rule which may occur in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar ; (in reality) however it (is applied) only, where different forms might result, in case (the rule which teaches the doubling were to take effect) *before* or *after* (the taking place of the operation taught in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar ; and) it has (accordingly) *e. g.* in (the formation of) कृष्णर्द्धि (from कृष्णर्ध्+धि) no concern (with the substitution of द for ध् taught in P. VIII., 4, 53), *viz.* because there arises no difference of form, whether the doubling (taught in P. VIII., 4, 46) takes place before or after the substitution by P. VIII., 4, 53 of द् (for the first ध् of कृष्णर्ध्+धि).[3] More hereof elsewhere.[4]

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1. The result hereof would be द्रोग्धाद्रोदा or द्रोदाद्रोग्धा, as well as द्रोग्धाद्रोग्धा and द्रोदाद्रोदा.

2. यत्पूर्वासिद्धीयं शास्त्रं तदाद्विर्भ इत्युपतिष्ठत इत्यर्थः. P.

3. In other words, because the result is the same in the end, whether the first ध् of कृष्णर्ध्+धि or the द् of कृष्णर्द्धि is doubled by P. VIII,, 4, 46. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 42.

4. अन्यत्र *i. e.* शेखरादौ. P.—The Paribhâshâ is *anitya* ; see Si. Kau. II., pag. 115.

This (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya[1] on the rule P. VIII., 1, 1.

1. See Bhâshya on P. VIII., 1, 1: यदि तर्हि स्थाने द्विर्वचनं राजाराजा वाक्यम् पदस्येति नलोपादीनि न सिध्यन्ति । इदमिह संप्रधार्यं द्विर्वचनं क्रियतां नलोपादीनीति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वान्नलोपादीनि । पूर्वत्रासिद्धे नलोपादीनि सिद्धासिद्धयोश्च नास्ति संप्रधारणा । एवं तर्हि पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयमद्विर्वचन इति वक्ष्यामि । नचावश्यं वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । विभाषिनाः प्रयोजयन्ति । द्रोग्भाद्रोग्भा द्रौदाद्रौदिति ॥. See also the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 9.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXVIII.

One might say that, instead of saying *e. g.* गोष्वश्वेषु च स्वामी or (गवामश्वानां च स्वामी 'possessing cattle and horses'), one ought to be allowed to say also गोष्वश्वानां च स्वामी, because (स्वामिन्) governs by the rule P. II., 3, 39 both the Genitive and the Locative case. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CXVIII: When one form has been employed, a second or third (different) form cannot be employed (in the same sense).[1]

This maxim is applicable in cases where the employment of another form might create the impression of its being employed in a different sense.[2] More hereof elsewhere. The

1. If then in the above phrase we employ गो in the Locative, we must employ अश्व too in the Locative; and if we employ the Genit. of गो, we must likewise employ the Genit. of अश्व.

See P.: यतोऽत इति शेषः । यत एकस्या आकृतेः स्वरूपस्य प्रयोगश्चरितः कृतोऽतो द्वितीयस्यास्तृतीयस्याश्च नेत्यर्थः । चश्चतुर्थ्यादिसमुच्चायकः ॥

2. अस्ति चात्र गोष्वश्वानां चेत्युक्तेऽश्वानां स्वामी गोषु निष्ठतीत्यर्थान्तरस्य तादृशी प्रतीयत्तिरिति भावः । तथा च लोकसिद्धप्रतिपत्तिलाघवमूलकोऽयं न्याय इति बोध्यम् ॥ तदाहेत्यन्यत्रेति । उद्द्योतादावित्यर्थः ॥. P.

(Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya[1] on the rule P. III., 1, 40.

1. See Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 40: लिट्परार्थं वा । लिट्परार्थं तर्हि कृभोऽनुप्रयोगवचनं क्रियते । लिट्परस्यैवानुप्रयोगो यथा स्यादन्यपरस्य मा भूदिति । ....एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । एकस्या आकृतेश्चरितः प्रयोगो द्वितीयस्यास्तृतीयस्याश्च न भविष्यति । तद्यथा । गोषु स्वाम्यश्वेषु चेति । न हि भवति गोषु चाश्वानां च स्वामीति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: वेदलोकप्रसिद्धोऽयं न्यायः । ..... तस्माद्योऽर्थो यथा शब्दाकृत्या प्रतिपादयितुमुपक्रान्तस्तथैवासौ निर्वर्ती न त्वन्यथा शब्दाकृत्यैवंर्थैः ॥ एवं हि प्रतिपत्तिलाघवं भवति ॥ See also Kaiyaṭa on P. VIII., 1, 1.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXIX.

(When) *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Red. Perf. Par. of व्यध् (this root has been reduplicated or, in other words, changed to व्यव्यध्, two rules are applicable to this व्यव्यध्, *viz.* P. VI., 1, 17 which teaches the substitution of Samprasâraṇa in the reduplicative syllable, and P. VII., 4, 60 which teaches the elision of the consonant य् of the same syllable; now) one might say that (in this case P. VII., 4, 60 ought to take effect first) because it follows upon (the rule VI., 1, 17, and that) when the य् of the reduplicative syllable has accordingly been elided, Samprasâraṇa ought (by P. VI., 1, 17) to be substituted for the (remaining) व् (of the same syllable.[1] The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CXIX: A (substitution of) Samprasâraṇa and the operation dependent on it possess greater force (than other operations which are simultaneously applicable).[2]

1. The result hereof would be उव्याध instead of विव्याध.

2. Accordingly Samprasâraṇa is by P. VI., 1, 17 and P. VI., 1, 37

The (operation) dependent on (Samprasâraṇa spoken of in this Paribhâshâ) is the substitution by P. VI., 1, 108 of Samprasâraṇa alone for Samprasâraṇa and any vowel by which it may be followed.—In reality (however) this (Paribhâshâ) is, as appears from the Bhâshya[1] on P. VI., 1, 17, superfluous, because the (substitution of Samprasâraṇa for the य् of the reduplicative syllable of व्यव्यध्, in preference to the elision of that consonant,) results from the circumstance that the word उभयेषाम् which is employed in the rule P. VI., 1, 17, conveys the meaning that (in the reduplicative syllable) of both (वच् etc. and ग्रह् etc. the substitution of) Samprasâraṇa *only* shall take place; and from the Bhâshya on the same (rule) we see that whatever else (is supposed) to result (from this Paribhâshâ), can likewise be accounted

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substituted for the य् of the reduplicative syllable of व्यव्यध् in preference to the elision of that consonant by P. VII., 4, 60 (*i. e.* व्यव्यध् becomes वि-अ व्यध्), and subsequently this Samprasâraṇa इ is by P. VI., 1, 108 substituted for इ itself and the following अ (*i. e.* वि अ व्यध् is changed to विव्यध्).

1. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 17: इदं तर्ह्युभयेषांग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनम्। उभयेषामभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणमेव यथा स्याद्यदन्यत्प्राप्नोति तन्मा भूदिति। किं चान्यत्प्राप्नोति। ह्लादिःशेषः। अभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं हलादिःशेषाद्विप्रतिषेधेनेति वक्ष्यति स पूर्वविप्रतिषेधो न पठितव्यो भवति॥ अभ्याससंप्रसारणं हलादिःशेषाद्विप्रतिषेधेन .....विव्याध। विव्यधिथ। अभ्याससंप्रसारणं भवति पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन। स तर्हि पूर्वविप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः। न वा। संप्रसारणाश्रयबलीयस्त्वादन्यत्रापि। न वा वक्तव्यः। किं कारणम्। संप्रसारणाश्रयस्य बलीयस्त्वादन्यत्रापि। संप्रसारणं संप्रसारणाश्रयं च बलीयो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्। अन्यत्रापि नावश्यमिहैव वक्तव्यम्। किं प्रयोजनम्। प्रयोजनं रमाक्लोपियङ्ण्यः। रम्। भृष्टः। भृष्टवान्। संप्रसारणं च प्राप्नोति रम्भावश्च। परत्वाद्रम्भावः स्यात्। संप्रसारणं बलीयो भवतीति वक्तव्यं संप्रसारणं यथा स्यात् (P. VI., 1, 16 and VI., 4, 47)।.... नैतानि सन्ति प्रयोजनानि। यत्तावदुच्यते रमितीदमिह संप्रधार्यं रम्भावः क्रियतां संप्रसारणमिति किमत्र कर्तव्यम्। परत्वाद्रम्भावो नित्यं संप्रसारणमित्यादि॥

for without it. Nor[1] (does the rejection of this Paribhâshâ entail) any fault in the case of (rules) like P. VI., 1, 31, for the Locatives संश्वङोः etc. (of those rules do not convey the sense 'when सन् and चङ् follow', but they convey the meaning) 'where (सन् etc.) may be added (at some time or other)'. More hereof elsewhere.[2]

1. Cf. Si. Kau. II., pag. 190.— See Bhairavamis'ra: ननु श्विधातोर्णिजन्तादुङि चङि द्वित्वे वृद्ध्यायोरन्तरङ्गत्वात्संप्रसारणात्पूर्वं प्रवृत्तावशूशावदित्यस्यासिद्धिरत आह । णौ चेति । एवं च द्वित्वात्प्राक् संप्रसारणे ततो णिचि चङि वृद्धावावादेशे णौ चङि [७.४.१] इति ह्रस्वेऽस्य सिद्धिरिति भावः ॥ If the meaning of संश्वङोः were संश्वङोः परयोः, Samprasârana would be *bahiranga* in regard to the Vriddhi etc. caused by णिच्.

2. अन्यत्र । उदाहृतादावित्यर्थः । वस्तुतोऽभ्यासविकारेषु वाध्यवाधकभावाभावेनेष्टानुरोधेन कार्यप्रवृत्त्येष्टसिद्ध्या व्यर्थादौ न दोष इत्यपि बोध्यम् । P. See Par. LXVI.

PARIBHÂSHÂS CXX.,1—3.

(Some grammarians adopt the two following Paribhâshâs):

P. CXX., 1: A derivative denotes sometimes the original (from which it is derived).

This, (they say), accounts for the fact that the term क्ला in P. I., 3, 30 denotes (the root) क्लेश्.[1]

P. CXX., 2: (Whenever a term is employed which might denote) both something originally enunciated (in a grammatical treatise), and also something else that occurs in the ordinary language,

1. सिद्धिरिति । तथा च निह्नुयन इत्यादावात्मनेपदसिद्धिः ॥ P.

it should be taken to denote only that which is originally enunciated (in a grammatical treatise).

Accordingly, (they say, the expression 'a root commencing with द्') in P. VIII., 2, 32 denotes only such roots (commencing with द्) as are originally enunciated (in the Dhâtu-pâṭha)[1].

But all this is incorrect; for there is nothing to prove[2] (the existence of) these two (Paribhâshâs), and they have not been given in the Bhâshya; (on the contrary) the first (Paribhâshâ) is (distinctly) refuted by (the statement of the author of) the Bhâshya on the rule P. VI., 1, 16, 'that a derivative does *not* denote the original (from which it is derived).'[3] (The ह्ना)[4] *e. g.* (which has been employed) in P. I., 3, 30 (is not the derivative of ह्ञे derived from the latter by P. VI., 1, 45, but) is a grammatical fiction (chosen by Pâṇini) to represent (the root) ह्ञेञ्. Others (however say that ह्ना in P. I., 3, 30 can represent only the derivative ह्ना and) that the Âtmanepada-terminations (are accordingly by P. I., 3, 30 substituted after ह्ञे) only where श्ना is substituted (for the final of the latter), because it has been clearly stated in the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 1, 20, that (a term employed

1. *I. e.* it denotes *e. g.* दुह्, but not दामलिह्; see Si. Kau. I., pag. 146.

2. निर्मूलत्वात् *i. e.* ज्ञापकशून्यत्वात्. Bhairavamis'ra.

3. Explained by Kaiyaṭa: प्रकृत्या विकृतिर्गृह्यते स्थानिवद्भावान्न तु विकृत्या प्रकृतिर्भिन्नरूपत्वादिति भावः ॥

4. Chitprabhâ: नन्वेवं निसमुपविभ्यो ह्व इत्यादौ ह्व इति विकृतिग्रहणेन प्रकृतेरग्रहणात्तस्मादात्मनेपदानुपपत्तिरित्यत आह । निसमुपेति ॥ सौत्रेति । श्नाशितीत्यस्य प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधत्वेऽपि शित्परत्वयोग्यस्यैव तेन तद्विधानात्प्रकृते न लक्षणवशसंपन्नत्वमात्मनस्य भवतीति भावः । कृताकृतस्यानुकरणत्वमनभ्युपेत्य लक्षणवशसंपन्नत्वासंभवे सौत्रत्वकल्पनम् ॥ वस्तुतस्तन्न युक्तं कृताकृतस्यैवानुकरणसंभवादित्याह । आत्मविषय इति ॥ तत्र हेतुमाह । प्रयोगस्थानामिति ॥

to represent something) can represent only what in the actual language is (uniform with it).

And as regards the latter (of these two Paribhâshâs), it has been adopted neither by the author of the Sûtras nor by the author of the Vârttikas, for both actually employ the word उपदेश 'original enunciation' in many (rules).[1] Nor has it been adopted by (the author of) the Bhâshya, for there is (a passage in) the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 22 which runs thus:—'wherever here in grammar terms are employed that contain Anubandhas, they are meant to denote wordfoms which possess those Anubandhas;[2] now the wordform (which is meant to be denoted by a particular term) cannot be ascertained without reference to the actual language; and as then in the actual language wordforms that contain Anubandhas do not occur, we must (in order to ascertain what wordforms may be meant to be denoted by terms containing Anubandhas) have recourse to another language, *viz.* to the original enunciation (of the grammatical treatises)'; from this passage it is clear that (a term) denotes something (originally enunciated in a grammatical treatise only) when there is nothing in the ordinary language which could be denoted by it. (And the above passage from) the Bhâshya (must not be misunderstood to have reference only to terms) that contain Anubandhas, (for the author of the Bhâshya does not intend to restrict his statement to such terms only, but mentions them particularly) because (the terms तरप् etc.) of which he

1. See P. I., 3, 2; VI., 1, 45; VI., 4, 62 etc. The employment of the word उपदेश would have been superfluous if the Paribhâshâ had been adopted.

2. यत्रास्यैतदूपमनुबन्धयुक्तं तत्र यसंज्ञेत्याद्यर्थः। एवं चोपदेश एव यसंज्ञादि प्रयोगे तु स्थानिवद्भावेनैतदिति बोध्यम्॥ P.

speaks (happen to be such terms).[1]—The term दादि in P. VIII., 2, 32 (in the case of which the second Paribhâshâ was supposed to be applicable) denotes *by implication* '(roots) which in an original enunciation commence with द्,' and consequently there can arise no fault (from the application of P. VIII., 2, 32, even when that Paribhâshâ is not adopted). More hereof elsewhere.[2]

(Some grammarians have said):

'One might say[3] that the several Vikaraṇas which are added (to roots) because the latter belong to particular classes, should be (added also to the Parasmai. Frequentative bases of those roots, and that accordingly *e. g.* the Vikaraṇa इयन् should be added) to the Parasmai. Frequent. base of गृभ्, and (श्रम्) to the Parasmai. Frequent. base of भिद्; that similarly (when it might be forbidden to add the augment इट् to affixes after particular roots,) इट् should not be allowed to be (prefixed to affixes after the Parasmai. Frequent. bases of the same roots, and that it should accordingly not be) added *e. g.* after the Parasmai. Frequent. base of भिद्, because its addition after this root is forbidden by P. VII., 2, 10. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CXX., 3: (Of operations which concern primitive roots there are) five (that do) not (take place) in case (those roots) are followed by यङ्लुक्;[4] they are: ((*a*) and (*b*,) an operation that may be taught in a rule) in which[5] (the primitive root) is put down

1. See also the Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 94, above pag. 43.

2. अन्यत्र *i. e.* उदङ्गोतादौ. P.

3. See above Par. XCIII., 9.

4. Or, in other words, that do not concern the Parasmai. Frequent. bases of those roots.

5. यदिति यत्नेत्यर्थेऽव्ययं यद्वा यच्छब्दस्वरूपं यत्नेत्यस्य सर्वत्र संबन्धः. P.

with (the termination) ति, or with (the Vikaraṇa) श्नम्; (*c*) (an operation that may be taught in a rule) in which (the primitive root) is put down with an Anubandha or Anubandhas (attached to it), as well as (an operation) which is stated (to concern generally all primitive roots) that have a particular Anubandha of particular Anubandhas (attached to them); (*d*) (an operation) that may concern a whole class (or group of primitive roots; and) (*e*) (an operation that may be taught in a rule) in which the word एकाच् 'monosyllabic' has been employed.[1]

Examples are (suggested for (*a*) by P. VIII., 4, 17 where हन्, या and वा are put down as) हन्ति, याति, वाति; (for (*b*) by) P. VII., 2, 49 where (भू is put down as) भर; (for (*c*) by) P. VI., 4, 63 (where दा has the Anubandha ङ् attached to it), and (by) P. I., 3, 12 (which concerns generally all *anudâttet* and *ñit* roots; for (*d*) by) P. III., 1, 69 (which teaches the addition of श्यन् to the roots of the *divâdi* class; and for (*e*) by) P. VII., 2, 10 (एकाच उपदेशेऽनुदात्तात्).

(Contrary[2] to this Paribhâshâ a root) *is* reduplicated (before

1. For numerous examples see Si. Kau. II., pag. 211-219, where this Paribhâshâ has been frequently applied by Bhaṭṭojidikshita. See also Si. Kau. II., pag. 354.

2. नन्वेवं तत्र द्वित्वादिकं न स्यादत आह । द्वित्वमिति ॥ सनाद्यन्ता इत्यस्य प्रत्याख्यानादाह । भूवादेति ॥ इति च धातुत्वं चेति पाठः ॥ गुणो यङ्लुकि । अन्यथाभ्यासाभावेन तदानर्थक्यं स्पष्टमेव । आदिना दीर्घेऽकित इत्यादिपरिग्रहः ॥ निषेधेति । एतत्परिभाषाबोध्यनिषेधेत्यर्थः ॥ अनित्यत्वस्य फलान्तरमाह । तेनेति । एतदनित्यत्वेनेत्यर्थः ॥ अपिरुक्तफलादिसमुच्चायकः ॥ अत एव । एतदनित्यत्वादेव ॥ किंचिदित्यस्य सर्वत्रान्वयः । तथा च केषांचिदेव तन्नामप्रवृत्तिर्न तु सर्वेषामिति भावः ॥ P.

यङ्लुक्, notwithstanding that the word एकाच् has been employed in P. VI., 1, 1 and is valid in P. VI., 1, 9, and a Par. Frequent. base) *is* termed *Dhâtu* by P. III., 1, 32, or, (in case that rule be rejected,) by P. I., 3, 1, (notwithstanding that both those rules concern whole classes of roots); for (the existence of rules) like P. VII., 4, 82, (that teach changes of the reduplicative syllable of a root before यङ्लुक्, proves that a root *is* reduplicated before यङ्लुक, and) renders (so) the prohibition (contained in this Paribhâshâ) not universally valid. On this account (*has* P. VIII., 2, 37 taken effect) *e. g.* in (the formation of) अजर्घाः (where the ग् of गृध्) *has* (by it) been changed to घ्, although (that rule does contain the word एकाच्); and it is for the same reason that Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 2, 14 reads (the third Pâda of this Paribhâshâ) यत्रैकाज्ग्रहणं किंचित् (or, in other words, states that the above-mentioned operations only *sometimes* do not take place before यङ्लुक्).

(The existence of) this (Paribhâshâ) is indicated by the word एकाचः in the rule P. VII., 2, 10 the employment of which proves (that at any rate) part (of the Paribhâshâ must have been adopted by Pâṇini; did the Paribhâshâ) on the other hand (not exist), then एकाचः (in P. VII., 2, 10) would clearly be superfluous, because (the roots) which in the original enunciation are not monosyllabic, are all *udâtta*.'[1]

All this (can) likewise not (be admitted to be correct), for (the above Paribhâshâ) has not been given in the Bhâshya, and the word एकाचः (in P. VII., 2, 10 which was supposed to indi-

1. As all primitive roots which in the original enunciation contain *more than one vowel* are *udâtta*, they are excluded from P. VII., 2, 10 already by the words उपदेशेऽनुदात्तात् of that rule; एकाचः is consequently superfluous unless it is admitted to indicate that P. VII., 2, 10 shall have no concern with the Par. Frequent. bases of roots.

cate the existence of it, because it would otherwise be superfluous,) is necessary (in that rule) to exclude (from it) वध, (the substitute for हन्). Nor can one object that, as the original (हन्) is monosyllabic in the original enunciation, (its substitute) वध may (likewise be regarded as) monosyllabic, (and that it therefore cannot be excluded from P. VII., 2, 10, by the word एकाचः); for when it is possible (for the expression एकाच उपदेशे in P. VII., 2, 10) to denote something which is actually enunciated as monosyllabic, (that expression) cannot, so far as regards the (prohibition of इट् taught in that rule), be taken to denote something which, (though it is itself actually enunciated as dissyllabic or polysyllabic), is substituted for something else which *is* enunciated as monosyllabic; besides (the words उपदेश एकाच्) denote that which in *any and every* original enunciation is monosyllabic. Moreover the word एकाचः (of P. VII., 2, 10 is necessary) for the subsequent (rule VII., 2, 11;) it is (namely) for (the validity of एकाचः) in P. VII., 2, 11, that (the addition of) इट् is not by that rule forbidden in (the formation of) जागरितवान् etc., notwithstanding that (जागृ) in the original enunciation does end with one of the vowels (contained in the Pratyâhâra) उक्. उपदेशे 'in the original enunciation', however, is valid in the latter rule in order that that rule may forbid the addition of इट् in the formation of forms like स्तीर्ण (from स्तॄ) etc. All this is clear from the Bhâshya etc.[1]

Now one might say: 'When in the Bhâshya, in order to account for the presence of इट् *e. g.* in the Future of the Âtmane. Frequent. base of भिद् (बेभिदिता), in (the formation of) which Lopa is substituted for the य (of बेभिद्य,[2] P. VII., 2, 10) is interpreted

1. See the Scholiasts on P. VII., 2, 10 and 11.
2. By P. VI., 4, 48 and 49.

to mean that "(इट् is not prefixed to an Ârdhadhâtuka) after a base which is actually monosyllabic and is in the original enunciation *anudâtta*," that interpretation is objected to on the ground that it would necessitate the formation of an additional rule by which to account for the absence of इट् in Desideratives like बिभित्सति.[1] No similar objection[2] having been raised (in the Bhâshya) on the score of *Parasmai.* Frequent. bases, it follows that after the latter इट् *must* be added, (and it follows moreover that, as this addition of इट् in the Parasmai. Frequent. has not in the Bhâshya been accounted for in any way, the author of the Bhâshya must be supposed to have accounted for it by means of the above Paribhâshâ. Nor can one object that the addition of इट् in the Parasmai. Frequent. is accounted for in the Bhâshya by the above-mentioned interpretation of P. VII., 2, 10,) for the way in which the discussion is opened and ended (in the Bhâshya)[3] shows that that passage of the Bhâshya has reference (only to the Âtmane.) not to the Parasmai. Frequent. base; besides if it had reference to (both the Âtmane. and) the Parasmai. Frequent. bases, (the Bhâshya,—while it does show a way in which we can dispense with the above-mentioned interpretation of P. VII., 2, 10 and yet account for the presence of इट्) after the Âtmane. Frequent. base, *viz.* by the *Sthânivattva* of Lopa,—would be defective in not showing similarly how the presence of इट् can be accounted for in the Parasmai. Frequent. (when the above-mentioned interpretation of P. VII., 2, 10 is rejected).'

1. *Scil.* the base (बिभिद्) of which is likewise not monosyllabic.

2. Such as यङ्लुकीट्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः.

3. *Viz.* the discussion is opened thus: किं पुनः कारणमेवं विज्ञायत उपदेशेऽनुदात्तादेकाचः श्रूयमाणादिति । यङ्लोपार्थम् । यङ्लोपे मा भूदिति ।, and it ends thus: अकारेण व्यवहितत्वान्न भविष्यति । ननु च लोपे कृते नास्ति व्यवधानम् । स्थानिवद्भावाद्व्यवधानमेव ।.

All this would however be futile; for as in the ordinary language those forms of the Parasmai. Frequent. in which इट् might be prefixed (to Ârdhadhâtuka affixes) are not used, and as in the Veda all rules are optional,[1] (the author of the Bhâshya) can (even when he, as we maintain, did not adopt the above Paribhâshâ) not (justly) be blamed for not having objected (to the above-mentioned interpretation of P. VII., 2, 10) on the score of Parasmai. Frequent. bases. (Had the author of the Bhâshya) on the other hand (been really of opinion that एकाच: in P. VII., 2, 10 is intended to show that that rule has no concern with the Parasmai. Frequent. bases of roots, and had he thus adopted at least a portion of the Paribhâshâ), then he would have had no reason for asking, why एकाच: has been employed (in P. VII., 2, 10), nor for answering that it is meant to exclude जागृ from the subsequent (rule VII., 2, 11) and वच from the rule under discussion.

Now one might say: '(When P. VII., 2, 10 teaches that an Ârdhadhâtuka shall not receive इट्), *Ârdhadhâtuka* necessarily postulates a *Dhâtu* or root, and the term एकाच् 'monosyllabic' (of that rule) qualifies accordingly the root; (in other words, P. VII., 2, 10 teaches, that इट् is not prefixed to an Ârdhadhâtuka after a monosyllabic root). Such being the case, forms like विभित्सति (do fall under P. VII., 2, 10, because) the latter portion (of the base विभिद्) which is termed root, [just as we have seen[2] from the Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 9 that (when अस् by reduplication is changed to अस्+अस्) it is only the latter अस् that can be called the root अस्], *is* monosyllabic,—and the above passage from the Bhâshya (concerning forms like विभित्सति) is consequently incorrect.'[3]

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1. Par. XXXV.
2. See above Par. XCIII., 9; pag. 447.
3. एवं चैकदेशयुक्तिलेन नोक्तार्थे साधकत्वमुक्तभाष्यस्येति भाव: ॥ P.

But this would likewise be wrong; for there is nothing to prove that (*e. g.* an Ârdhadhâtuka) does postulate (a root), and that (एकाच् 'monosyllabic' in P. VII., 2, 10) must be taken to qualify (the *root* so) postulated. (Nor would it be correct to say that, even when एकाच् should qualify the Anga or base,[1] विभित्सति would still fall under P. VII., 2, 10, because the latter *i. e.* radical portion of विभिद् *is* called Anga; for) the term *Anga* or) base is applicable only to the *whole* reduplicated form (विभिद्; this is clear from the Bhâshya[2] on P. VI., 1, 1 and has been considered in the S'abdendus'ekhara towards the end of the chapter which treats of the roots of the eighth class. The term *Dhâtu* or root, however, is applicable only to the latter *i. e.* radical portion (of a reduplicated form); it is for this reason that, when in the Bhâshya[3] (the words धातोरेकाचः) in P. VIII., 2, 37 are not considered as coordinate, but are explained to mean 'of the monosyllabic portion of a root,' (the author of) the Bhâshya, to prove the necessity of this interpretation, chooses the example (गर्दभ्), गर्ध्, and does not choose as an example the more common word अजर्धीः.[4]

The absence, however, of (the Vikaraṇas) श्यम् श्यन् etc. in

1. *Viz.* because P. VII., 2, 10 stands in the Angâdhikâra.

2. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 1: ननु चैकैकमलाङ्गम् | समुदाये या वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिस्तयाङ्गसंज्ञा भविष्यति |; and Kaiyaṭa: एकैवाङ्गसंज्ञा समुदायस्य न पृथगवयवयोः समुदायस्य प्राधान्यात्प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययात्.

3. See Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 32: धातोरिति नैषा दादिसमानाधिकरणषष्ठी दादेर्धातोरिति | का तर्हि | अवयवयोगेषा षष्ठी धातोर्यो दादिरवयव इति | सा चावेश्यमवयवयोगा षष्ठी विज्ञेयोत्तरार्था | किं प्रयोजनम् | एकाचो बशो भष् झषन्तस्य स्ध्वोरिनिहाविति यथा स्यात् | गर्दभयतेरप्रत्ययः |. गर्ध्वेति ||

4. *Viz.* he does not give the example अजर्धीः (from गृध्), because the last syllable of this word is not a *portion* of a root, but is itself a root.

(Parasmai. Frequent. forms like) अजघर्ः, बेभिदीति etc. is[1] accounted for (by the fact that) by (the rule) चर्करीतं च which we read in the *ad-âdi* (chapter of the Gaṇa-pâṭha, all Parasmai. Frequent. bases follow the rule of roots of the second class), from which it follows that there can be no occasion for the addition to a Parasmai. Frequent. base of the Vikaraṇas of any other class. And when (in Parasmai. Ffequent. forms) that may be found in the Veḍa, certain other operations (which would have to take place in the case of primitive roots) have likewise not taken place, this should be explained by the circumstance that (those forms) *are* Vedic; in the ordinary language such (forms as would necessitate the adoption of the above Paribhâshâ) do not occur. And when (a primitive root) is put down (in a rule) *e. g.* with (the termination) ति or (the Vikaraṇa श्नु), the fact of its having been so put down conveys as little any particular meaning as the fact that *e. g.* भू has been put down as भवति in the rule P. VII., 4, 73. More hereof elsewhere.[2]

1. *Scil.* without the above Paribhâshâ.

2. अन्यत्रेति । एकाच उपदेशेऽनुदात्तादिति सूत्रे शेखरादावित्यर्थः ॥ Chitprabhâ.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXXI.

One might say that, (instead of making the two rules VII., 1, 61 रधिजभोरचि and 62 नेट्यलिटि रधेः, Pâṇini) should have made the (three) rules जभोऽचि, रधेश्च, and नेट्यलिटि, because (in doing so) he would not have been obliged to employ रधि twice. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CXXI: To make two rules instead of one is more cumbrous than (to make only one rule.

even in case the formation of only one rule should necessitate the employment of) a greater number of words or of longer words (than that of two rules).

The cumbrousness is apparent from the fact that (the formation of two rules) would oblige us to ascertain the meaning of either rule separately.[1] Many however say that this (Paribhâshâ) has not been adopted in the Bhâshya,[2] and that it is contrary to the Bhâshya on[3] the rule P. VII., 1, 12; there namely it has been shown that the letter इ of the substitute इन (in P. VII., 1, 12) may be dispensed with just because we can make of the one rule (P. VII., 3, 105 आङि चापः) the two rules (आङि च and आपः).[4]

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1. योगविभागे सति वाक्यार्थबोधसिद्धयेऽधिकवाक्यसंपादकनिर्देशस्यापि कल्पनायां प्रतिपत्तिगौरवमिति भावः ॥ Bhairavamis'ra.

2. तदनुक्तत्वादिति भावः ॥ P.

3. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 12: किमर्थमिनादेश उच्यते न नादेश एवोच्येत । का रूपसिद्धिः । वृक्षेण प्लक्षेण । एवं तर्हि योगविभागः करिष्यते । कथम् । इदमस्ति । बहुवचने झल्येत् [७.३.१०३] । ओसि च [१०४] । तत आङि च (first portion of 105) । आङि च परतोऽन एवं भवति । वृक्षेण प्लक्षेण । ततः आपः (second portion of 105) । संबुद्धौ च [१०६] । आप आङि च ओसि चेति ॥

4. द्वौ रविग्रहणं (*viz.* in P. VII., 1, 61 and 62) त्वेकयोगनिर्दिष्टानां क्वचिदेकदेशोऽप्यनुवर्तते [प० १८] इति परिभाषाया अनित्यत्वस्य सूचनाय । Bhairavamis'ra.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXXII.

P. CXXII: Grammarians rejoice over the saving of (even)[1] the length of half a short vowel as much as over the birth of a son.

(The existence of) this (Paribhâshâ) is suggested in the Bhâshya[2] on the S'ivasûtras 3 and 4. As regards this (Paribhâshâ), it has been suggested in the Bhâshya on the rules P. I., 2, 27, 41 etc., that the question raised is generally only, whether in a rule which is made up of several words, a word can be saved, but not, whether a Mâtrâ (or half a Mâtrâ) can be economized. For when the question is raised (in the Bhâshya) as to what difference it would make if (the term) हल् were employed in the latter rule (P. I., 2, 41) instead of (the term) अल्, (this question) is answered by stating that there would be no difference so far as the (greater or) smaller number of words might be concerned, because (हल् would necessitate the employment of) three words, and (अल् would) likewise (necessitate the employment of) three words; (if we namely were to read हल् in P. I., 2, 41) we should have हल् in that rule, and should be obliged to employ अण् and इञ् in the rule P. II., 4, 58 (but might omit हल् in P. VI., 1, 68; and if we, on the other hand, were to read) अल् (in P. I., 2, 41), we should have this अल्, should be obliged to retain हल् in P. VI., 1, 68, but might in P. II., 4, 58 employ the one word अपक्तस्य instead of (the two terms) अण् and इञ्.

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1. अर्धमात्रालाघवेनापि पुत्रोत्सवं मन्यन्ते किमुताधिकलाघवेनेत्यर्थः । P.

2. तत्र ह्येच इगित्यस्य प्रत्याख्यानायार्धैकारार्धौकारौ यदि स्यातां तर्हि तावेव लाघवादयमुपदिशेदित्युक्तम् । ताभ्यामुपदिष्टाभ्यां दीर्घप्लुतयोरपि प्रदेशेषु ग्रहणं सिध्यति । नन्वेवं मात्रिकयोरेव गुणसंज्ञा स्यात्तपरत्वादिति चेत् । न । तत्र दीर्घयोरेव स्वरूपेण निर्देशादिति कैयटः । एवमपि तत्र ह्रस्वपाठेऽर्धमात्रालाघवं भवतीति तदाकूतम् ॥ P.

We have said (above that the question raised is) *generally* (whether a word be saved, because sometimes the question whether a Mâtrâ or half a Mâtrâ be economized, *is* raised as well. The author of) the Bhâshya[1] namely on the S'ivasûtra ऊण् makes the following statement: 'when (Pâṇini, in order to denote इ and उ,) employs in the rule VI., 4, 77 the term य्वोः, where (इ and उ) have been changed into the corresponding semivowels, while he might have employed the (shorter term) इण्: (formed by means of the ण् of the first S'ivasûtra अ इ उण्, his doing so shows that) the term इण् is never formed by means of the ण् of the first (Sûtra अ इ उण् , but is always formed with the ण् of the sixth Sûtra ऊण्; for य्वोः), formed by the change of इ and उ to य् and व् and the addition of the (necessary) case-termination, contains 3½ Mâtrâs, whereas the term इण् with its termination (*i. e.* इणः) would contain (only) 3 Mâtrâs.'[2] Moreover Kaiyaṭa comments on the Bhâshya on P. VII., 3, 71, according to which 'शिति should have been employed (in that rule instead of इयनि), because (the employment of शिति in VII., 3, 71) would *besides* have rendered the employment of शिति in P. VII., 3, 75 unnecessary,' by saying, that शिति does *not only* contain fewer Mâtrâs[3] (than इयनि), but would besides render the employment of शिति in P. VII., 3, 75 unnecessary.[4]

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1. See above pag. 5.

2. पदच्छेदाभिप्रायेणेदम् । अत एवोक्तं विभक्तिनिर्देश इति । संहितायां तु सार्धमात्राद्वयमेवेति वेदितव्यम् ॥ P.

3. *Viz.* half a Mâtrâ less.

4. *I. e.* If Pâṇini had employed शिति instead of इयनि, he would have economized not only half a Mâtrâ, but also a whole word, because he would not have been obliged to repeat शिति in VII., 3, 75.

APPENDIX.

PARIBHÂSHÂS CONTAINED IN SÎRADEVA'S PARIBHÂSHÂVṚITTI.

I. Prathamaḥ Pâdaḥ.

1. = Paribhâshendus'ekhara I.
2. न हि कार्यि निमित्तत्वेनाश्रीयते. See Par. X.
3. इतरेतराश्रयाण्यपि कार्याणि शास्त्रे प्रकल्पन्ते.[1]
4. आगमास्तद्गुणीभूतास्तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यन्ते = XI.
5. = XII.
6. = VI.
7. = XXI.
8. = XVIII.
9. = XIV.
10. न वर्णग्रहणेषु. See Com. on Par. XIV.; Text p. 14, 5; Transl. p. 83.
11. भाव्यमानोऽण्सवर्णान्न गृह्णाति. See Com. on Par. XIX.; Text p. 19, 13; Transl. p. 109.
12. = XXXIII.
13. विधिविधानविधिभाजां त्रयाणां संनिधाने तदन्तविधिर्भवति.[2]

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1. Sîradeva: ज्ञापकं चात्रेग्यणः संप्रसारणम् [१.१.४५] इत्यत्र संप्रसारणेन यणः स्थान इको भाव्यन्ते यण्स्थानिकानां चेकां संप्रसारणसंज्ञेतीतरेतराश्रयत्वम् ||. But see Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 45; and on P. I., 3, 12; Transl. pag. 208.

2. S. तेनैरच् [३.३.५६] इतीवर्णान्तादच्प्रत्ययो भवति । इयं परिभाषा येनविधिसूत्रस्यैव सामर्थ्याल्लब्धोऽर्थः पठ्यते । तथा हि । येनेति करणे तृतीया न चाकर्तृकं कर-

II. Kuṭâdi-pâdo dvitîyaḥ.

14. =XVII.

15. =XXII.

16. =XXXIV.

III. Bhû-pâdaḥ.

17. उदित्सवर्णं गृह्णाति न वर्णमात्रम्.[1]

18. =XXXVI.

19. =XLI.

IV. Kâraka-pâdaḥ.

20. सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधेन...=XL.

21. =XXXIX.

22. अन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गयोरन्तरङ्गं बलवत्. See Com. on Par. L.; Text. p. 43, 17; Transl. p. 234.

23. =LXX.

णमस्तीति कर्तीप्याश्रितः। स पुनरिह संबन्धिशब्दत्वादन्तशब्देनावयववाचिना संनिधापितः समुदायो विज्ञायते ॥ स च कर्ता विभिः प्रकारैः संनिधापितो भवति। क्वचिन्निर्देशात्। यथेदूदेद्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम् [१.१.११]। द्विवचनं कर्तृभूतं निर्दिष्टं यत्तदीदादिभिः करणैः प्रगृह्यसंज्ञां विदधाति ॥ क्वचित्प्रकरणात्। यथैरच् [3.3.५६] इत्यत्र धातोरित्यधिकारात्प्रकरणाद्धातुः कर्ता संनिधापितः। स इकारेण करणेनाचं विदधाति ॥ क्वचित्सामर्थ्यात्। यथेको झल् [१.२.९] इत्यत्र धातोरेव सन्निधीयत इति सामर्थ्याद्धातुः संनिधापितः। स इकारेण करणेन सनः किच्चं विदधाति ॥ तदेवमीदूदेद्विवचनम् [१.१.११] इत्यादौ प्रगृह्यसंज्ञाया विधीयमानस्य विधेरीदूदेतश्च करणस्य विधानस्य द्विवचनस्य च कर्तुर्विभिन्नाजः संभवाद्येन विधिस्तदन्तस्येति तदन्तविधिः प्रवर्तते। तदेवं येन विधिरित्यस्य सूत्रस्यार्थ एवायमेवंविधो विधिविधानेत्यादि ॥ एचोऽयवायावः [६.१.७८] इत्यादौ विधिभागोऽसंभवान्न प्रवर्तते ॥

1. S. उदिद्वर्णोऽणुदित्सवर्णस्य [१.१.६९] इति स्थानप्रयत्नाभ्यां विशिष्टमेव सवर्णं गृह्णाति न वर्णमात्रं तेन चोः कुः [८.२.३०] इति कुग्रहणे हकारस्य ग्रहणं न भवति। ज्ञापकं चात्र न विभक्तौ तुस्माः [१.३.४] इति तुग्रहणं कृत्वा सकारग्रहणमिति। अयं न्यायसिद्ध एवार्थः सुखप्रतिपत्त्यर्थं ज्ञापकेनोक्तः। तथा हि। स्थानप्रयत्नाभ्यां सदृशस्य सवर्णसंज्ञाविधानात्सकारसकारयोः स्पर्शोष्मणोः प्रयत्नभेदादेव सावर्ण्यं नास्तीति कुतो ज्ञापकम् ॥

24. = XXXV.
25. = XXIII.
26. = XXVI.
27. = XXVII.

V. Samartha-pâdah.

28. = LXXI.
29. = LXXII.

VI. Apara-pâdah.

30. = LXXIII.
31. = LXXIV.
32. = LXXV.

VII. Anabhihita-pâdah.

33. = LVIII.

VIII. Dvigu-pâdah.

34. = LIV.

IX. Pratyaya-pâdah.

35. असति संभवे बाधनं भवत्यस्ति च संभवो यदुभयं स्यात्.[1]
36. = LXVIII.
37. = LXXVI.
38. = VIII.

X. Karmani-pâdah.

39. = CV.
40. = XXXVII.
41. क्वचिद्विकृतिरपि प्रकृतिं गृह्णाति = CXX., 1.

1. S. कार्यविरोधाभावे समावेशसद्भावे बलवतैकेनापरस्य बाधनं भवति । तद्यथा । गो-द इति कप्रत्ययेनाण्प्रत्ययस्य बाधनं तथा वृक्षेभ्य इत्यत्रैत्वेन दीर्घत्वस्य । यदि त्वस्ति संभव-स्तदोभयमपि भवति । यच्छब्दो यत्रार्थे तदाशब्दश्चाध्याहार्यः । यथा कैकयमित्रयुप्रलयानां यादेरि-यः [७.३.२] इत्यत्रेयादेशोऽपि कृते वृद्धिः । कैकेयः प्रालेयः ॥. See also Com. on Par. LVII.

42. = LXXVII.

43. = LXVII.

XI. Bahula-pâdah.

44. = LIX.

XII. Sambandha-pâdah.

45. = VII.

46. = LXXVIII.

XIII. Ñyâp-pâdah.

47. = LX.

48. = LXI.

49. अकृतव्यूहाः पाणिनीयाः कृतमपि शास्त्रं निवर्तयन्ति = LVI.

XIV. Rakta-pâdah.

50. = LXXXI.

51. एकानुबन्धकग्रहणे न द्व्यनुबन्धकस्य. See Com. on Par. LXXXI. and LXXXII.; Text p. 84, 13; Transl. p. 404, note 5.

52. = LXXXII.

XV. Yushmat-pâdah.

53. = LXXIX.

XVI. Thak-pâdah.

54. क्रियाविशेषणानां कर्मत्वं नपुंसकलिङ्गता च.[1]

XVII. Dhânya-pâdah.

55. = XXXII.

56. = XXXII.

57. समासप्रत्ययविधौ तदन्तविधिनिषेध उगिद्वर्णग्रहणवर्जम्. See Com. on Par. XXXI.; Text p. 29, 15; Transl. p. 161.

1. S. तद्यथा । मृदु पचति ॥

XVIII. S'ata-pâdah.

58. स्वार्थिकाः प्रकृतितो लिङ्गवचनान्यतिवर्तन्तेऽपि=LXXXIII.

XIX. Ekâch-pâdah.

59. संप्रसारणं संप्रसारणाश्रयं च कार्यं बलीयो भवति=CXIX.

60. उभयत आश्रयणे नान्तादिवत्. See Com. on Par. LIII.; Text p. 56, 10; Transl. p. 290, note 3.

61. वर्णाश्रये विधौ नान्तादिवत्त्वम्. See Transl. p. 293, note 1.

XX. Bahuvrîhi-pâdah.

62. =XXVIII.

63. =LXXXIV.

XXI. Shashthânga-pâdah (?).

64. =LXXXV.

65. =XVI.

66. =LV.

67. यो ह्यनादिष्टादचः पूर्वस्तस्य विधिं प्रति स्थानिवत्.[1]

68. =XCIII., 9.

69. =L.

70. =LI.

71. संज्ञापूर्वको विधिरनित्यः=XCIII., 1.

72. =LXXXVI.

73. ताच्छीलिके णेऽप्यण्कृतं कार्यं भवति=LXXXII.

74. धातोः कार्यमुच्यमानं तत्प्रत्यय एव भवति=LXXXVIII.

1. S. योऽयमचः परस्मिन् [१.१.५७] इति स्थानिवद्भावः सोऽनादिष्टादचः पूर्वस्य कार्यं भवति। तेन पटयतीत्यत्र टशब्दाकारादनादिष्टादचः पूर्वो यः पशब्दाकारस्तस्यात उपधायाः [७.२.११६] इति वृद्धिं प्रति लोपः स्थानिवद्भवति। आदिष्टादचः पूर्वस्य तु कार्ये न स्थानिवत्त्वं यथा वैयाकरणः सौवश्वः। तेनैचोऽयवायावः [६.१.७८] इति न भवति। अत्र ह्यचः पूर्वयोरैचोः संभवो नास्ति यकारवकाराभ्यां पूर्वयोरैचोर्विधानात्॥. See P. VII., 3, 3.

XXII. Sup-pâdah.

75. = LXXXIX.

76. अवाधकान्यपि निपातनानि. See Com. on Par. CX.; Text p. 104, 4; Transl. p. 500.

77. अङ्गाधिकारे तस्य तदुत्तरपदस्य च. See Com. on Par XXIX; Text p. 27, 2; Transl. p. 148.

78. = CVII.

79. क्वचित्समुदायेन वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः = CVIII.

80. अभेदका इह शास्त्रे गुणाः = CIX.

XXIII. Sichi-pâdah.

81. = CXX., 2.

82. सर्वविधिभ्य इड्विधिर्बलीयान् = XCIII., 8.

83. = XC.

84. वर्त्स्यत्प्रवृत्त्येह कार्याणि क्रियन्ते.[1]

85. = LII.

XXIV. Devikâ-pâdah.

86. सत्यपि संभवे बाधनं भवति. See Com. on Par. LVII. Text p. 66, 4; Transl. p. 323, note 1.

87. पर्जन्यवदिह लक्षणप्रवृत्तिः = CXI.

88. गर्भवट्टावादयो भवन्ति.[2]

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1. S. भविष्यन्तीं प्रवृत्तिमाश्रित्य कार्याणि क्रियन्त इत्यर्थः। यथा शदेः शितः [१.३.६०] इत्यनेन भाविना शित्त्वेन शीयत इत्यत्रात्मनेपदम्। तथा निन्यनुर्निन्युरित्यत्र भविष्यदनेकाच्त्वेन द्विर्वचनात्प्रागेवैरनेकाचोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य [६.४.८२] इति यणादेशः। अन्यथेयङ् स्यात्॥

2. S. यथा मध्ये गर्भस्तथा टावादयः स्त्रीप्रत्ययाः प्रातिपदिकस्यादौमध्ये भवन्ति।.... ज्ञापकं चात्र न यासयोः [७.३.४५] इतीत्त्वप्रतिषेधार्थं वचनम्। यदि गर्भवट्टावादयो न स्युस्तदा विभक्तौ त्यदाद्यत्वे कृते गर्भवदादेशोऽभावाद्यका सकेति न स्यात्। एवं च प्रत्ययस्थात् [७.३.४४] इत्यनेनेत्त्वप्राप्तिरभावान्न यासयोरित्यनर्थकं स्यात्॥

89. = XCIII., 10.

90. = XCI.

91. अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तौ विधिर्निष्ठितस्य = XCII.

XXV. Nau-pâdah.

92. पूर्वत्रासिद्धीये न स्थानिवत्.[1]

93. उपजातनिमित्तोऽप्युत्सर्ग उपजनिष्यमाणनिमित्तेनापवादेन बाध्यते = LXIV.

94. परिहृत्य चापवादविषयमुत्सर्गोऽभिनिविशते = LXIII.

95. णौ कृतं स्थानिवत्.[2]

96. अभ्यासविकारेष्वपवादा नोत्सर्गान्विधीन्बाधन्ते. See Com. on Par. LVIII; Text p. 67, 14; Transl. pag. 330.

XXVI. Sarvasya-dve-pâdah.

97. पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयमद्विर्वचने = CXVII.

XXVII. Repha-pâdah.

98. अनित्यमागमशासनम् = XCIII., 2.

99. निमित्तापाये नैमित्तिकस्याप्यपायः. See Com. on Par. LVI., Text p. 62, 18; Transl. p. 312.

XXVIII. Atah param Nyâyamûlâh Paribhâshâh.

100. = XV.

101. कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्ययः. See Com. on Par.

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1. S. तेन पाक्तिर्यायष्टिरित्यत्र पूर्वत्रासिद्धाधिकारीये कुत्वे षत्वे च कर्तव्येऽनौ लोपस्यास्थानिवत्त्वाद्झलादौ कुत्वं षत्वं च सिध्यति ॥ See P. VIII., 2, 30 and 36, and VI., 4, 48.

2. S. णौ परतो यद्वृद्ध्यादिकं कृतं तद्विर्वचने कर्तव्ये स्थानिवत्स्यात्। तेन शुशावयिषति जुहावयिषतीत्यत्राभ्यासस्यौवर्णान्तत्वं सिद्धं भवति। अशूशवदित्यत्र तु वकारस्य संप्रसारणं णौ कृतमपि द्विर्वचने न स्थानिवद्भवत्यजादिशस्यैव णौ कृतस्य द्विर्वचने स्थानिवदित्यभ्युपगमात् (?)॥ See Calc. Ed. P. I., 1, 59.

IX.; Text p. 7, 10; Transl. p. 45.

102.=XCVII.

103.=XCIV.

104.=XCVIII.

105.=CVI.

106.=CI.

107. श्रुतानुमितयोः श्रौतः संबन्धो बलीयान् =CIV.

108. पित्स्वराच्चित्स्वरो बलीयान्.[1]

109.=C.

110. प्रतिपदविधानाद्योगविभागो गरीयान् =CXXI.

111. सर्वविधिभ्यो लोपविधिर्बलीयान् =XCIII., 7

112.=XCV.

113.=CIII.

114.=XCVI.

115.=CII.

116.=II.

117.=III.

118.=XCIII., 3.

119. संदेहे बहुवचनं प्रयोक्तव्यम्.[2]

120. अर्थाद्विभक्तिविपरिणामः.[3]

121.=CXIV.

122.=CXV.

123.=XCIX.

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1. S. तेनाम्बष्ठ्या सौवीर्येत्यत्र पित्स्वरमनुदात्तं बाधित्वा चित्स्वादन्तोदात्त एव भवति। See P. IV., 1, 74.

2. S. यथा कति भवतः पुत्रा इति। युक्तमेवेदं व्याप्तिन्यायेन बहुवचननिर्देशेन सर्ववचनानामनुग्रहात्॥

3. S. लौकसिद्ध एवायमर्थः। तथा हि। उच्चानि गृहाण्यस्य देवदत्तस्यामन्त्रयस्वैनमिति षष्ठी द्वितीयया विपरिणम्यैनं देवदत्तमिति संबध्यते॥

124. = CXIII.

125. = CXVI.

126. युगपदधिकरणवचनो द्वन्द्वः.[1]

127. पूर्वं धातुः साधनेन युज्यते पश्चादुपसर्गेण. See Com. on Par L.; Text p. 46, 7; Transl. p. 246.

128. अन्ये तु पूर्वं धातुरुपसर्गेण युज्यते पश्चात्साधनेनेत्याहुः. See Com. on Par. L.; Text p. 45, 18.

129. समासकृत्तद्धितेषु संबन्धाभिधानमन्यत्र रूढ्यभिन्नरूपाव्यभिचरितसंबन्धेभ्यः.[2]

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1. S. एकदैकैकानामर्थानामभिधाने द्वन्द्वो भवतीत्यर्थः । तेन ....देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ पचत इत्यत्रैककालमेव क्रियाकारकसंबन्धः । अतो द्विवचनान्तेन क्रियाभ्यामभिसंबध्यते । वाक्ये तु देवदत्तः पचति यज्ञदत्तश्चेति साधनयोः क्रियासंबन्धः प्रत्येकं क्रमभाव्येव (?) भवत्यत एव पचतीत्येकवचनान्तमेव प्रयुज्यते ।

2. S. समासकृत्तद्धितेषूत्पन्नो भावप्रत्ययः संबन्धमाह । यथा नीलोत्पलत्वं वाचकत्वं दण्डित्वमिति ॥ रूढ्यभिन्नरूपाव्यभिचरितसंबन्धेभ्यस्तु न भवति सं[illegible]भिधानम् । रूढि- यथा तैलपायिकात्वमिति केचित् । कुम्भकारत्वमित्यन्यः । अत्र हि समासादुत्पन्नो [illegible] यः क्रियासंबन्धं नाभिदधाति । किं तर्हि । जातिम् ॥ अभिन्नरूपं यथा परणाद्वि[illegible] (५.३.४८] इति तृतीय इति । अत्र हि भावप्रत्ययेऽपि कृते भागमात्रमुच्यते न स[illegible]. ॥ अव्यभिचरितसंबन्धो यथा सच्छब्दः । अयं सच्छब्द जातिमात्रेऽपि पदेषु संबन्धं न व्य- भिचरति । तत उत्पन्नो भावप्रत्ययः सामान्यमभिदधाति न तु क्रियासंबन्धम् ॥

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